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Hungarian Ballads and the European Ballad Tradition / Lajos Vargyas

HUNGARIAN BALLADS AND THE EUROPEAN BALLAD TRADITION

by Lajos Vargyas

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

HUNGARIAN BALLADS
AND THE
EUROPEAN
BALLAD TRADITION

I.

BY

LAJOS VARGYAS

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INTRODUCTION

After the publication of my book on ballads in 1967 I am presenting a new book on the same subject. Am I justified in launching this enterprise? Is it possible to say anything new within such a short span of time about the topical questions? Are our statements concerning this particular field of the social sciences liable to become outdated as quickly as in certain, other branches of sciences, say, physics? Of course: not. Had my previous book summed up all my conceptions about the ballad, I would certainly not burden the reader with the proposition to deal with my new venture. But I think that those who have perused my former book have been aware of my intentions: the four studies put side by side in that volume did not constitute a monograph in the true sense of the term. I meant them to be a preliminary of my present work. I felt it necessary to submit what I had thought essentially important of my results to the judgement of scholarly circles before giving them a final formulation for two reasons: first, my statements reflect a novel approach to the subject, secondly, the material involved covers a vast area of science. I also knew that the reviews would help me to reshuffle my statements before giving them a definite formulation. Of course, it would have been more expendient to publish my preliminary studies in English as separate articles in periodicals. (In fact, they have been brought out in Hungarian, some of them in German.) Since, however, the propositions of my essay about what I think to be the most important subject—that is, the French connections of Hungarian ballads and the relating theoretical issues—did not appear in any foreign language, I thought it advisable to make them accessible, together with those of my other studies, in an English edition to the international reading public.

As regards the possibilities of completing the material on the basis of reviews, my expectations have come true. In my former book I reported on my indebtedness to many foreign colleagues for their valuable help with which they advanced my studies. The flow of information of this kind has not stopped ever since the appearance of my former book. Censorious remarks—or the absence of such remarks—have shown me at what points the conclusions of my study have met general acceptance. In any case, scholarly circles have rendered me assistance beyond my boldest hopes. It is with deepest respect I think of them while expressing my gratitude to all those who have lent me a helping hand in the course of preparing the material published in the present work. *Archer Taylor* (Berkeley), for example, sent me, besides his own studies, several precious books including the re-edition of Child; *Erik Dal* (Kopenhagen) presented me with his book on Danish ballads in English, as well as with some of the volumes of DgF—the great Danish collection—which were missing from my shelves; *D. K. Wilgus* (Los Angeles) has mailed his book and some of his studies, at the same time he has contacted me with a number

of American scholars. *Samuel G. Armistead* (Philadelphia) has enriched my knowledge of the Spanish material by having sent me his own publications, xerox-copies of ballads from other collections, as well as comparative remarks on my list of Hungarian ballads. The Institutul de Folklor (Bucharest) has systematically provided me with Romanian publications (namely the studies by Amzulescu, Fochi, Vrabie); *E. M. Meletinsky* (Moscow) presented me with his books dealing with the early forms of the epic songs and other primitive folklore genres. Further acknowledgements are due to *Georgios A. Megas* (Athens) for his book and essay on The Walled-up Wife; to *Otto Holzapfel* (Marburg a.d. Lahn) for his two books on Scandinavian ballads; to *Eleanor Long* (Santa Clara, California) for her monograph on The Test of Love; to *Karel Horálek* (Prague) for his several essays on Czechoslovakian and East-European ballads; to *Mortan Nolsöe* (Oslo) for the text of the lecture he delivered in Paris on the ballads of the Faroe Islands; to Mrs *Zmaga Kumer* (Ljubljana) for her studies and the translations of two difficult Slovene ballad-texts, as well as for her excellent summary work on Slovene folksongs; to *Ilona Borsai* for ballad translations from Romanian; to *Mária Kiss* for translations of Serbo-Croat ballads, and to *Ludvik Neufeld* (Kassa, Košice) for translations from Czech and Slovak. I have received considerable help from *Zoltán Kovács* and *Margit Prahács* in looking up library material, and from *László Dobszai* and *Janka Szendrei* who have assisted me in clarifying the relationships of Hungarian ballad tunes with certain antecedents in church music.

To *György Martin* and *Ernő Pesovár* I owe valuable data on dance. I am deeply indebted to *János Maróthy* for his useful suggestions he gave me while reading the Hungarian basic text of my book. Finally, I have to express my gratitude to *Imre Gombos* who kindly undertook to translate this book. Without his expert knowledge and friendly efforts the English version could not have been brought out at such a level of linguistic care and finish.

My former book dealt with only a one-sixth portion of the Hungarian ballads in their international connections. It is the present work that introduces the entire stock of Hungarian ballads, not only to foreign readers but also to Hungarians, because several newly discovered ballads or variants are first published in it. While discussing international relationships I have in view other important aspects, too, such as the historical and social background—especially of the outlaw ballads—including manifold folklore implications. It has been my aim at the same time to raise all the theoretical questions of European balladry, in addition to those touched upon in my previous work. Departure has been made here, as a matter of course, from the results of researches into the Hungarian material. It goes without saying that a researcher cannot obtain a thorough knowledge of the genre as a manifestation of poetic creation if not on the basis of his vernacular material. Nevertheless, conclusions of a general validity cannot be arrived at without a knowledge of the whole European ballad poetry. Therefore I have tried to do my best to obtain a full-scale view of European balladry as a whole. Certain deficiencies of my former studies have been made good in this work. For instance—and this I think to be of great importance—I have been able to survey in original the whole of Danish balladry which I had known from quotations and translations before.

Perusing the Danish stock has led me to significant partial results, offering safer points of approach to the theoretical questions as well. By courtesy of *S. G. Armistead* I have acquired a broader view of Spanish ballads, while the ballad catalogue in three volumes by *Amzulescu* offered me points of orientation in the field of Romanian balladry. Thus I have obtained more detailed and safer knowledge precisely in those national materials which had been inaccessible to me for linguistic reasons. Finally, in most recent times, important new results have appeared in the literature, with which I have been able to reform the statements of my former book.

The academician debate on my studies—after which I obtained the degree D. (mus.)—was also helpful in shaping my final say on the topic. At certain points I shall refer to such criticisms which were voiced during that debate and which have helped me to formulate more precisely my views on some general questions.

This work may be looked at as a comprehensive study of European balladry exemplified by the least known part of the material, that of the Hungarian ballad poetry. On the other hand, it can be taken for the presentation of the entire Hungarian stock—by means of selected texts, of course—discussed within the framework of European balladry and ballad theory. Accordingly, the reader is advised to take first the preliminary study, looking up occasionally the relevant ballad types in the second, detailed part, or the other way round, he may read the ballads and the explanatory material attached first and then the theoretical discussion as a final conclusion. The result will be the same. It is not by inherent necessity but by observing the traditional method of arrangement that I publish the two distinct parts of the monograph in the given order.

The individual ballad types are represented by one or more variants, as need may arise. For the English public I refer to the translations in verse by *N. Leader*, which may be serviceable in complementing the general picture of the type. Since the number of variants in certain Hungarian ballad types exceeds four hundred, it has been out of question to provide an all-embracing work in the strict sense of the word; more than that, I could not even undertake the task of presenting the data concerning the collection, preservation and publication of the mass of variants whose number totals around six thousand four hundred and fifty-six. (Collection and text closed in 1973.) Such a set of data would claim a separate volume! Thus we have to content ourselves with listing the main divergences of the types with all their relevant particulars and their data of dissemination, the main areas of distribution being marked with roman numerals. This method of ours follows that of *Bartók* who divided the language area into four units (supplemented with a fifth in our system): I. Transdanubia; II. the northern part of the language area including the Hungarians in the Czechoslovakian and Carpathian-Ukrainian territories; III. the Great Plain including the fringe areas belonging to Romania; IV. Transylvania and the habitations of the Székelys of Bukovina; and V. the dwelling places of the Csángós of Moldavia (part of whom have been resettled in Transdanubia). Proceeding in the given order, and from county to county, I enumerate the variants by communities. As regards the names of villages and counties, I must rely on the data of the 1913 list of communities, since the changes in the names of localities and

counties that ensued since can be hardly followed, mainly owing to deficiencies of parallel lists in the neighbouring countries and also to the fact that the most valuable portion of Hungarian ballads had been recorded by geographical names current in those times. The place names of the Moldavian Csángós and those of the Székelys in Bukovina are referred to in the form used by the local inhabitants (and if the recent official denomination is known to us, it is added as well). With a view to facilitating orientation for foreign readers I have thought it necessary to present a Map showing the boundaries of Hungary before 1919, together with the geographical confines of the counties of pre-war Hungary. An overwhelming part of the Hungarian language area fell within these boundaries, except for the Csángós of Moldavia and the five Székely villages of Bukovina (although the latter ethnic group had lived within the frontiers of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, maintaining contact with the main body of the Hungarian nation). What is more, even the neighbouring nations lived partly within these boundaries together with Hungarians, rather separated from their linguistic relatives. Reference to old circumstances—to variants within and outside the Carpathian Basin—are often made in the discussion, these being revealing for the possibilities of contacts between the ethnic groups involved. For instance, the Székelys of Bukovina performed military service with soldiers of Hungary, as also Hungarians with the national minorities. It is in this context that I recall the internal migration of labour force, particularly in harvest times when Croat-Slovenians went to work in Transdanubia and Slovaks from the Highlands to the Great Plain; and there were many more opportunities of contact within the common area of the former statehood. The differences presenting themselves in the historical fate of the various states cannot be underrated either: for instance, it is consequential for our purposes when the one or the other nation got rid of the Turks; the shift in the phases of their liberation may have caused significant cultural divergences between certain nationalities living in Hungary and their relatives outside Hungary. (Transylvania, for example, had never lived under Turkish domination.) Facts like these will be seen to have left their imprints also on the folklore traditions of the peoples. The Map is supplemented so as to be readily removable from the case of the book; thus the reader can best use it while identifying the place names.

Here I have to note that the order of ballads proceeds according to the aesthetical value and scientific import of the texts and tunes, as to the typological points, they receive sufficient emphasis throughout the first part of this work.

A list of French ballad types, their brief contents and bibliographical data has been specially added since these ballads have not yet been systematized in summary editions like those of *Child* or *Grundvig*. I often refer to French parallels, and without having recourse to my list, arbitrary as it may seem, the treatment of the types would be cumbersome and the book enormous in size. The index numbers will be helpful in leading the reader right to the French version involved. (Of course, this list cannot be regarded as complete, not even in respect of the publications, and does not include unpublished, archival material. It has not been intended to precede in any way the French catalogue to be prepared at a later date; what I have had in view was to facilitate orientation.)

The term "realism" will be often met with in this study, intepreted in the traditional sense: I have used it to contrast the "condensing" method of balladry with the method of over-detailed presentation, being well aware of the fact that it is the former that characterizes realism in the Marxist concept of the term.

I would like to hope that by joining in the Hungarian ballad material into the flow of international research many questions of European balladry will be clarified, and that in this way a more complete picture of this considerable creation of the peoples living in our continent will be obtained.

PLACE OF THE BALLAD IN THE LITERARY AND FOLKLORE GENRES

What is ballad? What is the ballad like? One facing these questions seemingly easy to answer will find some difficulty in framing a quick definition. Quite a row of considerations will emerge: whatever one is about to state, contradictions are swarming. If social conflicts and domestic tragedies are made the focal point, immediately the figures of heroes fighting giants in the Norwegian ballads are mentioned, possibly the bewitched women, fairies and demons of the Scottish ballads are contrasted. If it is considered to be creation of the peasantry, the courtly ballad texts of the Danes are brought up, with all their tiny details of the life of nobles and aristocrats of old. If the sphere is restricted to themes of love, then what to do with the feudal warefares of English and Scottish lords, barons, their raids into each other's lands, and the adventures of robber knights? If the realistic traits of the ballad are emphasized, then the definition will be demolished not only by what we find in the northern fairy-world but also in the fantastic epic of the Balkans. Nearly every people has developed a concept of ballad of its own, and nearly each nation's ballad differs in a way or other from those of other nations. Therefore every ballad collection presents a different view of this genre. Also Seemann had to face these difficulties when compiling, upon commission by the Council of Europe, a collection to represent the European ballad in an adequate manner. "It is not difficult to elaborate... criteria—he writes—if one restricts oneself to only one country or cultural area. But many difficulties present themselves when it comes to surveying the whole of Europe." (*Seemann, Strömbäck* and *Jonson,* XII.) Consequently, researchers of the various distinct areas have special innervated conceptions of their own about the genre. The danger is always impending that while describing European balladry one will describe what one has found valid for the ballads of a few nations only, leaving out of consideration perhaps what are thought to be the main characteristics in other areas.

A certain degree of uniformity can be observed as regards style and form, so at least when it comes to giving a theoretical definition of the genre. But the same theoretical considerations are not applied to individual texts when compiling collections. Experts hold in general that ballad is a brief narrative poem presenting the plot with omissions, retaining only the essential moments, possibly dressed in the dialogue, dramatic form and condensed on the focal point of one single decisive scene. Ever since the genre was discovered these traits have been voiced, complemented here and there with some other features. Yet Seemann could not help disregarding some of these characteristics in his summary definition of the ballad: "A certain style is required, a style characteristic primarily of orally transmitted poetry; further, a concentration on the essential events of the story; dramatic treatment of an often tragic theme in a way which appeals to fundamental human experience: and... a ballad is a poem intended to be sung..." (*Ibid.* p.

XII.) As can be seen, Seemann avoided going into details, giving the broadest possible framework so as to embrace all kinds of narrative styles of European folklore, from English to Turkish. Content elements are hardly mentioned in this definition; still when surveying the individual ballad areas he emphasizes such content elements which are apt to reveal more about his concept of ballad. Of the English ballad, he states: "They may deal with the clash of arms, with mental struggle, with murder and man-slaughter ... with the struggles between the English and the Scots...". In respect of the Norwegian ballad he states: "These ballads describe how great heroes fight human antagonists or treat of their struggle with the rabble of the giants...". Although his description provides a summary view of what can be found by and large in the national collections—with one trait being more emphasized perhaps than others—still it is important for points of principle inasmuch as he adds the following conclusion: "The three ballad provinces so far discussed are the most important in Europe." In the Scandinavian, English and German ballads, in his opinion, therefore, the emphatic traits are: struggle between human heroes and between supernatural (giants, sorcerets) and human beings.

Yet these traits are missing from one province considered most important by him (that is the German), and so are they in the French and the Hungarian material (to refer to the latter as the sphere best known by the present author in East-European relation). This makes us cautious regarding the common European validity of the mentioned traits; the more so because precisely for the balladry of the three last-mentioned nations the long-defined formal and stylistic features hold true: briefness, dramatic quality of presentation, etc. Our doubts increase with the consideration that the two underlined traits of Seemann's description are typical of the heroic song, what is more, this genre is mainly characterized by them. If departure is made from the statements of researchers of the heroic song, these traits will be placed in a different limelight. Let me quote this time two Russian experts of the heroic song. *Propp* (8): "We do not list along with the epic songs the ballad-like songs however attractive they may be, although such songs occur in *bilina* collections formulated in *bilina* verses... The most fundamental feature of the epic song: the motif of active struggle is absent in ballads. The theme of the ballad differs from that of the *bilina,* the former mainly dealing with domestic and personal relations. The number of ballads is very high in *bilina* collections, yet they do not belong in the sphere of epic poetry." *Zhirmunsky* (1901, 102): "Der Inhalt der Ballade ist vor allem ein persönlicher, amoureuser, 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 Feudalepoch 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, 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."

It appears from these quotations that there is a kind of relationship and also some difference at the same time between the ballad and the epic song. If therefore we want to establish the ballad traits independently of personal predilections or traditional conceptions, we have to compare it with the epic song, as well as with other literary and folklore genres, which maintain more or less contact with it. This is the only way of placing our conception on a safely delimited principal basis.

It follows from what has been said so far that our most important task is to establish the differences—and possible analogies—between the epic song and the ballad.

To make departure from this point is the more justified because the two genres followed each other in folklore development. The chronological order is well observable with nations whose oral tradition knows about ballads but not about epic songs which survive only in their literary heritage from early centuries, showing that this genre had been indigenous with them until replaced by the ballad. (Edda, Hildebrandslied, Beowulf, Chanson de Roland, and so on.) But the same result can be deduced from the maps of dissemination of the two genres. The epic song is extant among the Paleo-Asiatic peoples on the coast of the Ohock Sea, among the Siberian and Inner-Asiatic tribes of the most diverse cultural standards, as well as in the advanced peasant cultures of the Russians, Ukrainians, Serbians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Greeks, and so on. In contrast, the ballad is found among the best developed peasant populations of East-, West-, and Central Europe. The chronological difference between the two genres is even more brought out by the evidence of East-European epic songs in whose areas (that is in the Serbian, Bulgarian and Russian territories) the ballad presents itself as something younger, newer as compared to the epic song, a genre that had struck deeper roots in the mentioned language areas. If again those studies are also considered which have demonstrated the relics of heroic songs in the ballads of the various peoples—*Seemann* (1955 and D. Vlr. No. 7) and *John Meier* (D. Vlr. Nos 4–5) in German, *Menéndez Pidál* (1936) in Spanish, and *Vargyas* (1960–61, 1967, Chapter 2) in Hungarian—then it becomes quite obvious that the heroic song was replaced by the ballad in the course of folklore development, and that the former was ousted by the latter from the living memory of most of the European nations.

Such a uniform shift cannot be imagined unless an essential difference can be shown between the two genres. If there is a difference between the two, then that should be regarded as essential in the ballad which it had involved as a novelty in comparison with the epic song, and by no means that which the former inherited from the latter. For that reason and other theoretical considerations we have to contrast those features which are diagonally opposed to each other in the two genres. It should not be left from sight that for a long time, at some places even today, the two live side by side. With the Southern Slavs, epic songs have been sung and collected so to say to the present day, and many ballads spread among them at the same time; the two genres mutually influenced each other, their traits also commingled. As regards the often quoted Scottish and Scandinavian ballads, their features reminiscent of the epic song have been referred to above. If, therefore, we wish to make a clear distinction, we have to deduce as points of departure those distinct forms of the epic genre which best represent its archaic traits and then

contrast them with the ballad features by which ballads can be best discerned from the epic song.

At this point, however, an objection should be fended off. By contrasting the typical traits of the two genres we may raise the impression that we tend to ignore existing transitional forms between them, thus producing some artificial test-tube result. During the doctorial debate on my former book I was accused of delimiting the two genres metaphysically, in order to infer some ideal ballad type. And this accusation was launched just because I started by contrasting distant points of development in order to render perceptible the differences between the two genres, that is, precisely because I was keenly aware of the existing transitions. But if one wanted to find the theoretical line of demarcation between the transitional forms and so to deduce the essential features of the phenomena, one would never detect the point at which something ends and another something begins, still less would one be able to realize the real traits of the two bordering phenomena. Are the blue and the green colours ideal concepts? Can we state that a thing is blue while another is green? And how could one state the line of demarcation between the two colours within the spectrum of a rainbow. Only hues are found there merging into each other. One would discover in the final issue neither blue, nor green in that case; one would only find oneself faced with the mathematical infinite of oscillation numbers without any possibility of drawing a dividing line between them. Yet are not we justified in using the notions of blue and green in our everyday life? We *can* see them! But not by looking at them at their points of merger but at ranges wider apart from each other. Then their traits can be clearly assessed. Is it a metaphysical approach if in the knowledge of infiniteness of the oscillation numbers one takes up certain nodes and calls them blue, green, yellow, without paying heed to transitions? And similarly, will the concept of ballad be turned into an ideal category if once its most typical traits are determined? If the ratio of these typical traits within the huge ballad provinces are examined? I am convinced that after so many attempts at definition and description by former methods, the prejudices and personal predilections inherent in them can be eliminated precisely by the procedure proposed here. By means of this procedure and in possession of a really empirical and objective method, we shall be able to orientate ourselves in the realm of the multifarious yet somehow related ballads of the various nations.

Another objection against my method of delimitation was that I ignored the "peaceful co-existence" of the diverse genres in folk tradition. Such a co-existence prevails, of course, in folk tradition, as also at the literary level where plays, poems, novels, short-stories etc. are seen, read and listened to, just like lyrical songs, ballads and ritual songs are performed at the folklore level. What is more, even more refined shades co-exist at both levels. An ensemble of multifarious shades, as for instance, from ballads to thrilly broadsides, can be found not only in the folk narrative but also in the literature of all ages: novel, novellette, short-stories, sketch and documentary novel, biographical novel, literary sociography, and so on make up our reading pieces. But as a lament cannot be termed a ballad, in a similar way we should not give up the possibility of drawing finer distinctions between the genres, even though people fail to call them by special names. In spite of this, people feel those finer distinctions. Only they cannot, or do not want to formulate them.

Every collector may have experienced that—especially in the period of the expensive and cumbersome phonograph—his informants sooner or later hit upon the "style" or the "genre" he was in search of, without many words lost on the clarification of the nature of the style or genre: instead of urban art-songs they performed old-style lyrical songs, instead of broadside true ballads, sometimes even warning each other: "That won't do!" Now then, if the special features of a thing can be felt, then they can and should be also formulated in case a theoretical study is held in view. Therefore we may readily proceed by defining the typical traits of the epic song, delimiting it from the ballad, establishing the latter's distinctive features; thus we get a compass with which to find our goal in the meanders of transitional forms.

What are then epic songs like while flourishing, what themes do they favour, in what manner do they present them?

The origin of the most common epic theme reaches back to the remotest antiquity: the struggle for the hand of a girl. The young hero sets out from his country, to win and take home a wife after long series of adventures and defeating ogres, monsters and rivals. This is the only theme of the poetry of such Eastern Siberian peoples (Nivkhs, i.e. Giljaks, etc.) which have reached the stage of dissolution of their clan organization. At that stage of development the up-to-date economic and social unit was represented by the family, whose foundation was glorified with a mythical halo surrounding the hero. (*Propp*, 42–43, 56.) After that stage, the theme survived in epic songs and remained a typical motif even in *bilinas*. (For instance, songs about the marriage of Potyk, or Ivan Godynovich, or of Prince Marko, among others, can be mentioned in this context.) In archaic Turkic songs, still other plots occur: kidnapping the spouse in the absence of the hero, the recovery of the spouse after many heroic deeds; the parents of the hero are murdered by an enemy who drives away all his dependants and livestock, with the exception of the child who escapes in a miraculous way to grow up and take revenge on the enemy, and to restore the wealth and power of his family. Stories of this kind are often grouped around a distinguished hero, sometimes linking the adventures of several generations. In such instances the different adventures are performed as parts of a cycle; this being the way in which large epics come to life, composed of various songs. The frame of the plot is not stable in them, the events are not concentrated on a single goal, rather they are connected like the eyes of a chain. The events narrated are always in the form of adventures, even though they are telling about struggle and strife assuming dimensions of gigantic efforts. Yet they are invariably adventures.

The extent of an archaic epic song was a thousand lines, or twelve hundred and even more lines. To perform a Yakut "oloncho" took sometimes as much as three consecutive nights. This is due not only to the high number of adventures related but also to the manner of performance. The heroic song indulges in colourful details and is prone to broaden the performance. (See *Lord*.) These features are characteristic even of the most archaic Abakhan songs, although they are marked by a stylized rather than realistic-descriptive presentation. In them, even the formula-like details are stylized presentations of the most important scenes like those of the wrestling heroes. Such a stylized portion may consist of twenty to

forty lines. At a further stage of development we encounter protracted enumeration of the participants of the struggle (*Radloff V*, 1485–1523), while in the most archaic songs the narrative is concentrated on one single warrior. A fully developed heroic song includes long descriptions of the arms of the hero, of how they were prepared (*Radloff V*, 1680–97) and how the fight took place. Similar detailed presentation can be observed in the Balkan epic songs, and also in the *bilinas* which are much shorter in other respect.

The world-outlook of the heroic song is mythical, its conception of man tends to become at a later stage miraculous and fantastic. The heroes are not men but superhuman beings, who mostly lived in times after the creation of the universe, but before man was shaped, somewhere at the end of the world, as is often expressed by the words of the song. "Once upon a time, before the present generation but later than the previous generation, in times when the world was created" (*Dyrenkova* No. 11, 73). In other instances it refers to days of yore when the ancestors of the people now living on stock-raising subsisted exclusively on hunting. (*Schiefner* No. 8, where the hero as a kind father of his people distributes the hunting spoils. *ibid.* No. 14; *Verbitsky* No. 159; *Potanin* IV, No. 178.) The hero who is mostly related to heavenly beings or maintains an alliance with them, possesses mythical strength, this being a feature manifest in a quick growth at a very early age: as a child of 3, 4 or five years of age he engages in a life struggle. This is occasionally preserved by the Russian *bilinas*: Dobrynya begins his heroic ventures when he is 11 years old, sometimes 15 years old. In the songs of the Bulgarians, Child Golomeshe of four years appears as a hero excelling with strength more fearful than anybody else's. The characters of archaic songs can fly on the backs of their magic horses, their adventures taking place in this world and the world beyond, under and above the earth. If the hero is a mythical being, his antagonists are superhuman monsters: giants having several heads or miraculous, animal-shaped creatures. This feature survived in other types of non-mythical heroic songs: it comes up every now and then in tales of chivalry, in Southern Slav epic songs, as well as in the *bilinas*. In the world of these heroes everything assumes gigantic dimensions, because their struggles are of a "universal" importance that is relating to tasks of central significance for the whole community in those times: replacement of clan power by founding family power; robbing and restoring the wealth of the family or the clan; defeating the enemy; fighting the conqueror enemy, and the like.

Every stylistic element is used to enhance dimensions, to raise things to the sphere of a miraculous and superhuman world. Commonplaces serve to emphasize the exceptional strength of the hero, referring to the breadth of his forehead or shoulders, to the appalling effect of his voice, the weight of his steps under which the soil sinks. Also his superhuman ability to eat and drink is accentuated to describe his unusual strength (cf. Note to Type **34**). "Dein Kind, der Sain ist ein Held mit Klapfter breiter Stirne" (*Radloff* III, No. 13, line 1472); "Ist gar gross der Kopf der Schlange, Dass man zwischen beiden Augen Zwölf der Spannen messen konte" (*Schiefner* No. 8, line 55). In the Alpamys epic we read: "There is a distance of two fathoms between the eyebrows of our son-in-law" (*Zhirmunsky* and *Zarifov*, 98). The Tartars of Kazan go even further: "Between his eyes a flock of 30 sheep could graze, they could be herded between his shoulders." (*ibid.* 140). "Sein Hals ist am

Rücken sechzig Spannen, Sein Hals ist bei der Schulter fünfzig Spannen" (*Radloff* II, No. 14, Lines 2509–10). As the child-hero defeats his enemies one after the other, placing them in his shoulder-pits, they cannot converse with each other, for there is a distance of twenty verst between them (*ibid.* III, No. 15, p. 301). Similar exaggerations occur in the Russian *bilinas* with the difference that they are used to characterize the enemy. *Propp* writes (*op. cit.* p. 216): "In the Russian epic poem exaggeration is merely applied to describe the enemy as a ridiculous man." In the song about Alyosa and Tugarin we read: "This Tugarin is three fathoms high, the distance between his shoulders is nearly a fathom and there is a fiery arrow between his eyes." (*ibid.* p. 215.) In Ilya and Idolishche: "The cursed one has a head like a brewing cauldron." (*ibid.* p. 235.) The hero of a Shor-Tartar song Aba Kulak loses consciousness and does not revive from night to morn when his father-in-law calls in subdued tones after his daughter (*Dyrenkova* No. 14, p. 209). The enormous weapons are also mentioned to bring out the great strength of the hero. "He raises the copper rod which seven men were not enough to surround with their arms." (*Radloff* II, No. 6, p. 563.) And we encounter a hyperbole which is beyond all imagination. A boy of seven years of age is flayed, his bones buried. But order comes to string an arch which six men cannot carry into the tent. They dig up the boy and ask him to perform the task. "There is no strength in my arms," says the boy. Still he does the job. But the arch breaks to pieces. "Take it away, it is not worth a pin, I cannot string such a small arch!" (*ibid.* No. 13.)

The heroes and the other characters of the epic poems of later development assume more human proportions. These are called "post-heroic" poems by the *Chadwicks* in the great summary work on the epic song. Yet the basic theme—struggle and strife—remains in them. And we have to mention that many traits of the archaic and mythical epic song agree with a class of fairy tales in which both the subject-matter (for instance, the young hero starting out seeking adventures and acquiring a wife) and the details are identical—superhuman strength, struggle against monsters, wandering about in the under- and superworld on back of a magic horse—the only difference being in presentation in prose. On this consideration, *Zhirmunsky* calls this kind of epic song heroic tale *(bogatyrskaya skazka)*. It follows, therefore, that, through the mediation of the fairy tale, the most archaic traits of the epic song survive in the peoples' memory to the present day. (For the common traits of Hungarian tales and Siberian epic songs see *Vargyas*, 1961.)

Can we find then something which is different in ballads from the mentioned elements of heroic songs and fairy tales? As regards the formal side, the answer is given in the current definition: the ballad is a concise, short narrative poem, concentrating on one single event, sometimes only one scene of the event, and even that with omissions, innuendos, and in a hasty manner. As to their length, even the longest Danish ballads hardly exceed 200 to 300 lines (disregarding the refrains and line repetitions), and the average ballads are much shorter, ranging between 40 and 120 lines. Sometimes 12 to 20 lines carry the pointed plot. Obviously, the ballad is characterized by briefness as against the epic song.

Briefness in this case is not a matter of formal significance but follows from the difference of approach: from the requirement of condensed, dramatic

performance—difference that means a really new style. But new styles and new conceptions always go hand in hand with new content. Is there, therefore, something else in the genre than the clapping of arms of giants in Norwegian and Scottish ballads?

One casting a cursory glance at the collections of various nations can at once discover the new typical feature which accounts for the birth of the ballad. This new feature concerns a psychological approach to man and his presentation in social relations. Men occur in them, not of the average type though, still men of every-day life, creatures of flesh and blood, no longer mythical, superhuman heroes. And the stories of these every-day men do not deal with struggles against miraculous antagonists, but represent human connections, clashes stemming from social situations, and first of all, tragic or comic plots developing from human passions and faults, or from social conflicts and the faults of the society. Clashes of this kind come up in large numbers in ballads of every nation. The husband thinks his wife faithless, torments her to death, and learns in the end that she was innocent. The mother does not allow her son to marry the serf's daughter and has her son's sweetheart murdered; the son follows her into the grave, from which he throws curses upon his mother. The disgraced girl is killed by her parents, bridegroom arrives late and does away with himself. The mother clad as a beggar woman puts her rich and haughty daughter to test, the latter casts her in prison and the mother, after recognition takes place, lays a curse on her daughter. Similar stories, first of all stories dealing with themes of love, concomitant conflicts and adversities, can be found in ballads. Should it be a story of a hero fallen in action, which in itself is an innovation as compared with the epic representation in which the heroes are always victorious, emphasis is always laid on human attitudes, on the moment when the hero takes leave of his wife and children, on the figure of the wife waiting for her man to come back—that is, on psychic-human motifs, on psychic states developing from human situations. Not even the presence of the only "supernatural element" inherited from the sphere of legends makes a deviation from the general principle. Notably, such "supernatural elements" are represented always by a kind of Christian miracle, a heavenly, transcendental figure of Christian myth which meant reality to mediaeval man and was therefore not at variance with the realistic approach to a world stripped of the myths of an earlier world—inhabited by fairies, giants, sorcerers and dwarfs, a stage of world-outlook that was gradually outdated and transcended in the period in which the ballad took shape. More important, however is that even the Christian elements convey a human, psychological and social meaning in the ballad, which is made more emphatic by the involvement of the miraculous events and celestial beings. The Saviour disguised as a beggar is ordered off by the rich husband, but kindly treated by the good-hearted wife; the mother of the girl taken to heaven bids farewell to her daughter, and on seeing the miracle taking place, utters a wonderful lament in which expressions of rapture mingles with those of pains caused by the fact of separation, that is, once again the climax is reached in the presentation of motherly sentiments. Even fairy elements may convey human content in a real ballad. In the French ballad of the "Blanche biche" it is of minor importance that the girl lives as a roe in the day-time and as a girl in the night-time—this being intimated in one single line of the text—but the

fact is emphasized that her brother goes out hunting for her, bags her and serves her up as a dish at feast, and finally recognizes her by her words of accusation. What we have as theme here is the unintentional murder of the sister, for which the basic situation is presented by the motif of the roe-girl, inherited from former times.

A survey of the ballad themes presenting conflicts between human beings and describing human attitudes in the folk poetry of the most important nations—English, German, French, and further in that of the Hungarians in the Middle-Eastern European region (the Italian ballad being, as will be shown below, strongly dependent on the French, and the Danish allotted a special chapter in this book)—will show that the major part of balladry consists of such themes. As regards Hungarian ballads best known by the present author, all the old types belong to this sphere—also the best specimens of the new types—so do the overwhelming majority of the French ballads, some sixty to seventy per cent of the German and half the material published in the highly authoritative British collection of Child, although this latter includes many pieces which do not meet the requirements of a real ballad. (In the special treatment of the individual ballad areas I shall indicate the pieces of *Child* and the D. Vlr. which I do not regard a true ballad.)

Consequently this "new human content" features a very considerable portion of all collections published so far, therefore we may state without the risk of being mistaken that this "human content" is *typical of the sphere of ballad themes*. Our opinion is supported by the fact that the themes treated in this class of ballads show a fair agreement in the stocks of the various nations, and that one or another characteristic group of themes is represented by several variants within the individual folklore areas. Most decisive is, however, that it is in these social-psychological spheres of themes that "international" ballads can be found with similar formulation in several nations, or sometimes only fragments of formulation betray that the ballad concerned did exist in the balladry of several nations, even though the plot had undergone more or less transformation. This group may have included the most popular migrating ballads in which the diverse peoples recognized their own problems. These common ballads were regarded by them as the "new" form of expression of the modern content: instead of stories of miraculous beings, conflicts of men living in opposed social conditions and possessed with deeply human sentiments and passions came into the fore.

Conflicts of this kind are apt to throw sharp light on clashes in the family as well as social life. Contradictions between the poor and the rich, mainly the peasantry and the higher classes, occupy a significant place in the balladry of all peoples. In the course of the academic discussion of the theses expounded in my previous book the objection was voiced: how can we ascertain that the social conflicts expressed in our ballads had been existing as early as the mediaeval times? But a cursory glance at the ballad stocks of the various nations is enough to convince us that the themes discussed had always maintained a close connection with the ballad genre. Within this wide scope, the same social antagonisms feature the western parallels of certain Hungarian ballads, which is a clear proof of the fact that their common content derives from mediaeval times. The tragedy in the "Tristes noces" (126.) arises from the circumstance that the parents force their son to marry a rich girl instead of his lover. ("Is she more beautiful than I?" asks the

sweetheart. "No, she is not more beautiful, only richer than you.") In the Hungarian parallel **(26.)** a change of role took place, still the social conflict remained: it is the girl that despises her lover, who in turn dances her to death. The French correspondence of "Jesus Seeking Lodging" (French: 65, Hungarian: **7.**) consistently contrasts the haughty rich man with the pitiful poor or with the wife taking pity on the poor. Although the French version of "The Two Chapel Flowers"—the likely original—is no longer extant, the Spanish–Portuguese derivates speak about social differences, only not between the serf and the feudal lord but between a simple nobleman and a person of royal blood. Other ballads deal with the misery of the lower classes. *Child* 269 presents the theme of the Hungarian "The Daughter of the Pagan King" **(38.)**—that of the lover forced to eat his sweetheart's heart as a dish—embedded in the story of the king's daughter and a kitchen boy. "The Haughty Wife" **(66.)** and its English parallel (*Child* 277.) do justice to aristocratic pride in a way that the husband of peasant origin gives a thorough thrashing to his overconfident wife.

An enumeration of the most typical themes will convey an idea of how deeply the mediaeval mind concerned itself with problems arising from social conflicts and differences of wealth. For example: the mason Lamkin (*Child* 93.) extirpates the lord's family because the lord refuses to pay his dues; in *Child* 95 and its German parallel (E–B 78), corresponding to the Hungarian ballad "The Test of Love" **(69.)** condemning the insistence on riches, the parents are unwilling to sacrifice their treasures for their child. In the "The Two Captives" (French 21., Hungarian **17.**) the parent rejecting the poor lets her own child die in the stable. Such themes receive particular emphasis in German ballads: the song about Agnes Bernauer (D. Vlr. 65.), long considered a parallel of the Hungarian "The Two Chapel Flowers", speaks about a landlord drowning his son's sweetheart of humble birth; "Edelmann und Schäfer" (E–B 43.) about a shepherd cast into prison because of his noble attire and challenging greeting; "The Count and the Nun" (Hungarian **(97.)**, German E–B 89–90.), a mediaeval story with the German and the Dutch, about the impossibility of love between a poor girl and her aristocratic lover; the "Ritter und Magd" (D. Vlr. 55.) about a similar tragedy; the "Schloss in Österreich" (D. Vlr. 24.) about a poor young man executed under charge of stealth; and so on.

The stories mentioned above never deal with some incidental, once-upon-a-time story (except Agnes Bernauer); they do not contain such details which would link the story to a definite person by accentuating some individual trait. The *Chadwicks* apply appropriately the *timeless-nameless category* to these. True to say, names are used in them, but only as substitutable X's, indeed replaced in the variants at will. Their stories are real human stories; they do not deal with struggles and wars of a community enhanced to world-wide dimensions, but with events of everyday life. Most of them are thrilling tragedies, contrasting with vivid hues of light and shade what the community accepts and rejects. If, on the other hand, the story is a comic one—for example, of a lustful woman calling in the coward lad crying for admission—then always a psychological type and a human relation stripped from all individual trait comes into the fore, condensed, so to say, in an abstract formula. The tragic stories make the parable unforgettable by the katharsis, while the comic ones by catching points reflecting human characters in

their follies. Instead of *immediate* reality it is *condensed* reality that moved the imagination of the ballad-creating community. The image of reality looms up in its most typical and important traits: instead of presenting a detailed description, the ballad gives a stylized, condensed, summary and emphatic picture. This is the reason why it omits unimportant details which are not necessary for the understanding of the parable. Therefore it builds upon one single plot, rushing on one thread towards the dénouement or the point of the parable. Everything that is not an indispensable element of the drama is spared. It is rarely said in a ballad that "then they went there" or "this and this answered like this"; in the best variants the narrative begins on the spot, and the answer is immediately heard. Sometimes long dialogues take place (occasionally the whole ballad runs in the form of dialogue); protracted monologues are likely to occur, conveying impassioned, dramatic complaints. In general, the details are known through the parlance of the characters, so the preliminaries and the course of the event (for example, the burning of the adulteress on command of the husband in No. 1), and primarily, the state of mind of the hero or heroine. The epic song does not concern itself with the psychological condition of the hero; it contents itself with describing the deed, the grand feat of the character. In contrast, the ballad has the description of the psychic state of the *dramatis personae* as its main concern and the source of its effect. This characteristic trait was emphasized already by *Bowra,* the scholar of heroic songs, who placed in juxtaposition the famous ballad "Edward" (*Child* 13.) with the general scheme of the epic song: "So in *Edward, my Edward* the son who kills his father is presented as he is after the murder. Of the actual event we hear next nothing; what matters is the son's state of mind, his sense of guilt and doom, his hatred of his mother and of himself." (P. 560.) It does not present the deed, for it is much more impressive if it becomes clear from the subsequent dialogue between the mother and child. And at the same time, the heroes characterize themselves and their state of mind during the dialogue.

Nevertheless, the psychological approach of the ballad differs from that kind of realistic representation of individuals we find in the Greek tragedies, in Shakespeare or in modern novels. The mother asks the girl put in the family way why her skirt is becoming shorter in the front and longer on the other side. The naive excuses of the girl recall with unrivalled plasticity the perplexed person: "The tailor did not cut it well, The seamstress did not sew it well, May God punish the one Who has destroyed it!" But the girl is not a certain girl with her specific traits, but always one reflecting the typical reactions of a disturbed mind unable to find a way-out. Since this attitude is depicted in a characteristic situation, it becomes typical without presenting a faithful image of definite piece of reality. The world of ballad is a stylized, typified reality. It raises to the level of poetry a typical human situation and psychic state without involving a single individual trait. Similar solutions are found in the ballad every now and then. "Why is your sword dropping with blood?" "I have killed a pigeon", answers the young man who murdered his father, brother or sweetheart. The mother of the girl given over to the hangman does not dare to tell the truth to the bridegroom, but tries to find empty excuses to delay what is bound to come inevitably. "She has gone to the flower-garden to pick flowers. . . She has gone to the river to wash handkerchiefs", and so on. The wife caught tries to put off

her husband with the awkward excuse that she has lost the key to the chest or the door. The girl given away in marriage against her will gives a terse characterization of her despair in four lines when replying her brother's announcement of the fact: "I have not heard fame of it, my dear brother, May God grant me rather a merry supper, A light disease after the merry supper, And departure from the world at a beautiful, crimson dawn!" Such concise passages are likely to come up in typical situations, though in almost unrealistic wording, that is in stylized form, especially in the comic ballads. The stylized characterization in such instances turn into a kind of caricature, as in Type **70,** portraiting the figures of a woman yearning for love and a timid young man (Crying János) who, asking for admission, is let inner and inner by the woman, until they find their pleasure in bed.

New form is required for the new content. The social problems and the intricate conflicts of emotions and sentiments of man described in special psychic conditions had developed a new form of narration. The new style involved stylized presentation of the subject, as well as the presentation of the plot in typical situations, with omissions, dialogues, etc. that is to say, new features of the "inner form" had come into use. Corresponding features of the "outer form" also appeared. In fact, it is hard to discern between the two, and sometimes even the content side is difficult to be distinguished from the formal side. For instance, the ballad's trick to impress the audience by broadly generalized views of life implies features of content and form at the same time. If the ballad wants to express life-danger or impending evil, it refers to fire or blood: "Your washing water shall turn into blood, your towel shall throw flames!", says Anna Fehér **(27.).** The outlaw ballad indicates the peril of the outlaws like this: "Hey, outlaws, hey, outlaws, What blood has painted your pants red?!" The haughty rich daughter is cursed by her mother: "May fire destroy your cart!" Very often we encounter such elements in the ballads. It is characteristic that the above two lines mentioning fire and blood appear in every variant of Type **27,** sometimes only these remain, because these are felt most typical by the people, while in other instances the curse is complemented with lengthy, exaggerated details which are more realistic in nature: "May thirteen rows of drog-stores Be emptied for your sake, May thirteen cart-loads of straw Rot in your bed!", and the like. But such accumulated and exaggerated figures will never strike us with the power of the ancient symbols. The curse: "May your bread turn into stone!" stands perhaps closest to the primitive formulas, since it refers to bread as to the great, ancient symbol of life. Therefore the girl given away in marriage to a strange land says to her mother: "Oh, did you not have a piece of bread, A piece of bread and a glass of wine, So that you might not give me into the Turks' hand?" The self-lament of the heartless mother is touching precisely because it expresses the final collapse of the woman by means of metaphors general in meaning and remote from all personal implications and direct reality: "Now I am like a tree on the roadside: Whoever passes there, Can break down my branches, Break down my branches, Treading on them in the mire."

Each genre has its own typical, obligatory point of elevation from which to look back upon life, the amount of details to be made distinct of it and those which are blurred. The difference of altitude in this sense does not mean a difference in the measure of value between methods of approach aiming at details or summary

representation: it simply indicates differences of the various genres. Every genre offers a special closeness to reality, the lens of its camera, which may take in the general from different points of proximity or remoteness. Realistic and naturalistic novels approach reality by describing individual traits of persons: the ballad does the same by representing types in a summary way. Difference of measure of value occurs—in the pejorative sense—only when the ballad includes something not typical of its point of altitude, something which it should not consider at all; that is to say, when it enters into details in the manner of other genres.

This method of throwing light onto the world from an elevated point is typical both of the tragic and the comic ballads. The winning of the girl's love in The Marvellous Corpse **(68.)** is brought to expression simply by the scene in which the sham-dead young man jumps up and embraces his sweetheart, the conclusion follows without saying. How fine and exact the picture of the girl giving birth to her baby in The Bride Brought Back **(83.)** is when the bridemaids say: "Give us, give us your fine linen shirt... So that we may use it as baby's napkin, Your silken handkerchief as wrapping cloth!" The same distance of approach is brought out by the application of symbols in folk poetry; transmissive turns of figurative speech achieved by recourse to flower and fruit symbols are abounding in lyrical folksongs ever since the Middle Ages. This technique provides possibility for the expression of physical love from a "height of elevation". "Éva, sweetheart Éva, Plums are ripe now, The underneath is covered with them, We are going to pick them up by dawn. I wish this dawn Would last long, So that love Would never be ended!" "Blue violet droops its head to mourn. Heavenly dew does not water its stem. Fall, dew, to the stem of the blue violet! Now I have found a true love." Love is expressed here from the same point of elevation as the act of violence in the French ballad where three robbers bury the girl's corpse in the "shadow of violet", and in the corresponding Hungarian ballad **(19.)** where the heyducks sit down with the girl in the "shadow of the briar". The unmarried mother who kills her baby **(23., 24.)** walks to the flower-garden, which is a symbol of love, and lies down at the foot of the "walnut-tree", and we know immediately that a love-plot begins, which becomes quite clear later at the scene of questioning. In contrast, the act of love-making, or the frustraction of it, when related in an outspoken way in Danish and British ballads, appears to be rather coarse: even the phrase "he had his will" seems to drop from the said point of elevation. For example, in *Child* 112 (the English correspondence of the "Occasion manquée"), the outwitted young man announces: "When you haue your owne true-loue A mile or twine out of the town, Spare not for her gay clothing, But lay her body flat on the ground." This is why Jones states that the English and Scottish ballads are coarser than the French ballads. "Love is the favourite subject and its expression, while often very free, is generally devoid of coarseness found in some English and Scottish ballads." (34–55). In the latter case, the French ballad ends with the derisive words of the girl: "You must feather the bird while it is in your hands."

Of course, this "distance" cannot be expressed with a numerical accuracy, although the differences of relative altitudes can be clearly felt, as well as things standing at the same level can be clearly ascertained. For example, lyrical folk poetry moves at the same level as balladry. The expression of sorrow in ballads,

e.g.: "May God grant me rather a merry supper, A light disease after the merry supper, And departure from the world at a beautiful, crimson dawn!" reaches us from the same height as sorrow expressed in the tone of a folksong: "If I were a running water, I should not know sorrows. Among hills and valleys I should flow nicely and slowly. I should wash banks, I should refresh grass. To thirsty birds I should give to drink." Or: "Wheat has to get ripe Because it is blown at by many good winds. The heart has to break, Because it is affected by many sorrows." Or:

"On the way I walk, even the trees are weeping,
Leaves are falling from their tender twigs.
Fall, leaves, hide me,
For my sweetheart loves someone else.

The road is weeping in front of me, the path grieves,
Even it says to me: May God bless you.
May God bless you with all His wealth,
Like the violet of the garden with precious scent."

Folk texts are not always able to keep this height, not even the best types in all their variants. The wonderful passage of curse in The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death **(27.)** is swollen and diluted in many variants. Even less able are to preserve this height the individual compositions: the peasant authors' attempts at versifying some local event, poets' experimentations in composing counterfeit folk ballads or epic songs in the ballad style, very often mingled with real ballads in the publications, bear witness enough of the fact. Relevant examples are furnished by many an extemporized Moldavian ballad text (cf. page II., 254), or *Child* 211, of which one single stanza is enough to make us realize the difference in the "angle of poetic vision". "Old Grahame called for an account, And he asked what was for to pay: There he paid a crown, so it went round, Which was all for good wine and hay." (St. 7.)

The use of formulas belongs to the sphere of stylization of the ballad: such formulas present characters and situations by means of pictures matured to the rank of a type. When in various ballads the heroine appears "Sewing (embroidering) in the window", when the sweetheart of a suicidal lover whispers over the corpse, dying: "May my blood flow in one stream with yours...", or when the heroine of the Danish ballad "walks to the rose-grove", then poetic metaphors are applied, matured to types which present the summary picture of emphatic traits.

In point of fact, the story related in the form of a dialogue is not a mere dramatic representation but it is at least to the same extent a stylized narrative as well. By this method the ballad also serves the basic rule of the genre: it is selective, grappling the most important moments of the narrative, that is, it makes us look at the events from the "elevated angle of vision". The same method is applied in other genres of folk poetry, so in the lyrical songs, in which the tendency to stylize is even more explicit. To a great extent, folk poetry is a poetry of gestures: it visualizes a movement, a turning towards somebody, a speech addressed to somebody even in case there is but one sole character involved: a person embodying sentiments like an

unknown 'X' who is apt to express, by way of substitution, anybody's feelings. Pseudo-dialogues are typical feature of love lyrics. "The window of the Vargas Is decorated with roses... It is so decorated Because Péter Garzó is walking there ... Hey, Julcsa, come out! Péter is already waiting for you outdoors! I should know it if he were waiting for me, Because then my heart would be throbbing...." Such imaginary addresses come up every now and then in folksongs. "Come this way, not that way! There is a better way here than there. Here is the little round way, The path of my sweetheart. Love me and not your mother, I sew your pledge-pants. For your mother gave you teats, But I, sweetheart, give you kisses!" Even more stylized than this is the address—with all its above-the-reality nature—in the following song:

"I am standing among hills and valleys.
Sorrow is killing my heart.
Hills and valleys, stand still for a while,
Let me tell my complaint to you!
My mother layed a curse on me,
When she brought me to life.
She uttered the curse
That I shall have the wide world as my country.
That I shall not have rest anywhere in it:
Briar-bush shall be my lodging."

The complaint receives its power of a direct appeal by referring to the imagined address to the wide world, still it remains impersonal. A device in Hungarian, as also in French, folk poetry is to address an imaginary speech to a bird.

"A black cloud is gathering there,
A black raven is feathering in it.
Stop, raven, stop, let me send word by you
To my father, my mother, and my betrothed sweetheart!
If they ask you how I fare,
Tell them, that I am a prisoner,
In a strange land I am an exile.
Oh, if I could see my beloved ones once again,
I should be relieved of my lonely heart's sorrows."

Many folksongs start with such metaphors. Sometimes the gesture appears in one portion of the song, namely embedded in the set of complaints delivered in third person.

"The wood is beautiful when it is green,
When the turtle-dove is brooding in it.
The turtle-dove is like the girl:
Her heart is yearning with pain for the lad.
I am not to blame for anything,
My dear mother is to blame for everything.

Why did she not give me to the one
Whom I had chosen for myself.
God has dealt heavily with me, but I don't mind.
The leaves of the fig-tree have fallen.
Leaf of the fig-tree, heal me!
Come, my old true lover, kiss me!"

Finally, if the folksong presents glimpses of a low-life scene, say of the shepherds, instead of sentiments, then we are brought onto the verge of the epic (narrative) in verse.

"It is two weeks, maybe three,
That I am waiting for the husband shepherd to come.
There he is coming as I can see,
On back of his donkey whose belly is like a swallow's.
Good day to you, my brave hand!
Is there any harm done to me?
There is no harm to you, neither will be, I bet,
Until I have this flock in my hands.
Do you say, there is no harm to me?
Where is then my bell-wether?
Dogs have drunk up its blood,
The Jew has taken away its hide."

Examples of this kind of dialogue style can be quoted not only from the living folklore of the Hungarians but in French folk poetry parallels can be found in mediaeval folk-style or popular pieces of the *chanson de toile,* of which more will be said below. I am convinced that this form of presentation had been given in folk poetry from the earliest times, and that only a plot of some realistic narrative was needed to include this dialogue style in order to bring about the dramatic method of performance of the ballad.

Stylization, that is elevation above the level of every-day life, in ballads is also served by the use of standing epithets, like little running boy, white crispy lamb, poor orphan woman. One of these: the Hungarian *"szép"* (beautiful), the English "fair", the Danish "stolt", "skjön", the German "schön", the French "belle", and even "bele" of former times, fulfils a distinguished role in balladry. These attributes are applied to heroines primarily. But there is more implied than mere bodily beauty. *Fettich* (1959) demonstrated that the adjective in The Rivalry of Flowers **(89.)** has nothing to do with the physical meaning of the word "the *beautiful* corn-flower", "the beautiful grape-flower", since the latter, for example, has no "flower" taken in the common sense. (Besides, Christ's body is not symbolized by the flower but by the grain of corn, His blood not by the grape-flower but by wine.) That is to say, "beautiful" in balladry means something which is extraordinary, elevated and outstanding, in contradistinction with what is quotidian. The epithet, therefore, applies to the heroine of an exceptional event, in order to emphasize her physical beauty. (In like way, the attributes "gay" and "pretty" are applied to male figures in English ballads.)

The elevated style of presentation in ballads is brought out by the language as well. The ballad's language follows folk usage, it is dialectal, yet it is not a simple peasant parlance rhymed. It floats at the same height above quotidian life as the other elements of the ballad. Very often we hit upon turns in every nations' ballad poetry which strike us with their unusual wording.

There are numberless instances in which the expressions used in balladry (mostly untranslatable) are not properties of current usage of any time. We are faced with a specific poetic language, expiring a mood of archaic solemnity, and an immense power, which subjugates the fantasy of the listener. The same purpose is achieved by inversions. Of course, such elevated poetic beauty is not present in every ballad and in every variant. But it is a fact that every type matures solutions of exquisite beauty for the lyrical or dramatic climax of the narrative which will capture us in the best variants by the force of grand poesy. This is seen in the case of The Girl Taken to Heaven **(8.)** in which the mother laments her daughter: "My daughter, my daughter! You who has been in my flower-garden The tender honeycomb of my first swarm of bees, The wax of the tender honeycomb turning yellow, The smoke of the yellow wax spreading over the earth. Smoke spreading over the earth and flame reaching up to the sky!"

In general, the language of the ballad is simple and its solemnity is due to its selective method rather than to the multiplicity of shades, but the beauty of such lyrical passages rivals with that of the noblest style of poetry.

This poetic style avails itself of the figure of repetition, as shown in the above example. In earlier times this feature was considered characteristic of ballads, and even the generation of the genre was accounted for by it. This opinion held its own while the ballad was thought to be a product of the community which extemporized ballads while dancing at some festive occasion, and inventing the lines to follow during the time the recurring repetitive formulas were recited. Nobody gives credit to this theory nowadays, and nobody would think of a case of extemporization in connection with the quoted passage, rather of a formulation matured to the extreme limit. Anyway, the various kinds of repetitions can be found in the most diverse genres of folk poetry, among others in lyrical songs, in which no extemporization can be spoken of, and in which the repetition occurs invariably at each performance of the song. Notably, each line of the lyrical song quoted above is repeated during performance. This method represents the simplest form of repetition, very frequent also in balladry (cf. Hungarian Type **2,** No. *6,* stanzas 7, 10, 15, 18, 21, 23; Type **78.** No. *157,* Type **17.** No. *49,* Type **49.** and **55.,** and the very new Type **127.** as well as in French, Danish and English texts). In such instances a stanza mostly consists of two repeated lines. (If the lines are too long, then only one line is repeated.) Another form of repetition is when only the second half of the line is repeated at the beginning of the next line. In such cases the lines are connected in a cogwheel-like fashion, as in the quoted passage of The Girl Taken to Heaven, or in The Walled-up Wife:

"Twelve masons made counsel together
To build up the high castle of Déva,
To build it up for a half bushel of silver,
For a half bushel of silver, for a half bushel of gold."

(Cf. further **2**/*6*, stanzas 17 and 22, **2**/*7* stanza 10.) This kind of repetition is known to me only from the Hungarian material, and from some variants in the neighbouring language areas. A third solution is when the second part of the stanza is repeated in the beginning of the next stanza. For example, the ballad about Borbála Angoli may be quoted:

"Borbála Angoli had a tight skirt tailored,
It was shortening in the front, lowering in the back.

Shortening in the front, lowering in the back,
Her beautiful slender waist was becoming ever more stout."

(Cf. stanzas 4–5, Type **2**/*7*, stanzas 11–12 of same.) This is actually a more elaborate variant of the second type, having already an international spread: it is known with the French, and is rather frequent, with certain modifications, also with the Danes. To quote a French parallel:

"Derrièr chez nous
Y a-t-un ptit bois.
Nous y allions
Cueillir des noix. (Refr.)

Nous allions
Cueillir des noix.
J'en cueillis deux,
J'en mangis trois." (Refr.)

The Danes have a special term for this formula: *gentagellestrofe*. (*Dal* 1958.) For instance:

"Det gaar saa favert for Buestraeng
de rige Kjøbmaend de selje for Land,
Det gaar fast bedre i Fruerstue. (Refr.)

Det gaar fast bedre i Fruerstue,
de skjønne Jomfruer de give deres Tro.
De give deres Tro med hviden Haand. (Refr.)" (DgF 283.)

In variants known from courtly manuscripts we frequently encounter a construction in which the second half of the third line and the fourth line of the quatrain is repeated. This method is not unlike the one known from Hungarian ballads repeating half lines and extending repetitions through stanzas. Both the Hungarian and the Danish methods of such repetitions are linked up with ballads exclusively, and in my opinion both originate from French antecedents.

There is still another form, perhaps the fourth, of repetition; occasionally any line of the stanza can be repeated, and in this way various new forms are generated: AABC, ABBC, ABCC, ABAB. Such occasional repetitive forms come up very often in ballad texts, and perhaps there is no type in whose variants, one or another,

it is not detectable. Anyway, it is this technique of repetition that gave rise to the theory of improvisational method of generating ballads. But, it must be accentuated that these repetitive formulas are by no means hazy, insignificant elements of the ballad performance; on the contrary, they fulfil a very important formal function and are therefore consciously applied: they break the monotony of the constantly repeated closed stanzaic construction. It should be also considered that not only stanzas of text are involved in this case but also strophes of tune, the latter having a closed construction pattern similar to that of the text. Each stanza is sung to the same melody, each first line to the same tune section, every second to the second tune section, and so forth. Therefore it sounds pleasant if here and there a portion of the text is associated with some other melodic section. Repetition makes it possible that certain stanzas should deviate from the symmetric pattern of strophe to which it is sung. One single example will be sufficient to prove that such repetitions are by no means simple tools for making good defective memory of the singer. Text 22 (of Type **6.**) was recorded three times from one and the same informant: in 1932 she sang it to disc, in 1952 and 1954 to tape-recorder. Apart from very slight alteration of the first stanza (sits~ is), she performed the text uniformly, without variation or improvised portions added; at most the tune line suffered certain minor changes. And what have we in the first stanza? On all three occasions the four-sectioned strophe was coupled with only three lines of the text, but always with the same three, only in 1932 the third was repeated, in 1952 and 1954 the second (so that in the first instance the ABCC, in the second the ABBC form resulted). It is clear enough that the performer did not make recourse to repetition in order to aid his memory, still she made use of the facility, in two different forms at that! Obviously, she had been aiming at a fresh formal effect. The method, anyway, can be well exemplified by a special case of tune repetition, which also serves the variability of tune-text combination. In certain instances, namely, the text runs on in the usual way, but the second part of the tune is repeated; in other words, the continuation of the text is sung to the repeated second half of the tune, sometimes only two lines, sometimes longer passages are thus performed to the second part of the tune. This way not only variability but also points of emphatic presentation are served. Frequently enough, this facility is exploited in the concluding part of the ballad about The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death where the deceived girl lays curse on the judge: the singer, like a clogged gramophone, lets out the girl's curses, amounting sometimes to as many as four or five stanzas of the text associated with the second part of the melody, that is, with the third and fourth melodic sections. By this stubborn repetitive form he is able to render an exquisite characterization of the girl's state of mind.

Stanza 19. "Captain of the castle, I wish
That your bread should turn into stone,
That your bread should turn into stone,
Your washing water should turn into blood!
Lines 3–4. Your washing water should turn into blood,
Your towel should set aflame,

Lines 3–4. Your towel should set aflame,
Your horse's foot should stumble!
Lines 3–4. Your horse's foot should stumble,
The point of your pistol should turn against your heart!
Lines 3–4. The point of your pistol should turn against your heart,
So you should meet your death!"

(Péterfa, Gömör county, 1958.)

Also the performer of The Bride Dragged to Death (**11**/*34*) repeats the last melodic section, sometimes several times, sometimes with variation as well, so extending the four-lined text-strophe to five or six lines. All this is a possibility of formal variation which singers often make use of. Not only Hungarian singers, but also those of the neighbouring nations, Slovaks, Moravians, Croats; mostly in ballads, but not infrequently in lyrical songs, too. Beside consistent line-repetition, occasionally they also apply the various forms of repetitions described above. For instance, *Bartók* 1959, No. 186a:

1. "Stála bitka, stála, Stála bitka, stála,
s pánom Mel'ichera, s pánom Mel'ichera.
. . . . . .
5. Käd'e prisieu domou. Käd'e prisieu domou,
za stol'ik si sadou, za stol'ik si sadou.
6. Za stol'ik si sadou, za stol'ik si sadou,
hlávku si podpreu, hlávku si podpreu."

Consequently, I think it is out of the question that text-repetition should be ascribed to the credit of *chance* formulation. In certain Moldavian ballads the text is swollen to 50 or even 70 stanzas, interspersed with occasional, random and not always poetic portions, yet we can find hardly any repetitive formulas in them; or at least not more than what we have in more mature texts. What is worthy of repetition is always a finished piece of beauty, always concise of formulation, devoid of all hazy filling elements. Such portions of text will not be worn out by the repetition, on the contrary, they will be more effective at second hearing when the listener's attention is pronouncedly directed to it. Already the singing performance will slow down the recitation of the text, giving special emphasis to every word in it. This effect has been reinforced when the recitative representation gave way to singing the text to strophic tune patterns which involved a broader melodic arch, better elaborated melody, increased retardation. The poetic beauty of the words can be better realized through a singing performance, perception, like in a slowed-down film, is deeper, and the same effect is enhanced by the use of repetitive form. What the genre as a whole has won by the condensed and accelerated style can be restored in some way in order to achieve a novel effect: if each word of the text is emphatic, then it is worth-while repeating each of its words, or the most important ones, during performance.

The strophe-repetitive form (incremental repetition) is a particularly interesting one (Nos **60–77**), therefore special mention should be made of it. This is

very frequent in ballads, although other genres use it as well. This is the form that gave rise to most debates in connection with the origin of the ballad. The English literature terms it "incremental repetition", the German "Gerüststrophenlied". The special terms indicate that science has suspected something very important in the existence of this form. This is the verse-form which has been brought into closest relation with the technique of improvisation. Only one line, or one portion of a line had to be added, and the narrative received a powerful impetus. But the relating theory fails to explain who was responsible for the invention of the "Gerüst" (the frame) within which only certain elements had to be changed. After all, no slight degree of inventiveness is needed to express a sound story, even a parable, condensed in such "formulas". And this is the form which offers so typical method for stylization in balladry as to render the plot, so to say, an abstract formula. One can hardly accept this form as one that had existed in primitive times giving rise to the method of repetition. The variable parts of the text find their place in the invariable stanza, pushing forward the narrative content, which can hardly be called a "plot", in a way that from step to step the image of a former event is drawn **(60.)**; or else the gradation carries the narrative towards a well-prepared dénouement. But the "point" must be known in advance, it must have been foreseen by the inventor of the invariable stanza, together with all the variable elements, characters and other details in it. In this form, situations and actions are farthest from reality: one who has a poisonous snake in one's bosom has no time to see one's relatives asking them for help with long repetitive formulas; he who has been poisoned and half-dead when returning home will not have time enough to conduct a long talk with his mother, like János who was poisoned; gradations as come up in the form of dialogue in Crying János cannot be imagined in real life. What we have here is formulation relying on certain elements of reality and according to the laws of psychology: gradation up to the final point is a requirement of human thinking, therefore we accept it as reality, even though only details of reality are present in it, as remote reflections of actual life. A particular application of this artistic form occurs in ballads composed of not a single repetitive stanza, but sometimes of three differently worded stanzas recur at different places of the narrative, possibly alternating with inserted narrative stanzas of no repetitive character. (Cf. The Marvellous Corpse, **68.**, The Prince preparing to Marry, **75.**, and The Speaking Corpse, **65.**)

Yet, in spite of all its untenability, the view according to which this form derives from a primitive inventive method was not wide apart from truth. While this form cannot be regarded as primitive, there is another one, that of the "chanson énumérative" (cumulative song) which looks back upon a long past. We are thinking of songs, mainly children's games, connecting always some "new" element to the standing formulas. Hungarian children used to sing the following song: "The master has gone to the field... So-and-So (name) has gone with him...", and another boy joins, then still another, the initial player. Similarly: "I went to the market with half penny, I bought a hen with my half penny...Still I have my half penny", adding always a new animal's name to the game, until "My half penny was spent". Many such songs are known among the French, including those with a witty point at the end. For example: The dry stalk and the little bird. The same is extant in

prose form in Hungary, but the French sing it in its versified variant. (*Vargyas* 1960, 13–14.) In Hungarian, the dry stalk does not want to rock the little bird, therefore the latter asks the goat to eat the dry stalk, which the goat refuses to do, so it asks the stick to strike the goat, then the fire to burn the stick, then the water to quench the fire, then the calf to drink the water, then the butcher to slaughter the calf—and here comes the twist: as the butcher is about to slaughter the calf, the objects and animals all make haste to comply with what the little bird asked them to do, and finally the dry stalk is willing to rock the little bird. The same gradations occur in the French story, the difference being that at the starting point the wolf does not want to come out of the woods, and the dog refuses to bark at it. (*Ampère* 236 "L'y a un loup dedans un bois".) Only one step is needed that such an enumeration be complemented with a real point and the additive parts turned into gradations; if the playful theme is replaced by a human problem: a test of love, cajoling, love affair, and so on, the strophe-repetitive ballad springs forth. And it used to be a characteristic formal device of mediaeval peasantry.

Is the term *form* appropriate in this case? Yes, it is. An almost purely formal play with external structural elements is involved here. Content? Yes, it implies a method of presenting reality in an abstract way, on the psychological plain. Form and content at the same time: a poetic method with which reality, caught in a cliché pattern, can be transformed into a piece of poetry, according to the gift of the ballad.

Stanzas with a refrain are widespread in European balladry. This is often hard to discern from the stanza-repetitive form. When the refrain bears some intrinsic relation to the content, it stands near to the stanza-repetitive form in which the standing formulas are added in special stanzas to the variable parts. But the refrain is rather characterized by its having no inner connection with the rest of the stanza, and sometimes it consists of additional, meaningless words only. Refrains are of rare occurrence in Hungarian ballads, and in Hungarian folk poetry as a whole. Still there are examples: **60., 61., 89., 75., 124., 129., 132.**

As a rule, Hungarian ballads content themselves with the use of certain simple types of lines and stanza constructions. Most of their stanzas consist of four lines, mainly because most of the Hungarian folksongs are made up of four melodic sections, which are isometric. But a considerable part of Hungarian ballads are associated with foreign tunes, therefore forms of 3, 5–6 lines, and other stanzaic patterns are not infrequent in them. Sometimes the stanzas are built up of heterometric lines. There is one form, however, which is completely missing from Hungarian as well as European balladry, the so-called stychic form, which is not articulated into stanzas at all. This is typical of the heroic song. True to say, early collections contain texts not articulated into stanzas, either because the collector did not record the relevant tunes and the publisher could not identify them, or because—even if he could identify them—it was not customary to present the text broken up into stanzas. Nevertheless, only the manner of publication was so, not that of the performance, which must have been the same of old as nowadays. Therefore it is not difficult to break up inarticulated publications into stanzas. If we refrained from so doing in our text publications, we started out from the consideration that repetitions mainly associated with the second part of the melodic

structure would not allow a mechanical partition into stanzas of four lines, and that restoration without a knowledge of the original marking would have resulted in arbitrary divisions.

Most frequently, the Hungarian ballad stanzas of four, three or six lines include lines of six, eight or twelve syllables. Even stanzas consisting of heterometric lines will combine, as a rule, these three types of lines. But most of the classical Hungarian ballads are composed of four lines, of eight, six, or twelve syllables each. Heterometric stanzas mainly occur in old ballads made to suit tunes borrowed from foreign sources or from art music. The new Hungarian ballads, particularly the outlaw ballads, very often apply the widespread lines of new-style Hungarian folksongs, such as the ten- and eleven-syllabic forms. (Cf. **24., 108., 114., 127.,** etc.) The two last-mentioned varieties are fully unknown in old ballad texts, or occur very exceptionally in certain looser stanza constructions with variable syllabic patterns—that is, by way of variation only. (**17**/*49 – 50.*)

This selective feature of old Hungarian ballads follows from the strict character of the genre, which is further brought out by another trait: they are not rhymed. The oldest relics of Hungarian balladry, in contrast to Western ballads, can do without rhymes. Only lately do rhymes appear in them in certain recordings, sometimes owing to the diligence of the collector.

In contrast to rhymes, surprisingly rich are the traces of alliteration in Hungarian ballads. (Cf. *Vargyas* 1955.) The practice of alliteration in ballads is very similar to that of early Hungarian poetry. (Miklós Zrínyi, seventeenth century, Albert Gyergyai: The Bella Istoria of Árgirus, sixteenth century.) Sometimes not only initial letters of words but also of lines are rhyming, and alliteration runs through lines occasionally; again, in one and the same time three different alliterative sets of sounds form a sequence. This is by no means mere chance occurrence. This is brought out by the fact that most alliterative sounds occur in fairly identical parts of the variants of ballads, further in standing formulas and epithets; that is to say, in the least eroded remains of the ancient ballad style. It is interesting, at the same time, that various alliterative solutions are found in the various texts of the same ballad, a circumstance which proves a widespread use of this poetic device.

We have to mention furthermore that Hungarian ballad tunes do not abound in dance-tune forms, on the contrary, the *parlando rubato* types are represented by a much higher number among them. More about this in the chapter about the tunes.

Having surveyed the features of content and form of the ballad, we must drop a few words about the manner of presentation, that is of performance, this being also a determining feature of the genre. It follows from the nature of the ballad that it is performed by singing. It is *sung* and not *performed,* in the stage meaning of the word. The singers will not colour their performance by changing tone, dynamics in order to characterize one or another figure, they will not "act" the event, not even by mimics. *Cecil Sharp* (1959) writes that his informants performed the ballads with their heads bent backward, with their eyes closed, and in a stiff posture. Performance with closed eyes has not been unknown to Hungarian collectors, but the stiff, solemn posture, the puritanistical though solemn, moved singing have been general with old singers to recent days. This was enough for them to raise the

story above everyday life—and with this they were content: the rest belongs to the ballad, since it is built on so many effects. Should they "act" it, then they, would introduce into the ballad some realistic touch of the quotidian which would be in conflict with "elevation" required by the ballad style. Passion, dialogue, characterization are implied in the text; as soon as you sing the text, you raise it into a sphere above reality, where an attempt at imitating or "acting" scenes of the real world would seem unfitting. The manner of performance perfectly agrees with what has been said above in connection with the *unity of style* prevailing in the selection of the subject, the way of formulation, the application of formal elements, and finally in the recreation of the ballad during performance. At the same time, it reveals something about the *sense of style* of the society in which the ballad used to flourish, and in which it was born, in my opinion. Many attempts have been made to contest the merit of peasant society in bringing about this genre, whereas it has, and only it has had the sense to sound the ballad authentically. Other social layers are used to a different style of interpretation, having been trained to enjoy more realistic genres, that is genres more stuck to life as regards manner of presentation. But all the tricks of a more sophisticated interpretation the peasantry was able to dispense with. Only solemn attentiveness was required for them, because they knew that they were witnessing reality above quotidian, and therefore they did not insist on performing the ballad in the realistic way of everyday life. They sang the ballad in a stiff, solemn posture and they listened to it in a rapture, in a stiff posture, with faces transfigurated in a solemn anxiety, for they were aware that they were singing and hearing not about reality but about the *judgement* of the community concerning the *realities of life*.

Having clarified the true nature of the ballad, the features which enabled it to replace an earlier epic genre in the course of development of folklore creation, now we can discern true ballads from compositions which are not real ballads. Therefore I left out of my former tabulation of ballad themes all those English and German ballads which cannot be fitted in the new category. As appeared from subsequent criticisms, certain British-ballad fans were taken aback at the rigour with which I sifted out a number of ballads from the Child collection. And so were German researchers at seeing my treatment of some of the pieces included in the D. Vlr. As regards the English readers, however, they had no reason to be surprised, for I have not been the first to sift out the questionable ballad-like compositions; several decades before my former book was published, distinguished English scholars had done the same already. The two *Chadwicks,* surveying in their work *The Growth of Literature* the epics and other archaic genres in the range of peoples and different epochs discern "international" ballads from "native" English ballads, denoting definite types by the terms. (N. B., the third volume of their work which contains the relevant results, got in my hand only after the publication of my former book, during one of my study tours abroad.) By "native" they mark the pieces falling within the sphere of themes concerning the feud between the English and the Scots, practically the same types *Seemann* characterized as themes of warfare and clashes between English and Scots. Of these, and particularly of two famous specimens of the class, the Chevy Chase (*Child* 162) and The Battle of Otterburn (*Child* 161), they say the following: "Both in interest and in milieu these poems differ as much as

possible from international ballads. Indeed they seem to us to have nothing in common with the latter except metre; and one cannot but think that the practice of including them under the same term is misleading... Both poems are typically heroic." (III, 685.) In contrast, the term "international" is applied by them to poems dealing with general human problems ("timeless-nameless category"), which are indeed international in nature, while the warlike epic pieces are specifically British, remaining within the boundaries of the language area. Of these they say: "Native ballads on the other hand belong as a rule to the heroic and 'postheroic' categories." (p. 684.) "The term 'heroic' may also be applied to ballads which are concerned with outlaws, such as 'Adam Bell' (116) and a large group of poems relating to Robin Hood (117–154)". (pp. 685–86.) Of the minor epics termed postheroic of the late feudal times they write the following: "The native ballads depict a very rough society and many brutal deeds; but they do not give the impression that one has left the world of reality." That is, they are not telling about stylized, generally valid events of the "timeless-nameless category" but always of some detail of reality presented in an unstylized manner, together with its personal implications and local interests. ("The interest, however, is exclusively personal.")

They go even further than that, stating that the feuds, raids involved in the warfares of clans show a striking agreement with sixteenth and seventeenth-century Serbian heroic songs. "The poems of this period as a whole bear a rather striking resemblance to Yugoslav heroic poems of the time of the hajduci of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after the Turkish conquest... The resemblance is doubtless due to the prevalence of similar political conditions along a border which was not effectively controlled." The *Child* numbers they cite as examples largely coincide with those I have left out of the scope of balladry. (116–154, 159–165, 168–169, 172, 175–177, 179, 186–189, 193, 195, 202, 205, 231, and those referring to sea battles.) It is to be noted that also they hold what I have taken up as criteria of true ballads: they are international of character, identical or similar among several nations.

Late feudal, postheroic minor epic lived side by side with the ballad, and even survived the latter's peak of flourish. Therefore it took over the ballad metre; in many instances even the language is the same. But the heroic song had a stage of development preceding that of the ballad. Notably, in Europe the classical heroic poetry was transformed in late-mediaeval times; it was gradually replaced by the *romance,* in which the miracle elements of the ancient heroic epic was already exploited exclusively to delight the audience. As *Bowra* (544) puts it: "It is a conscious exploitation of the marvellous for pleasure." "Such a change has occurred in more than one country, but its most famous manifestation is in mediaeval France. At some time in the twelfth century heroic poetry began to change its character. Whereas hitherto, in such poems as *Roland,* the emphasis had been on the fate of great warriors, it now shifted to fancy and sentiment." (p. 543.) Huon de Bordeaux and Raoul de Cambrai are mentioned by him: "It may still use the episodes and characters of heroic poetry, but in a different way with a new intention." (p. 543.) As to their authors, he states: "It is a more personal and more subjective art and rises in more sophisticated conditions." *(ibid.)* This is, then, the heroic epic transformed to suit the chivalric tastes and prevalent in the learned

circles before the ballad took shape. And so it reached the populace. While the earlier heroic song was, in his opinion, "... communal, traditional and impersonal," *(ibid.)* the romance was "individual, enterprising and personal". *(ibid.)* Characteristic is further the difference of style: "They choose their words with more care, tend to avoid formulae, and, if they use devices like repetition, do so for a conscious purpose." (p. 552.) In this way, therefore "... heroic poetry passes into conscious, literary narrative." *Bowra* attributes a great significance to the musical change in the course of this transformation. It seems as if they had been bore of the "recitative", and brought about great epics in the twelfth century which were not performed in the former recitative strain but dismembered into stanzas, that is, coupled with melodic strophes. Such chivalric great epics telling about love are the Nibelungenlied and The Knight in the Tiger's Skin by the Georgian *Rustaveli.*

As can be seen, several elements typical of the ballad's innovation appear in the great courtly epic: love as an all-transpiring theme, strophic construction, that is, narrative sung to strophic melody. It is not mere chance that certain romances had demonstrably developed into ballads. In connection with the relationship of tales and ballads Archer Taylor states: "Ballads associated with medieval romances are more numerous than those associated with märchen, and the connections are clearer, more certain, and more direct." (p. 114.) For example: *Child* 17, 19, 29, 34, 59, 85, 266, 271. The first maintains a remote relationship with the Hungarian Two Chapel Flowers, while the rest come under the classification of the *Chadwicks'* "native" category, and indeed they are not international, also their style being personal and going into details.

Adaptations not recast—as the majority of those mentioned above—and such ones which turned into a real ballad—show that the romance and its abridged popular forms stand nearer to the ballad than do the former heroic songs, primarily owing to their tendency to depict love and emotions in general, that is to their "closer human interests". The earlier heroic song would have been useless for the ballad in this respect. In connection with the Russian *bilina*s Propp writes: "The singers do not say anything about the psychic condition of Nastasya, as the epic songs, in general, pay no heed to the hero's or heroine's complicated feelings. ... We have to emphasize that the moment of love is not known to the epic song of the earlier stages... while it is present in the Russian epic... notably, Potyk already is possessed with passion." In so far, therefore, the romance and the later Russian epic overbridge the distance between the heroic songs and the ballad. This accounts also for the presence of certain epic themes in the sphere of "international" ballads, formulated in a similar way in several language areas.

It goes without saying that the "new" I have pointed to above did not always mean something which was non-existent before. Certain earlier themes of other genres found their way to the ballad because they yielded to the spirit of the new genre either transformed or in their original conception. Old epic theme is, for instance, the husband's appearance at his wife's wedding with some other man. But whereas in epic poetry this theme always concerned restoration of the husband's former position after many adventures, the ballad invariably concentrates on the love tie between husband and wife, or on the dissolution of such ties. (French 114,

D. Vlr. 11.) Further themes belonging in these spheres are: the eloped sweetheart gives birth to her child in a wood (D. Vlr. 7, French 87, Dgf 270–271); the wife attempting to poison her husband (French 16, *Nigra* 56, *Child* 187—this last-mentioned one not being a real ballad); enticing the girl by a man disguised as a female (French 61, *Child* 303, D. Vlr. 6, Dgf 20); all inherited from mediaeval epic songs, together perhaps with the motif of incest. We do not mention here cases in which an epic theme or certain motifs thereof are transformed into a ballad in a way that the *theme* or its *character* undergoes a substantial change, and only certain details of formulation remain to betray the epic origin. This is the only method epic elements were incorporated in Hungarian ballads, this is the only way that radically transfigurated portions of mythic heroic songs got into ballads.

The ballad may have taken over themes from other genres as well in the above sense. Special examination is needed, for example, to clarify what it has in common with the tale, which is related to the epic poetry, as has been seen above. Also the ballad areas regarded by Seemann as most typical include elements of the paraphernalia typical of the fairy tale.

Archer Taylor (1964) assembled the list of themes the tale and the ballad have in common in the British and German material, collected by *Child* and the D. Vlr, without any regard, however, to the selective principle required by a stricter generic determination. Yet he had to state that hardly any ballad can be directly derived from tales. He refers to the following numbers: *Child 1,* which cannot be taken for a real ballad, 2, 10, 44—in the last example it is doubtful if the Scottish formulation can be separated from the French Les métamorphoses (French 79), since it represents a transformation of the latter in the spirit of folktales—45 "The only occurrence of the tale in folksong", states *Taylor,* anyway corresponding to the Hungarian **79,** The Girl Who Solves Riddles—246, 267, 275, 278, these four being restricted to Anglo-Saxon areas. In many cases he establishes only a "general resemblance". Of the rare agreements between tale and ballad, most remarkable is the theme of the Maple Flute (*Child* 10, DgF 95, Hungarian **94:** The Three Girls Picking Berries). In Hungarian, this last-mentioned ballad probably owes its existence to broadside mediation, although it must be an old development in Scandinavia. In Hungarian, the low number of correspondences is rather surprising, if we consider how abundantly such agreements are found in Scottish and Scandinavian balladry. *Taylor* concludes: "Although motifs from märchen are abundant, very few ballads are derived from märchen." And later: "The rather small number of either English or German parallels is not surprising. Ballads and tales differ greatly. Tales are of various kinds and märchen in particular are not suited for use in folksongs. A märchen consists of several episodes and has a beginning, a middle, and an end: a ballad, novella, jest or saga consists typically of one incident." (p. 112.)

Märchen elements can be demonstrated hardly in one or two instances in Hungarian ballads. There is only one ballad theme which has been fully borrowed from tale, The Girl Who Solves Riddles, mentioned above **(79).** And there is one single tale motif, that of the saliva speaking in place of the heroine in The Girl Escaped from the Turks **(30),** which has anyway a rather hazy plot. The motif of devil in some of the Hungarian ballads also originates in tales, but even this comes

up mainly in corrupt variants, dissolved in prose, and in such contexts from which it can be clearly seen that the overwhelming part of the formulation, and the plot itself, did not include the motif as an original constituent of the ballad. **(11., 26.,** and the one single text of **41.)** Consequently, the Hungarian material contains even fewer correspondences than the English or German. Similar is the situation in French balladry, in which perhaps the only märchen theme is that of Blanche biche (French 6.).

The next literary genre which also *Taylor* considered to be a ready source for ballads is that of the novella, and let us add in advance, its precursor, the mediaeval fabliau. In this case, however, the presentation in prose means a line of demarcation which can not be crossed even if the ballad adopts the theme hide and hair; namely, it has to be reformulated in verse, which means re-creation. Nor can it be always established which developed first: a mediaeval romance, or possibly an abridged popularized form thereof, or a renaissance novella. Such is the question in connection with the ballad of The King's Son and a King's Daughter. (Hungarian **37.,** the theme of Hero and Leander, French 56, D. Vlr. 20., *Nigra* 7.) As regards subject-matter, certain European ballads maintain relationship with late mediaeval—renaissance novellas, and even earlier mediaeval elaborations of the themes. Probably the source in such instances had not been some literary novella in prose but some mediaeval verse. A Boccaccian novella extending to twelve printed pages cannot be reasonably paralleled by a ballad of 54 (or 60) lines, to mention the Hungarian The Daughter of the Pagan King **(38.)** or its English correspondence, *Child* 269. Not a single episode of a novella can reach the stage of condensation typical of a ballad. Nor is it aimed at the same time at a similar conciseness, as a rule.

Another important possibility of correlation was established by *Siuts* (1962) in German folk tradition: the connections of ballads and sagas or other folk narratives. He found agreements in ten themes (of which three exist in the English material: *Child* 10, 59, and 272).

In this case "narrative" or "saga" ("legend") implies hardly more than some conception of folk belief, as in the case of the Hungarian Walled-up Wife **(2.)** based on a popular belief of yore, having at the same time no connection whatever in its formulation with the legend. This element of legend must be taken for a theme only, like any other event borrowed from life, for instance a murder out of jealousy. Here the conflict between the members of a family is due to a belief—which may or may not have been given credit to by the shapers of the ballad—but which had to be formulated, as a veritable domestic conflict theme, in the language of the ballad.

More important than any other literary antecedent from the point of view of the ballad is the French *chanson de toile* or *chanson d'histoire*. (*Cf. Roger-Payen*, 35, *Lanson*, 84, *Des Granges*, 90, all in the wake of the fundamental work of *Jeanroy*, and above all, *Faral* 1946.) Earlier, this genre was originated from the twelfth century and considered a folk or popular creation. *Faral* has demonstrated that they could not be earlier than the dates when the first specimens belonging to this genre were recorded, that is the first half of the thirteenth century, and that they were compositions of poets instead of songs of spinning females. They are love stories interwoven with dialogues, presenting amatorial adventures of by no means reluctant princely or courtly dames who detest their husbands. A common scene in

them is that of the heroines shown sitting in their bowers, spinning or working over embroidery, dreaming or speaking of their lovers. The constant epithet of their names is *bele*. Unquestionable stylistic agreements connect them to the earlier genre of the *chanson de gest*; Faral quotes word-for-word parallels and epic turns to show the correspondences. On the other hand, they are shorter, extending to thirty or forty isometric lines of refrained couplets, with identical rhymes in each couplet.

As can be seen, they have several traits to relate them to the ballad: short narrative related in dialogues, love as exclusive theme, strophic musical form, the epithet *bele* of the sewing-embroidering heroine. Not even the courtly environment marks them off sharply from the ballad.

At the same time, no real conflict occurs in them, not even a plot, in the true sense of the term: rather they express sensual desire to be realized at the plane of fulfilment. The sewing-embroidering girl of ballads is always seen from *outside* as she is sitting in the window or walking to the balcony to take a seat in the golden chair, as people usually caught glimpse of them; here, however, they are shown from *inside*, conversing with the mother, or thinking of the lover, that is as people of their social class were wont to see them. For the sake of comparison, let us mention one of the most remarkable products of this genre, the Bele Aiglentine, with its closest parallel in the ballad sphere, The Disgraced Girl. Bele Aiglentine is embroidering in her bower. Her mother is looking at her "noble body" stating that she is pregnant. The girl is not secretive at all, she tells her mother by whom she has been made pregnant. The mother sends her to her lover to arrange things, which takes place in the course of a short dialogue and another love-making, and so the "bele" is married by her sweetheart. Well, the Hungarian Borbála Angoli is not actually embroidering, though she might be after the fashion of many Hungarian and European ballad correspondences, in which the girl's condition is detected while she is embroidering, but it is a vast difference that when detected, the girl tries to hide her state. The mother is never understanding, rather she sends her to be executed by the hangman. The girl calls her lover, who arrives late, and dies after his sweetheart. Details agree, but the basic situation is a world's difference.

Nevertheless, whether considered to have been popular dramatic love-songs or poetic compositions, we see unconditionally direct precursors of the ballad in them. They represent transitional forms from the *chanson de gest* to the ballad, or else the literary influence which emanated some two or four generations before the ballad was born, fertilizing the poetry of the French people. This way, from the frivolous love-scene the ballad sprang forth with all its capacity of intense conflicts.

The earlier heroic epic songs gave way to epic poems and romances in late-mediaeval times. The carriers of traditional epic songs rose to the rank of poets: like *Chrestien de Troyes, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Rustaveli.* Their poetry became literature for the literate and relating circles, while the lower ranks, forsaken by their "specialists", continued to develop a social and artistic aspiration of their own. They were acquainted with many things the literary life of the sophisticated ones had brought about; they accepted what suited their tastes but always in the "timeless-nameless category" of the impersonal objective and collective spirit of folklore, which produced ultimately a communal branch of poetry, a genre appealing to all, reproducible by all: *the ballad.*

THE METHOD OF COMPARISON

No theory of folklore can exist without a disciplined method of comparison. The only means to bring order into the medley of folklore products of different peoples is comparative study, which enables us to trace the origin and trends of dissemination of certain genres, to ascertain the changes that took place in the course of their adaptation. It is by this that we may obtain answers to so important questions as are connected with the place of generation of folklore themes, the circumstances in which they appeared, the social conditions of their spreading, the psychology of their transformation, the essential features of their national properties, and their poetic quality. All this applies to balladry. Solid comparative results are necessary; otherwise we find ourselves baffled by misleading answers to the most important questions.

Ever since agreements have been discovered in the literature and folklore products of the various nations, it has been a general endeavour to explain agreements by making departure from one sphere to the other, and by supposing direct relationships between them. This was often the case when poetic achievements of distant peoples and remote ages came into the play: sometimes a culture and a nation was credited with having influenced very distant cultures or peoples. This school of tracing influences has evoked ever more objections, and the theory of polygenesis, according to which similar phenomena may come into life independently of each other has gained more and more room. Consequently, the theory of "typological agreements" established itself in the field of epic poetry, first of all in Russian folklore science, where it has been most influential. *Propp* (1958) then in his wake *Zhirmunsky* (1961) linked the primitive stories in which the hero sets out to acquire a wife to the dissolution of the clan society, pointing out that such stories always lead the hero through a series of trying adventures until finally he can lay down the foundation of the separate "family", a formation that was most timely actually. Consequently, the wife-acquisition stories extolled the foundation of the family. *Meletinsky* (1958) associated the story of Cinderella to this developmental stage, a type of tale in which the youngest—often a simpleton—child fallen out of the protective community represented the world-wide problem of the young who had been cheated out of their lawful rights. Such themes will occur regularly at distant points of the globe at various times, according as the peoples attain the corresponding phase of their development.

Such and similar imposing results inaugurated the current period of typological investigations in folklore research formerly dominated by the Finnish geographical school which was engaged in finding out the archetype. The latter school was transitorily crossed by a vogue of individuality investigations as an outbranch of the functional trend. Consequently, nowdays folklorists, for the most part, try to carry out typological examinations, looking suspiciously at those

researchers who have an idea of possible agreements demonstrable by means other than typological.

How are things, then, approached from the typological angle in the domain of ballad research? One thing is clear: we are dealing with a genre that presents itself within a restricted temporal and spatial compass. Most researchers maintain that the European ballad developed in the thirteenth to fifteenth century, and that it reached its stage of flourishing in that span of time in the European peasant societies. Subsequently, emigrants made known the ballad to peoples in North- and South America, Australia and India, the Russians disseminated in Siberia. In any case, emigrant Europeans must have spread what they had had before in their countries; that is to say, the ballad had its place or origin in a relatively narrow geographical area and it developed simultaneously under by and large identical cultural conditions of different nations in that area.

It should be held in view further that within the scope of ballads we have to work up not one or another theme but numerous spheres of themes, and that each sphere includes the possibility of combining several themes, series of events or actions and types. Typical ballad theme is cruelty to members of the family and even the murder of one of them. This broadly defined thematic circle includes in Hungarian balladry the following types: The Heartless Mother **(9.)**, Three Orphans **(6.)**, The Test of Love **(69.)**, The Cruel Mother-in-Law **(28.)**, The Wife Kicked to Death **(39.)**, János Who Was Poisoned **(60.)**, The Murdered Sister **(61.)**, The Bewitched Son **(62.)**. In English, the same sphere is represented by eleven types (*Child* 11–14, 49, 51, 87, 95, 194, 261); in French by twelve. Obviously, social circumstances give actuality to certain groups of theme but they cannot determine in what form a possible theme should be elaborated, and even less so the details of formulation with which the various peoples seek to express these themes with a higher or lower efficacy. What is more, it is not one or another thematic sphere that is the carrier of some specific typological properties, for there are characteristic thematic spheres which are present in one language area and absent in another; but the ballad themes as a whole, and the common traits of this ensemble, offer the criteria by which the poetic projection of certain social conditions can be really discovered through the media of the ballad.

If, therefore, we want to seek and find typological parallels to the ballad, we have to answer the question, where can we demonstrate the existence, outside the coherent European ballad area, of an ensemble of similarly elaborated themes which would entitle us to infer similar course of social development. In the Caucasian region (by courtesy of *Istvánovics*) there are traces to indicate parallelisms, but they are not yet properly scrutinized. What we know for the while being is wide apart from the explicit generic or social characteristics of the European ballad.

Let us add that communication among the various European nations—including their peasantry—was rather frequent in mediaeval times, and that also their social and cultural picture was fairly uniform: quick exchange of intellectual products was possible to a high degree among them.

The process of exchange, however, must be more closely examined even in the category of doubtless typological agreements. Both "typological" and "genetic"

correspondences can prevail in one and the same parallelism at a time. Let us think of peoples that lived in close contact with each other at a more or less identical stage of development in fairly large areas, for example the nomadic tribes of Inner Central Asia, the peoples of the steppe zone, the Germanic nations of the Great Migration Period, which always maintained connections with each other, at different stages of their internal development though, and which, over and above occasional contacts, often were forced to join a state organization of one or another stronger ethnic group actually dominating their living areas. In such instances the underdeveloped tribes must have imitated the artistic achievements of the more developed ones; they found ready-made examples which could be applied to their own conditions. Also the literary patterns must have been adopted as suitable means of expression for their own social problems and aspirations. This is the reason why so many partial agreements are encountered in the epic songs of the various Altaic peoples, such as the description of the wrestling heroes, the ideation of the enemy as a monster, and the like; also the folklore of the Germanic peoples abound in commonplaces of epic songs that must have been in general use among them in days of old. What is more, also in the legends of the Germans and the Georgians we find such identical formulations which cannot be considered mere typological coincidences but results of mutual contacts and borrowings. Let me refer in this context to the detail described by *Shirmunsky* (1961, pp. 72–73) in which the hero, made thirsty by strongly salted meat he was given to eat, is lured to the spring and killed while bowing to drink. No agreement of this nature can be explained by similarity of social development, especially when contacts between the two nations are not precluded by historical evidence. The Germanic peoples may have absorbed Caucasian elements during their migrations. For example, the Eastern Goths lived for a long time in the coastal regions of the Eastern Pontus. In my mind, the illustrious author listed this detail erroneously among his typological parallels.

When such details of text are found to agree in themes related to certain phases of social development of several peoples' folklore tradition, we must think of more than mere typological correspondences; although such correspondences also prevail, in this case we are dealing with texts which reflect several peoples' specific levels of distinct social evolution; nevertheless, the one must have borrowed it from the other.

Individual connections of motifs, of certain sets of typical details, and peculiar combinations of ideas cannot be products of a given social and historical stage of development. By analyzing these we may find points of orientation within the scope of "typological coincidences", determining whether a unit of formulation is original or an adaptation, and if the case is the latter, what was its trend of dissemination, how it was transformed in the new media, and the like.

The crucial question is if we can or cannot distinguish certain signs to indicate an adaptation, for all the further questions to be answered are dependent on this. The Finnish geographical school paid much attention to this question, and even today we cannot follow a better way than to establish—by sifting out corrupt portions that did not originally form part of the thematic elaboration—the donor and the acceptor, and the trend of diffusion. It is out of the question, however, to

resort to the procedure which wanted to infer the archetype, eventually in a word-for-word presentation, and possibly even in its phonetic appearance. In my opinion, already the archetype lived in forms of variants, as we cannot believe in the possibility of a once-for-all formulation of a text, which later was subject to processes of deterioration; much more can we suppose a contrary process of gradual refinement, with the subsequent solutions and simultaneous—initially imperfect presentations!—attaining step by step a stage of perfection, the best possible solution, that then became predominant and ousted all other, less satisfactory forms. The archetype, therefore, should be replaced by what is considered the best formulation of the theme, which came about in the process of variation and survives in variants. Every text is likely to improve and to deteriorate at one time; at certain points of conjunction, weaker partial solutions may appear to gain a better form again through variation. That is to say, even a good variant contains only approximately the best solutions, and very rare is the case when a given text represents the best variant meeting the requirement of the term at every point of articulation. As to the development, *Lüthi* (1967) fortunately contrasted the terms *Urform* and *Zielform,* replacing archetype by the ultimate possibility inherent in the theme. The concept of archetype can be used only in relation of one people with another, denoting with it what the adaptor had received from the donor. But even this can be applied only to individual motifs, and never to establish the primordial, perfect formulation. And even the motifs can be treated in this way because in case of borrowing, a developed ballad serves as a point of departure to the variants of another people. We can hardly discern the primitive attempts within the sphere of variants of one nation—mainly in that of the first donor nation—for it has been mostly ousted by later, better developed variants, and if it still survived, it can be hardly distinguished from later corrupt variants. In the following, therefore, we strive to find points of orientation only in relation of one people to another with a view to discovering the fact of borrowing.

Distorted details can be most readily interpreted: sensible details in the ballad of one nation may be devoid of sense in the ballad of another. Many grades can be observed in this respect. Distortion may appear in a larger context of the narrative, in which case the one nation changes a detail of a given story in a way that the ballad thus altered contains contradictions in the face of the new solution. A new element, for example, in the Croat-Slovenian version of The Brigand's Wife is, compared to the original Hungarian, that she is invited to the sham-wedding of extirpated relatives, she sees evil omens, which are explained to be not so by the company, although the woman knows from the outset that her relatives in word had been murdered by her husband. As against this, in the Hungarian it is the wife that lures the husband with tidings of marriage to her parents' home to make him a captive there, and it is for the husband she is to find excuses for the bad omens during the way. Another example is the detail of the Greek version of The Walled-up Wife, in which the master mason sends word by a ~~girl~~ to his wife warning her to come late, although it has been settled at the very beginning that she must be walled up; with the Bulgarians, the message has sense, because in their variants that woman is the prospective victim who first brings meal to her husband.

A story may seem to be quite wholesome, yet certain superfluous elements betray that they have been incorporated after the borrowing. Such is, the Hungarian ballad of The Girl Who Set out with the Soldiers **(19.)**: in one of its variants the hostess appears together with the bridegroom of the murdered girl at the scene where the murderous heyducks are detected. The figure has no function whatever in the ballad, is left out in the other variants, yet betrays that the ballad had been modelled after the French example in which the act of murder is detected by the father of the girl, by an innkeeper.

Revealing may be a small detail's, a motif's transfiguration, especially if the change is such as to cause a substantial difference in the typical feature of the genre. For example, when the southern Slavs transform the stylized modes of luring in The Marvellous Corpse, which can be interpreted only as the play of fantasy (the marvellous mill and the miraculous tower), in a way that they turn into real things, into a real building, and the like; and this is the case in the lines: "There are warm showers to wash you, there are warm winds to dry you . . ." which characterize the fate of the forsaken child and the state of mind of the mother by finely drawn metaphors, the Bulgarians translate into a realistic narrative episode: the child, according to their version is really tended to by showers and wind, so he grows up and takes revenge on his mother. (Cf. The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child, **5.**, The Walled-up Wife, **2.**, and The Heartless Mother, **4.**) Dilution of the generic character is apparent sometimes in certain changes of the outward form; for example, in the dissolution of the strophe-repetitive structure so typical of ballads. (Cf. the East-European parallels of The Marvellous Corpse, **68.** The Test of Love, **69.**) But the original ballad character is most seriously impaired from the content side, when features typical of other genres are introduced into the plot. The love dialogue of the *Les métamorphoses* in which the French heroine wants to become a fish, a bird, etc., in order to flee from the young man, who in turn tells her in what shapes he would chase her, is a matter of figurative play, while in the British and Scandinavian parallels she is supposed to really undergo these transfigurations (*Child* 44, Dgf. 525). That is, the ballad-like stylization of the French is replaced by a märchen-like, fantastic reality in the Northern versions. It is interesting, by the way, that the Romanian parallels include both the figurative and the realistic solutions of the theme (*Amzulescu* 251, and 236–237), although no traces of Scandinavian influence can be shown in this instance. In the same way the theme of *Blanche biche* is transformed by the Danes. The French story of the girl who turns into a doe every night and so hunted and bagged by her brother is really not a miraculous story but a parable of the murdered sister; indeed, the exceptional character of the heroine is mentioned only in the first line; but with the Danes the girl undergoes not one but several transfigurations under the spell of the wicked stepmother, and the description of her transfigurations occupies the major part of the ballad. The tests applied to reveal the heroine's sex in The Soldier Girl are transformed into tests of strength in the fantastic märchen style with the Romanians. The motif of the mother speaking up from the grave in the Three Orphans is expanded with the Danes in a way that the woman appears in the shape of a ghost descending from Heaven, knocks at the door and talks to her husband. Also the story of The Daughter of the Pagan King finds a märchen solution among the Danes in one

variant, in which the wife revives the murdered lover with the water of life, and then the lover cuts the husband's head. All these are instances of ballad themes relapsing into a former, earlier stage of evolution of folklore genres.

I would like to emphasize, however, that not all "deteriorations" mean at the same time a devaluation from the poetic point of view. Deterioration is sometimes relative: something has deteriorated in relation of another thing, but still represents a new poetic value looked as it is. For example, the strophe-repetitive structure of The Test of Love has been transformed by the Romanians into a looser form of theme variation. The change may be considered a case of corruption of the general European form, still the recurring variations may by highly effective looked at from the artistic aspect. Let us think of Bartók who never used a motif unchanged twice but regarded variegated repercussions of the theme as the most impressing poetic device. In one of the Yugoslavian variants of The Walled-up Wife the woman is heard to speak: "O Ugljesho, the white hands of your young wife have been walled in, many times they embraced you, but they will not embrace you once more; the neck of your young wife has been walled in, many times you embraced it, but you will never embrace it again . . .", etc. This presentation is undoubtedly an eroded version of the Hungarian parallel scene: "As they walled her up to her knees, she thought it to be a joke, As they walled her up to her waist, she thought it to be a folly, As they walled her up to her teats, she thought it to be in earnest." Yet one cannot deny the lyrical strength of the new idea. Even additive parts to the dénouement may bring about fresh poetic values, such as in the concluding portion of the Hungarian The Enticed Wife; the scene of reconciliation lends a new psychological point of gravity to the ballad, although in the original conception only the motif of escape from the murderous adventure was its essential trait. "Corruption" and "inconsistency" can be established when Hungarian versions are compared with their French models, yet the "corrupt" borrowed forms in many instances are superior to the original from the aesthetic point of view. (Cf. The Girl Who Set out with the Soldiers, or The Girl Danced to Death.) The latter developed into a very impressive drama by depicting the gradual agony of the heroine in spite of the fact that not all the variants are able to make us realize the cause of the terrible vengence (to wit, the conflict of the poor and the rich has been reversed in the Hungarian, thus the reasonable motivation in the French has been omitted in the Hungarian).

Corruption cannot imply value-judgement when it is due to influence of, say, the epic songs. If a ballad theme is so corrupted, then *deterioration* has taken place in relation of the *ballad* which offers point of orientation concerning the trend of adoption, though it is not certain that the deterioration affected also the poetic value of the poem, for very often exquisite masterpieces result, such as some of the heroic ballads of the Scandinavians, the Russian *bilinas*, and the epic songs of the Southern Slavs. New beauties arisen in the wake of "corruption" can be found in the poetry of every nation. When, therefore, the researcher states the fact of corruption, he does not pass a value-judgement, he only determines the trend of dissemination of the themes.

On the other hand, no matter how successful a new solution by corruption may be, the signs of "relative deterioration" and the psychological factors working in the process of adoption cannot be ignored.

Inconsistent and incoherent details in national formulations are due to the circumstance that each adaptor wants to add something new to the borrowed poem, not being able at the same time to detach entirely from what he has received as ready-made elements, or else he is unable to carry through his innovation consistently over the whole of the plot. Therefore, partial agreements in the versions of the various peoples always are indicative of a certain degree of interdependence, betraying in most cases which people was the donor and which the adaptor. Thus, for example, a conspicuous agreement of motifs and details of formulation within a roughly identical frame of story, such as in the Hungarian, English, Scottish, Spanish and Portuguese texts of The Two Chapel Flowers **(9.),** is always a safe sign of their common origin. (Further examples are The Unmarried Woman Who Killed Her Child **23.,** and The Speaking Corpse, **65.**) In the same way, correlation is also betrayed by fragmentary details of formulation of stories developed in quite a different way and interpreted in quite a different sense by the borrowing nation. The plot of the Hungarian The Girl Danced to Death has turned into the opposite of that of the French *Les tristes noces*: in the latter the separated lovers die for each other, in the former the rejected lover seeks vengeance upon his sweetheart. Yet, the two different stories have retained typical common traits of the original formulation.

The final stage of such transformation is when the adaptor construes a completely new construction, yet in one or another of its variants the foreign elements are still present. The fact is a token of adoption in such cases. Consequently, if the same story lives in two different presentation in the folk tradition of two peoples, and typical elements of the one formulation occur in some variants of the other nation, but the picture in the reverse does not hold, then we may safely state a case of borrowing. We can experience this in the Bulgarian—Greek relation of The Walled-up Wife: the motif of sending word to the wife to come late, a typical part of the Bulgarian version, can be found in many Greek variants, whereas the typical Greek motifs of the spirit designating the victim and the woman cursing the bridge, and revoking the same curse later, do not come up in any Bulgarian text.

It is a distinctive method of the adaptor to swell certain unessential elements at the expense of the essential ones. Mainly the introductory and the ending parts of the story. In these, new elements can be applied with ease. With the Dutch, for example, The Enticed Wife **(3.)** is sent in the introductory part to her father, mother, brother and even to her confessor, to obtain leave for going on adventures with the enticer. Thus the introductory part becomes almost as long as the plot proper. The last words of the same ballad depict a more or less protracted scene of returning and reconciliation in the ballads of all borrowing nations, such as the English, Dutch and Hungarian. The ballad of The Two Captives **(17.)** begins with the motif of flight. The Slovak and the Moravian versions present, in addition, the scene of capturing, contrast the girl's better lot with the sufferings of the young man, and speak about the girl's visit to the prison—after a long lapse of seven years. Thus the introductory part becomes longer and longer, finally the plot proper, which is based on the motif of flight and the detection of the parents' heartlessness, is entirely omitted, so that the story runs out with the girl taking a priest to her brother who is

dying in prison. The Danish Elveskud (DgF 217), together with the Breton version, or perhaps in its wake, makes a colourful story of the French Roi Renaud (118), in a way that the husband or bridegroom hunting in the forest meets with fairies who bewitch him because he refuses to dance with them. Accordingly, the questioning of the worrying wife or bride, which constitutes the essential motif of the French ballad, receives less room. Sometimes essential elements are swollen superfluously: e.g., the number of the detecting tests, three in The Soldier Girl **(80.),** increases to four or six in the Spanish–Portuguese and the Italian and Balkan versions.

In general, it is not easy to add something new to a poem, provided it is a round whole. This explains why we have to suppose borrowing in such instances when two separate ballads of a nation appear in the form of one single ballad of another. Most of our neighbours have contracted in one story the Hungarian ballads of The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession **(13.)** and The Girl Kidnapped by the Turks **(29.)**; the Hungarians have done the same with the French 29 and 67 in their story of The Marvellous Corpse **(68.)**; the Piedmontan Italians fused the French 64 and 26 in *Nigra* 10; the French 55 and 25 in *Nigra* 16; the French 49 and 106 in *Nigra* 11; the Danes two ballads which exist in separate forms with the French and the Germans, viz. D. Vlr. 7 and 42 = French 120 and 87 (see DgF 271, and the poetic paraphrase of the same in 126); the Greeks amalgamated the French 25 and 10; the Germans the French 12a and 12b (see E–B 460 and 668). The lesson of this procedure is so clear that even if one of the two ballads thus contracted by the adaptor cannot be demonstrated, or can be demonstrated only in traces in the donor nation, the one-time existence of the ballad in the latter can be safely inferred. For example, the French must have had the theme of Crying János **(70.)** modelled in Hungarian after the French original. An entirely separate ballad, that of the Coward Lover **(71.),** thematically related with the former, which has a reframed parallel with the Spanish, survives only in traces among the southern French. The two themes have been merged by the Germans. Thus the survey teaches two lessons: first, the French had had the second theme, secondly, the Germans had borrowed both from the French. Examination of The Bad Wife **(63.)** leads to similar result: the Hungarians have merged the French song of lamenting over the linen sheet (133) with another ballad whose traces have been preserved only by the Italians, Germans and Greeks in their borrowings.

Fewer examples in the reverse sense can be found: a ballad rarely splits into two separate stories in the new language area of the borrowing nation. Only one single correspondence of this kind is known to us: a French story branched off into two Hungarian ballads, The Two Captives **(17.)** and The Knight and the Lady **(18.),** and the originally French plot, split up by the Hungarians, so continued to spread towards the North and the East. But from such isolated occurrences no methodical conclusions can be drawn. To my knowledge, there is only one single case to show that two ballads of two different nations can be amalgamated into one story by a third nation: DgF 338 has as its antecedents the French 68 (Les larrons et la bague) and the English Babylon (Child 14). Of course, we do not know whether or not the French ballad existed with the English in former times, or the English story had been known to the French. Again, the case, isolated as it is, is not suitable to provide ground for theoretical speculation.

The question of origin can be settled when a ballad conflict or situation occurs in several distinct ballads in one language areas, that is, when the theme is popular, but the same conflict or situation is represented by one single type in another. In contrast, the secondary nature of the formulation is brought out if a given *formulation* of the theme, that is, one and the same text type of a nation has dissolved into many variants in the balladry of another nation. The basic plot of The Soldier Girl is certainly favourite with the French because they elaborated it in many distinct types (34, 43, 47, 52, 110, 112). A different consideration has to be lent to such cases where a basic idea (e.g. the lover or husband shows more kindness than the kins) receives, in connection with a definite theme, formulation in an identical strophe-repetitive form (The Test of Love, **69.**), in which only the sweetheart is willing to rescue the hero from danger. This theme is obviously secondary in every area where it occurs, instead of an effective formulation, in mozaic-like, fragmentary variants. Obviously, such corrupt forms come up not because the theme is favourite with the given nation but in result of a process of dissolution. The fact of borrowing is displayed also by the existence in four versions of the theme of the murdering of the sweetheart (Hungarian: The Enticed Wife, **3.**) in the German language area: in the western part the motif of self-rescue is emphasized in the elaboration; in the southern part towards the East, this motif is replaced by that of the three calls inviting the brother; in the northeastern regions the plot is based on the brother's arriving late at the scene of murder; finally, there is the "Nicolai form" justifying the act of the murderous man.

Nevertheless, even this experience should be evaluated with much caution. Investigations into the spread of The Walled-up Wife **(2.)** convinced me that "one-form" and "multi-form" elaborations of the theme cannot always be assessed uniformly. The Hungarian and the Greek versions are rather uniform as compared to the rather multiform Bulgarian version. But whether the Hungarian or the Greek is to be regarded as original, one of the "uniform" versions must have developed from the varied Bulgarian formulation. It is true, at the same time that apart from minor differences in the details the Bulgarian texts are rather uniform as regards the presentation of the plot. Dissolution of the story is exemplified by the Serbo-Croat versions, in which the plot is really ramified in many directions.

The adjectives "multi-form", "many" and "more" also receive weight in the arguments of comparatists. But the quantitative aspects have to be handled with great circumspection, for a rigid application of the points of frequency—with which a given theme occurs in a nation's stock—may give rise to very serious errors. In any case, we have to take into account the recent condition of the folklore tradition in the countries compared. Obviously, one single notation from the last century in Germany indicates the one-time existence of the tradition with at least as much evidence as ten recent tape-recordings with the Hungarians and the Polish. A handbook example is in this respect the Hungarian ballad: The Knight and the Lady **(18.)**. The text came to light in one fragmentary notation, and from one village, first in 1940, followed by similarly fragmentary texts from the same village at later dates. As against this, the story of the ballad is wide-spread among the Romanians, Yugoslavs and Bulgarians, in the form of long epic songs. It would be on hand to deduce the fragmentary, single Hungarian version from the Balkan

parallels, which are numerous. Yet, further examinations of wider correlations make it certain that the Hungarian fragment is a detail of a French ballad which penetrated then into the Balkan regions where folklore traditions are more vigorously preserved than with the Hungarians among whom tradition is in a stage of transformation.

Significant differences may be due to different sizes and dates of collections. The English began to collect their ballads as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, the Danes noted many of their ballad texts in the sixteenth century, and they also printed many of them in that century. The first Hungarian folksong collection was published in 1846–48, the first classical ballads as late as 1863 *(Kriza)*, and the Bulgarian material still in a stage of flourishing is made available in numerous collections, in volumes including ballads by the tens of thousands.

A further question is how to assess personal names typical of a nation and occurring in the ballads of another nation. In my opinion, such agreements in themselves are not decisive at all. Names may wander from country to country independently of texts. A name that sounds strange may appeal to the singer who, having the gift of variation, includes it in his text. We encounter in Hungarian folk tale a distorted Romanian personal name, yet the tale is paralleled only by correspondences of peoples of the Southern Russian steppe and the Siberian regions. But if the name occurs together with other features relevant to the fact of borrowing, then it weighs in the scale.

The geographical dispersion of the variants also offers points of orientation in the question of priority. But this again should be considered in relation with many other data, including the traditional folklore areas. This is clear in such instances as the Greek versions of The Walled-up Wife **(2.)**: Certain Bulgarian traits appear in the variants of the southern Greek isles and of Minor Asia (like the drawing of lot to decide which master's wife should be made victim, an element that was subsequently ousted by the unequivocal command of the spirit). These traits once certainly general, were withdrawn to eastern and southern relict areas even in case the ballad, and the mentioned feature had reached the Bulgarians from the Greeks, or conversely, for there is no other explanation for the motifs having leaped over the Greek territory that lies in between. In the same way, a clear lesson can be drawn from the "scene under the tree" in the German version of The Enticed Wife **(3.)** The motif exists among the most advanced German peasants and is absent in the most traditional East-Prussian region. Consequently, its absence in the latter region is not due to some subsequent disappearance, but to the fact that it had never existed there.

The same applies to the versions of Hungarian ballads among the Hungarian inhabitants of Romania. Most Hungarian ballads survive in Transylvania and Moldavia, many of them not known in other parts of the Hungarian language area. These are, namely, the most archaic areas of the Hungarian-inhabited territories, relict areas, so to say, of *the traditional culture in general.* If, therefore, they have some ballads in common with the neighbouring regions, mainly with the Romanian, then one readily reaches the conclusion that these ballads are of Romanian origin since they nowhere else occur in Hungary. At the same time, little

attention is paid to the fact that the number of Hungarian ballads occurring exclusively in the mentioned areas, is much higher, and that these have no connection whatever with the Romanians, or other Balkan nations. Why did then they survive only in Transylvania and in Moldavia? The following grades can be established in this context: ballads known by the whole body of the Hungarian nation, including Area IV, which have no connection whatever with the Romanians; ballads known everywhere in the language area which, in turn, have connections with the Romanians; ballads existing exclusively in Transylvania or Moldavia which are not known to the Romanians; finally, ballads, only a few, from Transylvania, known also to the Romanians. Not even in the last category can we make departure from the geographical situation exclusively, but we have to examine the specific problems of the text type involved, its formulations with the two nations, and also the questions of the ballad as a genre in relation of the two nations. Analysis by means of the complex method reveals that some six songs have been borrowed from the Romanians, and that these six, recorded among the Csángós of Moldavia, have never been a common property of the Hungarians; in turn, the Romanians and Bulgarians have taken over other ballads from the Hungarian common tradition surviving in Transylvania and Moldavia. In this context I have to state that most of the researchers ignore the Nyitra version of The Walled-up Wife (2.), the Great-Plain variant of The Marvellous Corpse **(68.)**, and the Transdanubian variant of the Cruel Mother-in-Law **(28.)** but list them among the ballads known only from Transylvania and Moldavia.

In certain cases, however, the dissemination area can provide a point of orientation for the establishment of the origin of a ballad. In the comparative notes in Part Two of the present work I repeatedly refer to parallels which bear signs of incontestably direct connection between two geographically remote nations, such as the French and the Hungarian. Since obvious analogies of the ballad theme in question cannot be demonstrated from a large number in the intermediate areas, the fact of correspondence requires special consideration. (To quote a few examples of such parallels, I mention Types **[19.]** The Girl Who Set out with the Soldiers, **[11.]**, The Bride Dragged to Death, **[7.]**, Jesus Seeking Lodging, **[70.]**, Crying János). If such clear correlations are supported by the historical possibility of one-time contacts between the Hungarians and the French—I think of the presence of Walloon settlers in the territory of Mediaeval Hungary—then the examples may be instructive for us in many other respects. For instance, when the same theme occurs in both West and East Europe in separated areas, the one including the French, the other the Hungarian, then it is evident that, other historical explanations lacking, the dissemination in the two distinct areas is due to the mentioned French–Hungarian contacts. This is the more plausible because in most cases the correlation is brought out also by a comparative analysis of the French and Hungarian centres of dissemination (The Marvellous Corpse, **68.**, and the formula: "She is sewing in the window"). Even in case when one and the same ballad appears in two separate blocs whose variants do not provide further evidence of the relationship—for example, the Hungarians and the neighbouring peoples have preserved very few elements of the original formulation, or have preserved them in a strongly transformed shape—from the similarity of dissemination we may conclude

an identical origin (Type **28.**, The Cruel Mother-in-Law). A correlation once demonstrated can give food for further thought as well. In many instances, the French version is no longer extant, although its details survive in the surrounding language areas—German, English, Spanish–Portuguese, and Italian—at the same time the ballad comes up in Hungarian-inhabited territories in a form that includes all the details which occur separately among the mentioned nations; in such cases it can be taken for granted that, considering the other analogies, the model for both the Hungarian and the other national versions must have been a French text that used to exist, although it is no longer extant. (**10.**, The Disgraced Girl.) Further, in such instances when surprising agreements are seen in certain Spanish–Portuguese and Hungarian formulations of a ballad, which cannot be considered a chance occurrence, again French origin can be suspected, since experience shows that ballad themes used to spread towards the South from France, but we know of no possibility for a spread from the Iberian peoples to Hungary. (A very clear example of such interdependences is The Turtle Dove That Lost Her Mate, **44.**).

It is interesting that derivation from a distant nation is readily accepted by some researchers if a ballad or a motif occurs in isolation with two nations but the same researchers refuse to acknowledge a direct relationship if a ballad can be demonstrated from the intermediary areas as well, even though differences of the intermediary variants and similarities of the two distant nations' versions unequivocally show that these versions are closely related to each other. Some hold, for example, that the French–Hungarian agreements discussed in my former book are convincing when the type is demonstrable in France, possibly in the adjacent Piedmont, and Hungary (The Girl Who Set out with the Soldiers, **[19.]**, The Bride Dragged to Death, **[11.]**, Jesus Seeking Lodging, **7.**, The Two Captives, **[17.]**, and The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Child, **[23.]**), but they deny the possibility of such agreements in case the variants of the type occur also in the intermediate, German or other, language areas (The Test of Faithfulness, **[43.]**, The Soldier Girl, **[80.]**, The Enticed Wife, **[3.]**, and The Bad Wife, **[63.]**). In my opinion, however, a conclusion based on *known* versions is safer than one that considers the *absence* of variants, for in the latter case it can always be supposed that the absence of variants may result from a recent development in the area in question, and that the ballad may have been known there in former times. In such cases the risk may be run, in principle, that a subsequently discovered datum reduces all earlier conceptions to nothing. On the other hand, the existing material offers positive arguments for the establishment of correlations; and we can safely infer from the present and past solutions the interconnections between the various national formulations. Such conclusions will not be refuted by newly discovered data.

Conclusions on the said foundation are not of equal demonstrative value, as a matter of course. Comparatists are well aware of this fact. So was I, when launching my former study, I knew that some of the correlations are clear, others blurred and more difficult to realize. Censorious opinions have been voiced in connection with some of my results. Nevertheless, we have to distinguish between *isolated* parallelisms and correlations that appear in *groups*. When certain correlations present themselves unmistakably in many ballads, that is group-like, then we may infer certain standing contacts and regular trend of dissemination from them; that

is, social and cultural *processes*. The existence of such processes, on the other hand, is apt to clarify less distinct agreements as well, provided that no signs to indicate a contrary or different connection enter the scope of investigation. We have to bear in mind that the historical process of migration of cultural goods is a reality not only in cases when definite traces of the process can be detected; sometimes the traces have been washed away by time to a greater or lesser extent; perhaps a better version had ousted the weaker ones from a given area. There may have been many borrowings, of which no trace remains now to orientate the researcher (and perhaps we shall never be able to clarify the trend of dissemination in such cases). We may readily suppose that the number of borrowings used to be much higher than actually known to us. What is more, the number of ballads must have been much higher than it is today. This fact is evident for the comparatist who demonstrates the one-time existence of a ballad in a language area from adoptions of the theme in other language areas. In this context, we may refer to the evidence of Danish written records: more ballads are known from old Danish manuscripts than from living Danish tradition. (This circumstance is revealing even though the overwhelming majority of the old written Danish texts cannot be regarded as true ballads, as will be made clear below.) In contrast, international ballads have been brought to light from sixteenth-seventeenth-century Danish manuscripts, which are no longer extant in living Danish tradition. Such cases are rather rare though, yet they prove without doubt that not everything that used once to exist has been preserved in the folklore of one or another nation. If so is the case with the comparative material, the lesson increasingly applies to connections, of which there survive partly clear, partly blurred, and may be no traces at all in folk tradition. If, therefore, besides clearly delimitable groups there appear less distinct ones to point to a similar process, then we may rightly list the latter along with the former. For example, in the knowledge of the several French–Hungarian indisputable agreements—agreements where the French origin is certain, whether variants in the intermediate areas occur or not—we may accept also such correlations in whose case the relationship is less explicit, such as The Speaking Corpse **(65.)**, or The Cruel Mother-in-Law **(28.)**, and even when the French original can only be guessed and inferred, partial or full agreements may be safely supposed (cf. The Test of Faithfulness, **43.**, The Coward Lover, **72.**, and The Bad Wife, **63.**, to mention a few examples only). A detailed treatment according to different nature of the evidence of correlations will be given in the chapter on the Chronological Order of Hungarian Ballad Types.

The method of approach is different with respect to *isolated* occurrences which are not supported by group-agreements. Such phenomena tend to occur in large numbers in language isles wedged into an alien linguistic area; ballads detached from their original environment usually preserve considerable traits of their genuine features, although they absorb many new elements from the surroundings. (Cf. The Dead Brother, **86.**, The Wife Who Was Sold Away, **84.**, and King István of Hungary, **88.**, which the Moldavian Csángós have borrowed from the Romanians.) Similar phenomena occur among the Gottschee Germans completely isolated from other German areas by the surrounding Slovene territories. Looked at from within, their borrowings may appear as regular and group-like, yet in relation of the total language area, they are sporadical adoptions.

But there are absolutely sporadical borrowings, which always appear in areas of mixed populations. Such are, for instance, The Girl and the Rider **(87.)**, which exists in one single notation, The Mountain Shepherd Murdered by Robbers **(32.)**, recorded from the Moldavian Csángós and in rare cases from the Transylvanian Székelys (both ballads being of Romanian origin), and The Holy Virgin Searching for Her Son **(92.)**, a single Hungarian variant borrowed from the Transylvanian Saxons. Along the eastern boundaries of the German area ballads of Slav origin can be demonstrated as isolated borrowings. The opening formulas of The Enticed Wife was taken over from the Polish, the Three Orphans from the Czech, Les métamorphoses from Slavs (cf. *Seemann* 1951, pp. 151–52). Adaptations from broadside also belong to the sphere of sporadical borrowings. This category is particularly typical of multinational states, like the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy. A number of songs of more recent formulation have certainly reached the Hungarians through broadside mediation from foreign peoples, in fairly rough translations. (Cf. The Beguiled Husband, **129.**, from German, The Count and the Nun, **97.**, from Czech—German, The Girl Who Shirks Going to Church, **95.**, from Moravian, The Hunter and His Daughter, **100.**, from German.)

We have to bear in mind, however, that sometimes only motifs or details of a ballad are borrowed and fitted into a different plot. This method is an everyday occurrence, as shown by the examples of several Hungarian ballads in which the presence of pre-Conquest epic-song elements can be demonstrated (The Enticed Wife, **3.**, Jesus Seeking Lodging, **7.**, The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death, **1.**). In these instances it is obvious that the frame of the plot was given in a known—or inferred—ballad, and that the epic elements were inserted as applicable portions into the texts. Also details of ballads may be handled in the same way. The Transdanubian version of The Brigand's Wife **(20.)** includes a set of dialogues composed of worrying questions and evasive answers applied in many contexts in Western ballads: in Roi Renaud (French 118), the wife's questions raise an impressive psychological effect, as she discovers gradually that her husband is dead. Indeed, the ballad of Roi Renaud was not known to the Hungarians; but such a dialogue scene may have existed in some earlier French songs. The theme of The Brigand's Wife is utterly alien to western peoples; and the typical appeasing dialogue of this ballad comes up in western nations' songs embedded in quite different plots; from this it follows that the motif in question must have been mediated incorporated in some other ballad to the Hungarians. Further, it can be surmised that this motif, having been effectively used in sundry tale-plots, is not unlike the usual ballad formulas, that is, standing elements that fit, independent of the plot proper, into the balladry of any nation. Yet, it cannot be termed a "wandering motif" in my opinion, since it does not pass from one nation to another independently eventually by intervention of minstrels, but always embedded in a ballad, from which the borrowing nation selected the motif while rejecting, or forgetting, the ballad itself. *Child* 76 includes the last scene of the French Germine (62), in which the wife asks her husband for some sign who mentions certain intimacies of their life as proof. The English applied this motif in a completely different story with changed characters. Apparently, the scene itself was more important for them than the whole of the ballad plot.

However, there are parallelisms void of any agreement between the typical traits of details, while the plot as a whole is based on an idea that may well be derived from the ballad style, that is the typological characteristics of the ballad genre, and therefore likely to be invented by any ballad-creating nation. Such apparent agreements can be supposed in connection with the Hungarian The Haughty Wife **(66.)** and its English correspondence (*Child* 277), and The Girl Who Made Love with the Servant **(25.)** and a German ballad (E-B 141).

But the same principle cannot be applied in case of details that have received final formulations already. One would think that an appropriately set motif is a common property which may occur to anybody. What is more, it is just the best hits that seem to be such formulations which might be invented by anybody and anywhere. One might say, for instance, that nothing is more natural than to characterize the sufferings of prisoners by putting the following sentence in their mouths: "For seven years... we have not seen the go of the sun, the moon, and the changing revolution of the stars", or as the French have it simply: "For seven years he has not seen either the sun or the moon"; consequently, these ideas are so plain as to occur to any nation's son. But even in the French variants, in which the above formulation is wide-spread, the motif comes up in other forms in the same text-types: "For seven years he has not seen the sky and the earth", which may appear equally natural. An Italian text contrasts "the sky and the waters". Furthermore, in a Southern Slav version the commonplace is extenuated like this: "He was closed so that he may not see the sun and the moon, nor the bright day, or knights, that he may not know what a man is." (Stojanović-Vitezica 295.) Consequently, it would seem, the thought is not so natural after all, if it is subject to variation to such a great extent. In addition, the same idea may appear in a completely different wording. Prisoners' songs of more recent Hungarian outlaw poetry similarly complain about the missing of the sight of sun and moon—perhaps as an inheritance of the old ballad formula—yet how different their formulation sounds! "My room is arched, Not even the moon lights to me. How, then, could the sunshine Light on my pale face!"

It is still more natural that a song telling about enticement should begin like this: "Come along with me, Anna Molnár, on a long journey, in exile" or "let us have a walk!" Yet, apart from Hungarian ballads, only the French have the same incipit, and even they only in part of their variants. (In the rest of their songs, the beginning formula reads: "Renaud a de si beaux appas, Il a charmé la fille du roi".) Short formulas are intentionally quoted here as these can be best interpreted as "self-evident" commonplaces. Yet, eventually it appeared that specific forms pointing towards correlation were implied in them.

There are cases, again, in which no points of orientation can be found at all. Characteristically enough, a number of European ballads can be placed side by side whose formulations display evidence of indisputable correlation, yet we must content ourselves with this rather broad generalization, without being able to draw any closer conclusion. Is it possible that what seems to be correlation in them is a mere chance occurrence? In any way, it is conspicuous that most of the ballads of this category are based on themes that have their parallels in the literature of the diverse European nations: The King's Son and a King's Daughter **(37.),** The Girl

Taken to Heaven **(8.),** The Daughter of the Pagan King **(38.)**; other themes live in tale forms in the folklore of the various peoples: The Test of Love **(69.),** The Girl Who Solves Riddles **(79.).** It is not precluded that the common content is due to literary compositions of common origin or to tales, while the differences in formulation to the specific gifts of the nations involved. (In the instance of The Cricket's Wedding, **(91.),** the obvious possibilities of variation have been exploited to so great a degree by the different nations that a one-time correlation can hardly be ascertained nowadays.)

The comparatist often has to reckon with the possibility of ballads that used to exist having become extinct. A missing connecting link—white spots occurring unexplained in an area—led researchers to such speculations in many cases. In my present book I often suppose the one-time existence of a French ballad. So did *Seemann* in relation of certain extinct German ballads, for example, in connection with the Polish version of the French Donna Lombarda (16), which, judged from the extant material, could not have arrived in Poland through German mediation. *Seemann,* however, did not know anything about the Walloon settlements along the late-mediaeval Northern Hungary's frontiers bordering on Poland, nor about those few French villages in Silesia. For the same reason, *John Meier* and *Seemann* could not solve the riddle of some French traits in the Polish variants of The Enticed Wife, of which no traces could be discovered in German territories. In knowledge of multi-language variants of large areas, consideration of this kind tends to come up with a forceful evidence, but the questions of how comprehensive data, how strict logical inferences, and what historical considerations such conclusions are based on always require thoroughest attention.

I have made no attempt at concluding the one-time existence of a distinct Hungarian ballad, although it cannot be disputed that more than one Hungarian song had gone into oblivion in the course of time. In this place, however, I risk such a supposition. *Seemann* enumerates a number of Slav variants of the French Les métamorphoses (79) in connection with a Lithuanian song which cannot be explained from German antecedents; even the sporadical German data are regarded by him as borrowings from the Slavs. He states: "...ein international verbreitetes Lied hat aus dem slawischen sowohl—allerdings schwach—ins Deutsche, und—nachhaltiger—ins Litauische ausgestrahlt. Da das Lied auch im Frankreich häufig zu belegen ist" (examples enumerated), "ist es einigermassen verwunderlich, dass es sich in dem Deutschen Zwischengebiet nicht findet." (*Seemann* 1951, pp. 151–52.) Since this nice little song occurs not only in the Balkan, where its presence could be explained through Greek mediation, but also in Slovak, Moravian, Polish and Lithuanian areas, north of Hungary where it could not spread without Hungary as mediator, it stands to reason that the ballad used to exist in Hungarian-speaking territories as well. (I content myself with listing only a few versions here: for Greek, see contaminations listed in D. Vlr. IV, p. 141; Romanian *Amzulescu* 251; Croat *Kurelac* 309, No. 2; Slovak Slov. sp. III, No. 487; Moravian *Sušil* 808; *Bartoš* 1889, Nos 112, 159; Polish and Lithuanian quoted in abundance by Seemann, *op. cit.*)

There are other traces to lead us nearer to the solution: the song of Petőfi, entitled "I shall be a tree, if you are blossom of a tree", in which the same theme is

worked up. The poet must have heard something like this song, because he keeps the theme of it well in line with the basic idea of the song so popular throughout Europe. Eventually he may have heard the Slovak version of his mother. But such a supposition is contradicted by the whole of his poetry which bears no reminiscences whatever of Slovak folk poetry. He wrote under the influence of Hungarian folksongs which he knew well, and which he held in high esteem. Geographical dissemination also seem to corroborate our supposition: the Hungarians must have known the French song. And if Petőfi had based his song on the Hungarian version, then it must have fallen out of people's memory in the early nineteenth century.

Here I have to apologize for not having entered into more detail in demonstrating correspondences as is usual when a ballad is worked up in a special study or a monograph. But since I have set the task of a comparative analysis of the entire Hungarian stock, I have had to find the reasonable proportions within the limits of the possibilities of publication. Where I thought it necessary, I had elaborated some of the Hungarian ballads (The Walled-up Wife, **(2),** The Enticed Wife, **(3.)** in the form of monographic essays before, which, however, I had contemplated as preliminary studies to the present book, so that I should be able to sum up in it my arguments and results as concisely as possible. As to the other ballads, I present my decisive arguments in the form of more or less extensive notes. In certain cases, a few conspicuous traits will suffice to discern the donor and the adaptor. In other instances, more details were needed. In any case, I have tried to give as much as I thought advisable to make my points clear and acceptable. Of course, an author is likely to fall into optical illusion: what is clear to him after his having been acquainted with several thousand texts and perhaps several hundred variants of a ballad as these emerged from the general European relationship in his eyes, may appear not quite clear to the reader who has to judge the value of his statements on the basis of excerpts of a few variants presented to him.

Experience taught me the lesson, I am sorry to say, that not even the most detailed analysis is satisfactory sometimes to meet the point. I have applied the most detailed and most comprehensive demonstrative procedure in connection with The Walled-up Wife. Earlier researchers relied on the knowledge of one or two nations' versions, though not of the Hungarian variants, as a rule. *Solymossy* counted for a thorough research worker with his elaboration of 14 foreign variants (4 Bulgarian, 4 Greek, 4 Serbian, 1 Romanian, 1 Gipsy, besides 11 Hungarian). Even *Arnaudov,* who worked up the material most extensively, knew only twice as many texts (14 Greek, 2 Aromoun, 5 Albanian, 5 Serbian, 4 Romanian, 1 Hungarian: 31 foreign texts against 57 Bulgarian). Therefore I tried to make accessible for the reader first 191, then 504 Balkan and Eastern (and 40 Hungarian) variants elaborated by me. Therefore I followed the method to publish, after presenting a few texts and the main variants thereof, tabulations of motifs of *each text,* and when it was impossible in the case of the Greek variants numbering about 300, numerical and percentual tabulations on the geographical spread of motifs and formulas. I did not expect that all experts would deduce the same conclusion as I did, still it has struck me why *Megas* (1969–70) could refuse to accept the close relationship between the Hungarian and the Bulgarian variants, which is a matter-of-fact question that can be safely concluded from the tabulations of motifs and formulas. (At the same time,

none of my critics has gone as far as to blame me for having given a false idea of their national versions in my tables.) It seems, therefore, that not even in this form has the source material been made accessible to all those interested.

Still, my tables have exerted a certain influence. Everybody dealing with this particular ballad after me presented his material in similar tabulations, although invariably of their own nation's material *(Taloş, Pop, Vrabie, Megas),* leaving foreign parallels out of consideration. That is to say, they followed my method only as regards the outer form but not the content: they failed to realize that in order to reveal the truth hidden at the depths of facts, we must examine the entire material of each nation involved, sometimes bulks of several hundred variants, and possibly in the original. My censorious fellow-workers have not undertaken this task to date.

In the above train of thought I have had to use the term "adoption" (borrowing) to denote the first and most important result of comparative analysis. It is a general experience that even the most objective research workers are reluctant to apply this term to the traditions of their own nations. By adoption, however, a case of simple borrowing is very rarely understood. Not even the near, linguistically related (Germanic, Slav, or Latin) nations do take over another kindred people's creations as they find them, although in their interrelationship major blocs of formulation go over to the borrower, because both parties use similar sentence patterns and vocabulary. Yet even in their cases a considerable freedom of variation can be observed. The measure of alteration is much greater, however, if exchange is taking place between nations which are not related linguistically, since between them a real translation is necessary, which in itself implies a process of re-modelling of the theme. Such processes always result in major transformations. Namely, people do not care for what might be called "copyright" of the donor nation, they never strive to produce a true-to-text translation. They always create something new of the original model. The linguistic realization is in itself a valuable achievement, a new poetic formulation; as has been expounded in connection with the concept of "corruption" (deterioration), a corrupt text does not mean unconditionally a devaluated text, even though the change is regarded as corruption from the literary point of view. As against this, however, variation in folk poetry more likely means improvement: perfection by preservation of what is felt to be the most appropriate expression of the content and accumulation of the best stylistic means. The same applies to borrowed texts as well. Consequently, every nation has "borrowed" ballads which are not worse but better than their models. A comparison of the Hungarian Two Chapel Flowers **(9.)** with either its English or Spanish—Portuguese parallels, or The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death **(27.)** with the Italian and Danish may give us an idea of the possible differences between the poetic values of borrowings, even though the original French text is not known to us. Both Hungarian ballads are rich in events, yet concise in presentation: thorougly matured examples of how a social problem can be rendered by finely drawn, poetic turns. Such borrowings may be justifiedly held to be genuine poetic compositions of the adaptor.

Another source of misunderstanding in connection with the propositions laid out above requires a similar clarification. On the basis of my former studies I have been reproached for having lent an "absolute" significance to research of

provenance. (Maróthy on the occasion of my doctorial debate, and the Romanian Fochi, without mentioning my name, at the Balkan Congress voiced such opinions.) Their criticism was based on the appearance that in those studies I engaged mainly in comparative problems. It should be understood, however, that I prepared those studies as preliminary papers to my present work: the results obtained have been relegated into the notes to the ballads in the second part of this book, and only the lessons drawn from them are utilized in the first, theoretical part. At the same time, I wish to emphasize that extensive research of this character can produce such results as well from which other theoretical branches may draw some profit; that is to say, correct theoretical results should be built on safe comparative bases, so also the answers to the questions of origin of the generic features of the ballad.

There emerged another point of debate: in my preliminary studies I could not spare the work of exploring certain correlations unknown before, and while concentrating on this task, I could not extend my examinations over the whole field of Hungarian balladry, let alone the entire European stock. Thus, the fact that borrowings and agreements make up only part of each nation's ballad poetry, and that besides borrowed—and transformed—poems each nation has produced many quite new, individual types, was relegated into the background. Furthermore, in the initial stage of the comparative investigation into the basic material, it was out of the question to discuss national peculiarities. But one cannot enter into such discussions without creating first the basis of comparison, for borrowed and genuine elements can only be separated on the ground of comparative results. What is even more important, comparative procedures will show what kinds of transformation a given nation introduces into the borrowed texts; for the method of transformation provides more reliable evidence of the taste of a particular nation than the whole body of its original creations. When it comes to stating national characteristics, we have to clarify, first of all, what are the elements a nation is ready to accept and what are those which it rejects: without a knowledge of these—that is, comparative results—one cannot discuss national characteristics. But even if one maintains that research of national characteristics covers a particular national field of folklore—including ballads—by a simple description of themes and stylistic properties one would never be able to reveal the national features without comparing them with similar descriptions of other peoples' national traits. There is no other way to discern between traits characteristic exclusively of one nation, and traits which it has in common with another nation, perhaps with all nations.

Finally, we must touch on another moot question. Is it not a nationalistic (chauvinistic) business to inquire into the sphere of problems of transmission and borrowing? Or—looked at from a different angle—is it not hurting national feelings, is it not tantamount to giving up the national standpoint if a case of borrowing is demonstrated, and vice versa, is it a laudable feat if a nation has transmitted something to others?

Here "glory" is attributable only to the original source from which the ballad genre had sprung, in which most European ballads received their first formulation, that is the French source. Nevertheless, glory even in this sense can be referred to one single epoch to the French balladry, for the other great nations—English,

German, Italian, Russian and Spanish—have been also initiators, in other respects, during different periods of their historical development. I cannot believe that statements of the said nature could give reason for jealousy. By the way, the Eastern-European small nations have never been jealous of great nations, but always of each other. Further, what is relevant here is not which one of them has produced something new, and which one has produced some secondary creation under the influence of the former; the question is in every case, by what trend and through whose mediation a ballad reaches them. Since the ballad developed in the West, from where it disseminated towards the East, it had to reach the Romanians, for instance, through Hungarian mediation, geographically, and temporally after the Hungarians. And the fact that the new genre had been transported by French settlers into mediaeval Hungary, to be disseminated from there toward east, north and south, does not imply some Hungarian influence on the ballad areas in question, but the influence of the *ballad as a new genre,* which, having been a typological phenomenon corresponding to the actual stage of development of European peasantry, found a favourable reception among the peasantry of all nations. It was a "vogue", pardon the word, which every nation strived, as they did, to follow and succeeded in following in more or less equal measure.

Another trend of comparative study is the one which, though not purely nationalistic, still stemming from a certain inherited historical approach, exerts a strong influence on ballad research occasionally. This trend is thinking in the confines of linguistic relationships and affects in many ways the comparative research. First, it lends primary importance to questions of language affinity, looking in this sphere for the common "original", particularly in relation of the three large language groups of Europe, viz. the Latin, the German and the Slav, which exist in each other's neighbourhood. In the earliest period of comparative research, endeavour was made in Hungary too to search for relics of Finno-Ugrian common tradition in the field of ballads. Fortunately, the idea had been abandoned after an unsuccessful attempt. The danger inherent in this method is greater if the first steps of orientation are not followed by further ones to extend interest to traditions of other nations as well, particularly in cases when parts of related nations are separated by broad stretches of land from the rest of the linguistically related nations, as in the example of the Slavs. Even today research work is conducted to compare the ballads of the Northern (Western) and Southern Slavs with a view to establishing not only common traits between them, but also trends of diffusion from one bloc to another, disregarding at the same time what has been wedged in between in Hungarian, Romanian and Austrian territories. The situation is even worse if the researcher has knowledge of the connecting link, yet embarks upon speculations about results concerning the Slav material as a whole, without paying heed to these connecting links.

For example, *Jiři Horák* (1917, 1958) elaborated the international connections of the Slovak ballads, utterly neglecting the evidence of the Hungarian material. In knowledge of Hungarian connecting links, *Putilov* (1965) qualified as an All-Slavic *typological property* those ballads in which Turkish characters are involved, considering such ballads secondary developments with the Hungarians (calling into doubt their French relationships). We have to point out two

methodical errors in his procedure. The one is which I mentioned in the notes on the theme of The Bride Forced to Marry against Her Will **(12.–13.)**, and to which also *Sirovátka* (1968) referred in connection with the Moravian-Slovak version of the song: the Turk figuring in these ballads is secondary, originally a *stranger* and *not an enemy* figured as bridegroom in them. The other, Putilov makes a wrong departure when stating typological agreements in such ethnic groups which are in close contact with each other, whereas the texts belong in all appearance to a distinct type and the variants display obvious partial agreements—which in itself excludes the possibility of typological correlation—omitting at the same time from the scope of relationship precisely the Hungarian version which occupies a central position in the area. Actually, he wants to prove Slav genetic correlation under the cloak of typological agreement. It is obvious that he would like to ignore the Hungarian type, and the Hungarian territory as a whole, so as not to disturb his preconceived results.

Seemann (editor of the Comprehensive German Edition) is not exempt of similar error either, although he displays a vast knowledge of the material. He was willing to get acquainted with the Hungarian variants, still he was so much influenced by the huge number of Slav variants he had read in original that he supposed Slavic origin even to the theme of The Brigand's Wife **(20.)**, in spite of his having been aware of the contradictions between the Croat-Slovenian plot and the consistent structure of the Hungarian version (D. Vlr. 107).

The position of this opinion was first shaken by two Czech scholars: *Karel Horálek* (1965), against *J. Horák,* pointed out, though not without some reservation, the importance of the Hungarian versions and the French correlations indicated by them; *Oldrich Sirovátka* (1963) established, in connection with the Moravian version of The Mother Kidnapped by Her Son **(42.)** that it is closer to the Hungarian than to the Russian.

A third possibility of erroneous conclusion presents itself when considerations of linguistic relationship and neighbourhood induce the researcher to neglect possible correlations in other respects, for example, the Germans do so in the Dutch—French relation. The obvious affinity between Plattdeutsch and Dutch, as well as former uniformity in the stock of German and Dutch songs, explains why German researchers tend to incorporate certain Dutch ballads, no longer extant among the Germans, into their own material (particularly, if their endeavour to demonstrate an extinct German parallel is supported by historical data and tune references). We have to bear in mind, however, that the Dutch may have borrowed such French ballads which had never reached the German language areas. As a matter of course, handling such songs as German traditions may be misleading (cf. The Marvellous Corpse, D. Vlr. 58, The Cruel Mother, D. Vlr. 76, and similar cases in connection with D. Vlr. 97, cf. French 47). In the chapter on the Trends and Centre of Dissemination, more will be said of these questions; in this place we only mention them as examples of theoretical errors. Ignorance of the Hungarian material is a particular source of error in many instances, whether due to difficulties of access to the language and the material or to *purposeful* neglect of what seemed unimportant. A relatively "small" though uniform language area wedged in the great ocean of many different Slavic peoples may have seemed unimportant in

regard of the entire East-European picture. Indeed, had French settlers never come to Hungary, and had the ballad not been French in origin, there would have been no chance for ballads to disseminate from Hungary in so large numbers; and then the ignorance of the Hungarian material would not count for so serious a source of error. But even then it would have been necessary to examine more closely the wedged-in areas (Austria between the Czech and Slovenes, Hungary between the Slovaks, Trans-Carpathian Ukrainians, Polish and Serbo-Croats, Romanians between Russians and Bulgarians) in the course of comparative analysis of the All-Slav material. It would be similarly important to pay more attention to the French material in connection with the German, extensively compared so far with the East-European, mainly Slav stock.

By way of concluding, it must be emphasized, however, the entire European (and American) stock—with partly published and partly unpublished collections—exceeds the scope of investigation of any individual research worker. As long as ballad catalogues of every nation are not prepared, there is no hope for obtaining final results, no matter with how consistent methods research is conducted. This work has to be done first. The comprehensive survey of the European nations (and their emigrants) can be assembled only on the basis of national catalogues. Whatever mistakes and deficiencies occur in my work, they should be ascribed to the fact that I wrote it before national catalogues had been issued. That is to say, I had to resort to my individual efforts. And my main objective has been to make a so far unknown ballad material accessible, with all the relevant comparative and historical results, to international research work.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF HUNGARIAN BALLAD TYPES

On the basis of the survey of the European material, and according to the principles expounded in the previous chapter, I attempted to assess the international connections of the Hungarian ballads. In the process of examination, also connections between other nations came to light. The relative comparative results, together with the demonstrative data, are presented in the notes to the ballad types or individual ballads. The reader is advised here to peruse these notes either before or parallel with reading this chapter. Since the relevant results have been published in Hungarian, English, and also in two "monographs" in German, some of the notes will be summarizing in nature. The next pages contain general conclusions obtained by analyzing special parallelisms in ballads, from which I wish to deduce more comprehensive connections.

What I think to be most important results of my examinations so far is that the Hungarian ballad includes portions of texts directly borrowed from the French, and that this circumstance is decisive for the assessment of the stylistic affinity of the Hungarian ballad with the whole European ballad poetry; further, that there are elements which the Hungarian ballad had inherited from earlier epic songs: motifs and stylistic figures of Conquest-time heroic songs can be discovered in certain pieces. One of them points to pre-Conquest, though not epic, tradition stemming from the Caucasus **(2.)**. These, being the most ancient, will be discussed first.

The ballads in which more or less similar ancient elements can be discovered are the following: The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death **(1.)**, The Walled-up Wife **(2.)**, The Enticed Wife **(3.)**, The Heartless Mother **(4.)**, Jesus Seeking Lodging **(7.)**, The Disgraced Girl **(10.)**, The Young Lords Escaped from the Emperor's Prison **(33.)**, and The Hero Who Fell in Defense of His Household **(34.)**. Full contents, or basic ideas thereof, originating from such remote antiquity appear only in two of these: in **2.** which can be traced back to a Caucasian verse legend and in **34.** built on one of the principal scenes of a lengthy epic song. Scenes of structural details or elements of formulation of Siberian epic songs can be detected in **1.** Namely, the scene in which the husband asks for food and the rival is hiding in the chest is particular enough to allow the inference that its Hungarian and Siberian versions could not have developed independently of each other. Not even the fact does make any difference that the scene mentioned finds application in two ways: in the Siberian song the hero returning home unsuspiciously asks for drink from his father's cup, whereupon treacherous women refer him to his father's chest, from which his enemy leaps out to kill him: in the Hungarian version the husband seems to be aware of where his rival is hiding, and he himself asks for meal from the chest. But interrelationship is the more likely because of the different ways of application of the motifs: in identical situations similarity of solutions may well be conceived, but in completely different situations it would not be so natural.

This ballad shows further agreements with the elements of the same heroic song, although these are less characteristic ones: choice among three kinds of death which are not agreeing, then the whole plot of the epic song telling about sending away the husband with false intention, and the alliance of women—other than the wife—, mother or sister, with alien men. At the same time traces of agreements with Western ballads on the theme of adultery also come up; the motif of burning at the stake occurs, even though by way of reference only, in the West as well. It would be hard to decide whether the epic song had turned into a brief ballad or the ballad had incorporated details of the epic song, for their contents bear similarities in spite of their vast generic differences.

Only one single motif has been embedded into the originally French story of Type **3.**, but that at the most decisive point where the enticer confesses his murderous intention and speaks about his former victims. Similarly details appear in several places of Type **4.** Most conspicuous is the wolf-motif applied in order to put to shame the Heartless Mother, and, vaguely though, also the epic song points to it when the mother fleeing from the enemy forsakes her child in the woods.

Further correspondences in Types **7.**, **33.**, and **34.** concern only formula-like details. They include such ones which might be taken for a metaphor or a motif as well: for example, the sun and the moon rising at the head and feet of Jesus Seeking Lodging. There is a formula occurring in two ballads only which refers to a war-scene (in Types **33.**, and **34.**): "On his way forward he cut a path..."; finally, should be mentioned the most typical ballad commonplace beginning with the line "May my blood flow in one stream with yours", which is most stabely—and almost regularly—established in numerous variants of The Disgraced Girl **(10.)**, and which is used in certain variants of other Types, too **(19., 21., 28.** and **26.)**.

It lies in the nature of things that not all of these correspondences can be equally demonstrated. There are such ones which can be regarded as proved correspondences—as far as results of comparison can be taken for certain at all, for they are always inferred and never demonstrable from source-data and never to be checked against facts. Others again may be held plausible, and finally, there are supposed correlations. Textual correspondences, mainly formulas, belong to the first category. When on the basis of a survey of a large scale it can be stated that such correspondences occur only at two definite points where genetic correlation is not precluded either, then they provide the safest examples of correlation that can be imagined in comparative text analysis. The correspondence in the case of the motif "On his way forward he cut a path" **(33., 34.)** is supported by the fact that in both instances songs preserved by epic singers are involved, from which ballads developed at a rather late time; what is more, the content of **(34.)** can be wholly deduced from an epic song. The corresponding formulas of "May my blood flow in one stream with yours, May my body rest in one grave with yours", and further "May my soul worship one God with yours" or "... stand before one God with yours" are used by heroes contracting alliance of friendship in the Siberian epic songs. Some examples: "When we die, may our souls be together, if our blood flows, may it flow together, they said, and so saying they became friends." (*Radloff* II. No. 2, lines 757–9.) "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. 5, lines

1194–6.) "When we die, may our bones be together, if our blood flows, may it be together, let us all three be friends." (*Ibid.* No. 6, line 434.) "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." (*Ibid.* No 19, lines 1416–9). "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.* No 14, around line 2800). "When we die, may our bones make one hill, if our blood flows, may it make one river." (*Ibid.* 21, lines 739–40). "When the immortal, indestructible Kartyga Pergen dies, may my blood and his be together, if he walks alive, may our souls be together." (*Dyrenkova,* 15 para 3, line 3.)

These are parts of the text used as formulas at making blood-contract. It is not impossible at all that the chieftains of the seven conquering tribes of the Hungarians also recited this formula when they let their arms' blood drop into the common bowl. The chronicler described only the action but not the pertaining words; the epic songs make the characters speak but omit the relative action which is understood. The shapers of the ballad naturally put the suitable borrowed words into the mouth of the suicidal lover as a matter of course. Well, in the original application it meant nothing else than that their blood should blow in one stream when they die, and this is actually the thing that takes place in the ballad. The idea may have arisen from Western ballads using formula-like texts at corresponding places: "You have died for me, I shall die for you!"—which also the Hungarian hero utters sometimes, complementing it with words of Eastern vow formulas unknown to Western people.

With a similar sense of style—although in a somewhat different conception—the sun and moon motifs of Eastern epics and tales have been applied in Jesus Seeking Lodging **(7.)**: in these, too, the motif was used to emphasize the supernatural being of the hero; the heavenly light illuminating the room in the French ballad indicates that the beggar appeared to be Jesus Christ. Well, the Hungarians had had a metaphor denoting celestial light and descent, therefore they applied it at the suitable place.

As in the case of formulas, larger text agreements are brought out similarly by partial agreements of details. When two scenes are proved to be identical or similar in two distant places, e.g. Hungary and the Altai Region, and nowhere else in Europe, then the genetic correlation of the obvious agreements cannot be reasonably denied, particularly, if it is considered that the Eastern parallel occurs in a narrative type of text wide-spread one time among certain steppe peoples, so among the Hungarians, too. I refer here to the Central Asiatic parallel of the Hungarian Type **1.**

A case may be held as "certain" (proved) in another sense if the Eastern element, or the ballad developed from it, occurs with other European nations as well. **(2.** and **3.)** In both instances thoroughgoing comparative work in the European field had to be undertaken in order to state that the elements existing among the Hungarians as well as the neighbouring peoples are certainly Hungarian in origin. (This order of the comparative steps refers not only to the question of formulation: correlations in a wider sense were revealed also in the same order.) It was only after this that the details proved to be of Hungarian origin could be

correlated with Eastern parallels. In both instances ballads extensively discussed were involved **(3.** and **2.)**, and my conception stood in sharp contrast with former results. Therefore, precisely, I strived to produce careful documentation. As regards the Western ballad, Western researchers, in general, acknowledged my method of documentation, while researchers of the Balkan ballad refused to do so, in general. For The Enticed Wife there exist mediaeval and Eastern representations to show that a traditional and widely used epic element is involved, both in the East and with the Hungarians. For The Walled-up Wife, Hungarian derivation is supported by the circumstance that the Hungarian version is marked by a generic purity uncommon even among the best Western and Hungarian ballads, let alone the Balkan material. A survey of the Hungarian stock and the Balkan parallels convinces us that the classical generic properties of the ballad are, so to say, exclusively typical in the Hungarian ballads, while they come up sporadically in the Balkan; even the texts borrowed by them from the Hungarians suffer more or less distortion in style. The same applies to The Walled-up Wife. How could one explain otherwise, why a not clearly ballad-like formulation had received a typically ballad form among the Hungarians?

The pre-Conquest origin is certain in the instances of Types **1.**, **2.**, and **3.**, and in relation of a few formulas, and it is very plausible in the case of Type **34.**, The Hero Who Fell in Defense of His Household, whose strongly reduced content can be contrasted with a great epic poem. Although the similarity is somewhat blurred, still there are more than one feature to support the correlation: 1) examples of other nations' folklore also prove that important elements of lengthy epic songs can turn into a brief ballad; 2) the plot as it is stands solitary in Europe, and in European ballad tradition; 3) it betrays an epic character as regards its style and even its theme; 4) it has preserved details of text of indisputably Central-Asiatic origin.

The parallelism is least distinct in the case of The Heartless Mother **(4.)**, being only surmisable looked at from within the ballad itself. Safest inference could be drawn from the "wolf-scene", but it is not present in every variant: it may be supposed that the Moldavian Hungarians incorporated it as a secondary element. On the other hand, a part of the Central-Asiatic epic song, although missing from the Hungarian ballad, can be detected in a Székely folk-tale as an element of märchen which is not known from the folklore tradition of other European peoples. Consequently, the epic song in question must have reached the Hungarians in some form in days of old. Thus, in this case, too, the argument holds that the Hungarian ballad theme is alien to other European nations and that there is nothing to speak against a possible Eastern correlation. And if there are several instances of well demonstrable correlations, then such less obvious but still unequivocal traces receive impetus, provided that no data emerge to contradict this supposition.

The same considerations can be applied, with increased degree of certainty, to the ballads of French origin. In this group, beside the categories "certain", "strongly plausible", and "surmisable", also the relevant traces have to be taken into account, since they are easier to support, and also the number of data is larger, and the connection is closer in both time and space relations.

The French—Hungarian correspondences can be grouped into several categories according to national variants and geographical distribution.

1. Extant exclusively among the French and Hungarians: **7.** Jesus Seeking Lodging, **57.** Take out My Weary Heart. Along with the latter, which is a fragment, we have to reckon the application of the same motifs in four Hungarian ballads: **6.** Three Orphans, **20.** The Brigand's Wife, **25.** The Girl Who Made Love with the Servant, **31**. The Girl Kidnapped by Soldiers.

2. Extant among the French and their immediate neighbours, or in some other country far remote from Hungary, while in East Europe only among the Hungarians: **19.** The Girl Who Set Out with the Soldiers (French, Piedmontan Italian, Danish), **11.** The Bride Dragged to Death (French, Piedmontan Italian, Danish), **23**. The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Child, **24.** The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Three Children (French, English, Danish), **26.** The Bride Danced to Death (French, Piedmontan Italian, English), **72.** The Song of the Ferrymen (French, Iberian, Greek — and a dubious German which is so eroded as to bear no comparison with the Hungarian form), further a formula in **33.** The Young Lords Escaped from the Emperor's Prison: "For seven years we've seen neither sun nor moon" (French–Italian).

3. Extant among the French in the West and the Hungarians and their neighbours in East Europe: **17.** The Two Captives (French, Hungarian, Moravian), **18.** The Knight and the Lady (French, Hungarian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Serb), **29.** The Girl Abducted by the Turks (Breton and French variants related in many ways, Hungarian, Slovakian, Moravian, Romanian, Southern Slav?), **70.** Crying János (French, Hungarian, Polish).

4. Extant among the French and the westernmost nations, the Hungarians and East-European peoples: **68.** The Marvellous Corpse (French, English, Danish, Hungarian, Slovakian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croat), **65.** The Speaking Corpse (French, Iberian, Hungarian, Slovakian, Polish, Lithuanian), **28.** The Cruel Mother-in-Law (French, English, Danish, Piedmontan, Italian, Iberian, as well as Hungarian, Slovakian, Moravian, Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, Romanian, Southern Slav and divergent Greek). *No territorial connection between western and eastern-Hungarian-versions can be shown in the mentioned types.*

5. French, Hungarian and East-European versions are connected by versions of intermediary areas: **3.** The Enticed Wife (French, Italian, English, Dutch, German, Danish, Czech, Polish, Hungarian), **80.** The Soldier Girl (French, Iberian, Italian, Serbo-Croat, Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian, Hungarian, Slovakian, Moravian, Czech, Polish, Russian), **6.** Three Orphans (French, German?—exceptional since this ballad is extant on the French border and on the Czechoslovakian border, without connecting form in between—, Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Croat, Slovene). *In this case we can see territorial connections.*

6. Traces among the French, while their neighbours or other remote western nations have it in its full form, in the East only the Hungarians: **27.** The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death (fragmentary French, complete Italian, Catalan, Danish), **39.** The Wife Kicked to Death (French with obscured characteristic parts, Iberian, and a sole dubious Croat). *Here again we have no possibility of demonstrating territorial connection.*

7. Traces among the French, full forms with their neighbours, more remote western nations, as well as with the Hungarians and their neighbours: The "She was

sewing in the window..." formula occurs at the incipit of **12.** The Bride Found Dead, **14.** The Bride Given in Marriage to Poland, **21.** The Wife Taken at Her Word, **49.** Fair Ilona Langos (French literary antecedents, Iberian, English, Danish, Hungarian, Moravian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Croat proveniences, of which see more below). *No territorial connection.*

8. Only traces with the French, full forms in Eastern Europe and the intermediary territories: **63.** The Bad Wife (German, Italian, Greek, Hungarian versions), one of the motifs of the Hungarian is found in a separate ballad with the French, **71.** The Coward Lover (modified southern French, obscure German, Iberian, complete Hungarian, Croat, Slovene versions).**43.** The Test of Faithfulness (French, German, Danish, Iberian, Italian, Greek, Hungarian, rather few Croat a Slovene versions). *Territorial connections between the national forms.*

9. No French version, existing only among the nations neighbouring the French or more remote western peoples—and only with the Hungarians in the East: **10.** The Disgraced Girl (Iberian, English, three Rhenish German versions), **60.** János who was Poisoned (Italian, English, German, Danish), **73.** The Servant and My Goodwife (Greek), where direct French connection is apparent; the ballad being closely related to **72.** The Song of the Ferrymen, also occurring among the French, **83.** The Bride Brought Back (Iberian), **16.** The Mother's Curse (Italian). No territorial link.

10. No French version exists, but the ballad occurs among their neighbours as well as in Eastern Europe: **44.** The Turtle-dove That Lost Her Mate (Iberian, Greek?, Hungarian, Romanian), **9.** The Two Chapel Flowers (Iberian, English, Danish, Breton detail, Hungarian; the grave-flower applied in various forms in Slovakian, Ukrainian, Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian areas), **42.** The Mother Kidnapped by the Son (Iberian, Hungarian, Moravian, Slovakian, Russian, Serbo-Croat, Bulgarian), **1.** The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death (Iberian, Hungarian, the motif of burning alive occurring in Serb, Bulgarian and Romanian heroic songs). *No territorial connection between western and eastern versions.*

11. Non-extant in France, territorial connection between western and eastern versions: **12.** The Bride Found Dead (German, Breton, Hungarian, Southern Slav, Bulgarian, Romanian, Greek, Czech, Moravian, Slovakian, Ukrainian), **13.** The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession (English, German, Italian, Slovakian, Moravian, Hungarian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Southern Slav). Outside the Hungarian area, the two types have merged—disregarding the Italian where only the latter one occurs.

Naturally, this territorial grouping does not mean an order of affinity, although closest relations can be supposed in the first, loosest in the last-mentioned types. As against this, the French origin of The Disgraced Girl (Type **10.**), for example, may be supposed sooner than that of many preceding types. Let us make a survey from this point of view.

A) Plausible French origins: **3.** The Enticed Wife, **6.** Three Orphans, **7.** Jesus Seeking Lodging, **11.** The Bride Dragged to Death, **17.** The Two Captives, **18.** The Knight and the Lady, **19.** The Girl Who Set Out with the Soldiers, **23.** The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Child, **24.** The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Three Children, **26.** The Girl Danced to Death, **57.** Take Out My Weary

Heart... and the motif applied in four other types, **68**= The Marvellous Corpse, **70.** Crying János, **80.** The Soldier Girl. Fourteen ballads in all, and two formulas: "She was sewing in the window..." and the other occurring in **33.**: "For seven years we have not seen the go of the sun..." We have thus sixteen certain agreements. In these, direct French–Hungarian connections are clearly seen even if intermediary areas are involved in the route of transmission. Divergences and similarities will inform us even in such instances about the origin of the ballad, so for example in the cases of **3.**, **6.**, and **80.** Conclusions supported by connecting links in intermediary regions rest even on safer theoretical grounds, as has been expounded in connection with the method applied, than when a lack of such regions provides evidence of direct relationship between obviously agreeing ballad texts.

B) We may regard as strongly plausible those results in which the textual agreements are blurred, owing to recent re-wording of the ballad (The Speaking Corpse, **65.**). or in which the correlation is certain, but not so clearly demonstrable in the abridged and transformed Hungarian version as in the instances mentioned above, although at the same time the eastern and the western groups are disconnected territorially and, what is more, are completely different from each other (The Cruel Mother-in-Law, **28.**). Sometimes the French origin can be inferred only by way of analyzing survivals in the version of neighbouring or more distant peoples, and supported perhaps by French fragments of other traces. I think it inevitable to infer a no longer extant French original of The Disgraced Girl **(10.)** and The Test of Faithfulness **(43.).** But the same conclusion must be drawn in connection with some variants of distant regions (Iberian, English, Danish, Italian, and also of Greek, as will be shown below) bearing conspicuous agreement with certain Hungarian ballads (The Two Chapel Flowers, **9.**, The Mother Kidnapped by the Son, **42.**, The Turtle-Dove That Lost Her Mate, **44.**).

C) Possibilities of connection can only be conceived through Hungarian mediation when variants of a theme appear in two well-discernible and disconnected blocs of East and West, respectively, and the eastern ones can be derived from the Hungarian; altough, even in disregard of this possibility, we have to arrive at the same conclusion, since connection between the two blocs can only be imagined through the mediation of the French settlers of mediaeval Hungary. In respect of the transformed East-European version of Type **28.** (Porcheronne) Hungarian priority cannot be demonstrated, owing to the strongly eroded text of the Hungarian ballad. (It appears solely from the Romanian texts that they are secondary developments as compared with the Hungarian version.) Thus far, this ballad is an exception to the rule governing the cases in which it is always the Hungarian formulation that stands nearer to the French original than those of the nations neighbouring Hungary. Yet, connection between the separate blocs can only be explained by the role of French settlers in Hungary.

D) Another case of possible agreement is when a Hungarian ballad may be traced back to two French antecedents; one being still extant and showing clear correspondences with part of the Hungarian version, the other being inferable from various other indications. (The Bad Wife, **63.**) Maybe, a Breton has preserved the traits best agreeing with the Hungarian (The Girl Abducted by the Turks, **29.**). Further, two distinctly outlined Hungarian ballads may preserve the theme whose

parallel lives in a separate French song and whose elements survive inserted in other songs (Crying János, **71.**, The Coward Lover, **72.**). I list eleven ballads in these group. Facing so much similarities as in most cases of these group scholars, in general, would have unhesitatingly stated interrelations provided the results would have been in conformity with former prejudices. I think that the high number of doubtless agreements mutually supporting each other allows us to substantiate correlations in instances of strongly plausible interrelationships, whose number is equally high, the more so since no possibilities of other connections can be detected in them.

The twenty-seven parallels taken together clearly indicate that we are dealing with a *coherent process,* an extensive French influence, which used to be responsible for a mass of ballads, indeed the whole genre, having become widespread among the Hungarians. In knowledge of all this, and of the trend of dissemination, in which the French ballad flooded over to other European peoples, we cannot refrain from supposing similar correlations even when no French point of origin is given but traces of the one-time existence of the French original can be demonstrated, sparcely though, but always with such nations whose French connections are certain, while their direct Hungarian contacts are inconceivable. The picture drawn from the fragmentary Western tradition can be fairly well completed when also the evidence of the elements that used to spread from the Hungarians to their neighbours are taken into consideration. That is to say, on the basis of indirect evidence (E) French origin can be inferred from less distinct traces in East-European occurrences formerly derived from German or Italian sources (The Bride Found Dead, **12.**, The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession, **13.**, The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death, **27.**), as well as in such cases regarding which no theory of derivation of the Hungarian version emerged at all (The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death, **1.**, The Wife Kicked to Death, **39.**, János Who Was Poisoned, **60.**, The Servant and My Goodwife, **73.**, and The Bride Brought Back, **83.**). As a rule, I have considered it a principle of method to attribute obvious Iberian–Hungarian agreements to French connections. The Spanish–Portuguese ballads bear clear traces of French origin, and precisely in the dubious cases they offer evidence enough that a no longer extant, or possibly a not yet known French model is backing them.

There is only one ballad (The Mother's Curse, **16.**) in whose connection I refrain from inferring a French origin, although some hazy traces seem to point toward France. In this instance, namely, another possibility is open: the mentioned ballad is a recent development from an early Hungarian ballad **(13.)**. On the other hand, I have to relegate to the sphere of Western ballads, withouth any closer determination though, The Test of Love **(69.)**, because this precludes connection with any nations' versions.

Since the arrival of French ballads into Hungary may have a time-determining importance, I think it necessary to drop a few words about the historical circumstances of the process. The chart enclosed shows the demonstrable French and Walloon settlements in mediaeval Hungary. Settlement of the said ethnic groups began as early as the eleventh century; most of the relevant place-names existed in the thirteenth century, even though some of them can be

documented from later times. French language communities can be inferred from different types of data.

1. Sources referring to larger communities. A papal legate reports on their particular dioceses from 1463, which situated probably in the Szepesség (Northern mediaeval Hungary) and in the vicinity of Eger. A document from 1350 refers to the revolt of the Walloons of Egervölgy. Two pilgrimages from this colony visited Liège at a later date, as can be documented by records in the archives of the mentioned city. Miklós Oláh, bishop of Eger then archbishop of Esztergom, who spent some time in Belgium when Queen Mary (Mária) sojourned there, mentions in his work *Hungaria* (written in the years 1536–38) that the Walloon settlers were still speaking their mother tongue in certain Hungarian villages, in the region of Eger.

2. Sources containing data about French or Walloon settlers in certain villages or districts of certain towns. For instance, the French burghers of Esztergom and Székesfehérvár had had sigils of their own. The "Lamenting Song" Rogerius wrote about the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42 includes references to Hungarian, French and Lombard populations in Esztergom. Similarly, mixed population of Hungarian, French and Slav extraction was living in Zagreb. (Anyway, the French and Walloon sttlements are shown in the attached Map.)

3. National affinity can be inferred from the names of certain settlements. For instance, Tállya (the Tokaj region) can be etymologically derived from the French word *taille,* meaning clearing in a forest.

4. In some instances only names of Walloon persons are mentioned in the sources, possibly those of the founders of the village. The presence of French or Walloon settlers must be taken for granted in such cases as well, for it cannot be imagined that new settlers had parted with their compatriots to move into purely Hungarian environment.

5. There are villages named "Olaszi" without further specification in Hungary, which in general refer to some sort of "Latin" population, perhaps Lombard, possibly French, like in the case of a settlement in whose environment the toponym "Franciavágás" (French Clearing) occurs. There is an abundance of data to indicate Walloons—and even in-migrants from Liège—who used to live in the surroundings of Pécs. Scattered rural and urban settlements can be demonstrated in large numbers throughout the Hungarian-inhabited areas of those times, and their number must have been even higher than can be assessed on the basis of the otherwise rather scarce data of the historical sources. (After I compiled my previous chart, Györffy (1963 and 1972) and Székely (1972) produced further relevant data, which have been included in my new Map and List of Data.)

Even more important than the above is the circumstance that the French settlers had maintained close contact with their Western relatives. Consequently, we have to reckon with an almost continuous connection between Hungary and the northern French territories, mainly those inhabited by Walloons. The relations with Liège have been traced by Bárczi on the basis of deeds published from the archives of the province. It appears from these that in fourteenth-century Liège, city and province both understood, there were places, streets and also *persons* bearing the name "Magyar" (Hungarian)—and that among the *persons* burghermeisters

and city counsellors were included—which clearly shows how intensive their connections with the Hungarians must have been in those days. Even Hungarians were found among them: a word in vernacular Walloon, *hanke* < *hongre* used to mean "to speak Hungarian", while today it means "to speak a strange language, to stammer". Those who framed this word must have heard people speaking Hungarian.

Lively contacts can be demonstrated from the Hungarian side as well. Mezey pointed out that in 1272 a merchant of Ghent, called "fat Jean" received vineyards from a citizen of Esztergom in exchange of his debts; further, that a kind of cloth was currently termed "ganti" in Hungarian, a word that found its way into Latin deeds as a Hungarian loanword. In early thirteenth century a variety of religious and social movements of the Flanders appeared in the life of the city: it was called *beginism,* and reached the population of Esztergom in its most typical Flandrian form. (Cf. the statements of withesses in the canonization records of St. Margaret of the House of the Árpáds.) All this implies a lively, direct contact. The same is brought out by the fact that Louis the Great (King of Hungary, of the House of the Angevins, 1342–82) had a chapel built in Aachen for the use of Hungarian pilgrims, and also installed a Hungarian priest in it. Yearly pilgrimage to Aachen, then a Walloon city, attracted large numbers of Hungarians in those days, certainly including also groups of Walloons. It must have been on such occasion that the Walloons of Eger, mentioned before, visited Liège, according to the testimony of the city's records.

One can imagine how wonderful opportunities such a pilgrimage may have offered for the populace to exhange traditions. And so must have the arrival of a van of carts filled with cloth of Ghent (*ganti* cloth!) in, say, the French district of the city of Esztergom. Well, these carts were escorted by a large number of armed men, who belonged to the people, and so did the drivers and servants of the merchants. This is relevant to the questions of passing over traditions. Communal singing must have been an every-day entertainment for them, and those involved must have been most attracted by what was regarded as "new" or "modern", they wished to learn them first of all. By way of analogy, in the village Áj that had been under Czechoslovakian rule for twenty years before 1940, when it was re-attached to Hungary until the end of the war and where I was making field-work, the villagers, although never separated by some sort of "iron-curtain" from Hungary, were eager to sing and learn the freshest songs of the Hungarian soldiers they came in contact with; particularly the young people urged the soldiers to teach them new songs in the spinning-room.

By the fifteenth century this close contact had loosened, by all appearance. There were long intervals without visits or pilgrimages made. The pilgrimages of the Walloons of the Eger region to Liège in the years of 1447 and 1493 are memorable precisely because the Walloons of the city surprised at their relatives' perfect French parlance in the Liège dialect began to turn up old writings in order to search for their origin. Obviously, they had been long oblivious of their kindred folk in Hungary. After the death of King Matthias (1490) and in the turmoil of the sixteenth century, during the decades of the Turkish wars the last Walloon groups disappeared or assimilated.

But the traces they had left behind are present not only in ballads and some other folklore genres (see *Solymossy* 1922, *Vargyas* 1957–62, 1958–60, 1960), but also in the viticulture of the regions of Eger, Gyöngyös and Tokaj where the more developed stock-cultivation, methods and implements, point back to north-French influence (*Vincze* 1957). Old-French linguistic memories have been demonstrated in loan words (*Bárczi* 1938 and 1958, with earlier literature enumerated), which include phrases referring to peasant life. That is to say, in spite of their minority status, those French-speaking compatriots had enriched the culture of the Hungarians. Yet, transmission should not be imagined in a way that a "small ethnic group" had transformed Hungarian folk poetry; rather, they had been intermediaries between contemporary French and Hungarian peasantry, spreading the new vogue in their new country, and the neighbouring populations, through the media of their polyglot layers, and of certain polyglot fractions of the Hungarians.

As to the polyglottal condition of the Walloons, they themselves provided data on the occasion of their Liège pilgrimage of 1447. When asked how they managed to preserve their perfect Liège pronunciation, they intimated that while their *men had learned Hungarian* to be able to carry on business with the surrounding inhabitants, their women at the family hearths used their native idiom in conversing with the children. The chronicler also mentioned that allegedly the Hungarian King warned them not to forget their tongue (Székely after E. Borchgrave and F. Rousseau).

As so large-scale transmission was out of place in the period of declining contacts in the fifteenth century, we must regard the fourteenth as the upper limit of borrowing. Remember: in 1447 the citizens of Liège did not even know about the existence of relatives in Hungary! One might think that the said time-limit was one before which the Walloons in Hungary had acquired some of the ballads of their former country, and that—theoretically—those songs may have reached the Hungarians at a later date. Yet, what is more likely: the Hungarians must have got acquainted with the new products as soon as these appeared among their Walloon neighbours, the more so because the conditions of transmission also indicate a very early adaptation, preceding, as they did, sometimes even the direct neighbours of the French (Cf. Notes to **3**).

The end of the fourteenth century as upper limit is supported by the strange fact that toward the end of the next century some ballads (e.g. "Pernette") were recorded in France, which had always been part of the most popular songs there and which the Hungarians had not known. Similarly, the very popular "Germine" (French 72) is not known in Hungary, although an earlier version, the "La Porcheronne" theme (103) had been adapted (for the relation of the two, see *Barbeau* 1937, 84 and *idem.*, 1962, 115), the Hungarian form being "The Cruel Mother-in-Law" **(28.)**. In a former study of mine (1958–60) I pointed to an early variant of the tune of "Roi Renaud" that used to be sung to a different text (cf. also the chapter about the Ballad Tunes in this book). It is, therefore, inconceivable that had the mentioned songs existed in the popular mind in fourteenth-century France, the Hungarians should not have become acquainted with them along with the other favourite pieces that had been adopted in so large numbers. The difference between

early Hungarian borrowings and the absence of other themes can only be explained by the supposition that the latter developed at a time when the direct contacts had ceased already. Two things follow from this consideration: first, the relatively early time of Hungarian borrowing, and secondly, the fifteenth-century French ballad recordings having been not notations of earlier existing songs but more recent, fashionable pieces. Furthermore, on the basis of Hungarian parallels, the French may date back their ballad poetry to the fourteenth century.

These conclusions, on the other hand, enable us to date to the fourteenth century the development of most of the Hungarian traditional ballads, and not merely those which had had French antecedents but also those which are autonomous developments agreeing with the former as regards style and formulation. Among the Hungarians, too, we must fix the end of the high time of ballad poetry in the late fifteenth century, before which such masterpieces were born in Hungary as the Roi Renaud, for instance, among the French. Where, therefore, French influence can be shown, the fourteenth century can be taken for the period of generation, while in the case of autonomous developments of similar style, the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

The next group to be distinguished after that of French origin is represented by mediaeval ballads of autonomous development in the Hungarian ballad stock. These include such ones as well as have been transmitted to the neighbouring nations. (Derivations from epic songs of the Conquest period are not listed with these again, being traceable to still earlier times.)

The group covers the following ballads: The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child **(5.)**, The Girl Taken to Heaven **(8.)**, The Bride Given in Marriage to Poland **(14.)**, The Bride and the Rooster **(15.)**, The Brigand' Wife **(20.)**, The Wife Taken at Her Word **(21.)**, The Rich Woman's Mother **(22.)**, The Girl Who Made Love with the Servant **(25.)**, The Girl Escaped from the Turks **(30.)**, The Girl Kidnapped by Soldiers **(31.)**, The Brother Pursuing His Sister's Betrothed **(40.)**, The Wife Longing to Go Home **(41.)**, The Little Owl Woman **(45.)**, The Rich Old Husband **(46.)**, Fair Ilona Langos **(49.)**, The Two Captive Lasses **(50.)**, The Young Lord of Mezőbánd **(51.)**, Emperor Fülöp **(55.)**, Fairy Ilona **(56.)**, Sitting by My New Distaff **(58.)**, Farewell to the Sweetheart **(59.)**, The Murdered Brother **(61.)**, The Bewitched Son, The Incredulous Husband **(64.)**, The Lazy Wife **(67.)**, The Two Kinds of Bride **(74.)**, The Prince preparing to Marry **(75.)**, The Suitor of the Faulty Girl **(76.)**, Where Have You Slept Last Night, Tomtit? **(77.)**, The Clever Adulteress **(78.)**, The Girl with the Gander **(81.)**, and Evening in the Spinning House **(82.)**. As can be seen, the group consists of a few ripe, classical ballads, numerous fragments and solitary ramifications of great ballad themes, and many strophe-repetitive ballads. Partially here can we list the so-called "Lament Ballads" (Type **92.**) because of their mediaeval and Hungarian origin, which, however, are not ballads in the true sense of the word, but rather reminiscences of the Vogul Fate-Songs, bearing at the same time close relationship with the burial laments performed in singular first person. Each song of this Type has an identical beginning formula and a similar subject—insofar they constitute a special type. On the other hand, certain turns of the ballad style occur in them. Therefore they belong to the ballads. At the same time, they invariably have a local theme, this is the reason why they fail to include identical,

matured details, apart from the opening formula. They are important revelations of the people's skill of versification as the pieces belonging to this type have been polished by the process of collective variation to a negligible extent. Performance in singular first person was typical of songs telling about the feats of Hungarian heroes raiding foreign countries in the Conquest times: it may be suspected, therefore, that they are related in one way or other to early traditions. We list them along with the mediaeval songs.

There are such Hungarian ballads whose parallels can be found with other peoples as well, yet no certain relationship can be established between them. They rather represent adaptations of some literary theme known all over Europe, like The History of Hero and Leander (**37.** The King's Son and a King's Daughter), the story of Guiscardus and Guismonda (**38.** The Daughter of the Pagan King); The Haughty Wife (**66.**), on the other hand, and its English parallel may have developed with no such antecedent to look back upon, though independently of each other. The Girl Who Solves Riddles (**79.**) may have come about directly from a folk tale, having nothing to do with the thematically related German song, while The Rivalry of the Flowers (**89.**) derived from the mediaeval "certamen" must be an autonomous Hungarian development paralleled nowhere in European balladry. Thus, the mentioned pieces can be listed with the independent Hungarian ballad types. Of course, those ballads or ballad-like songs also qualify as Hungarian origins which made their way from late epic-singers into the stock of folk poetry. Such are: The Young Lords Escaped from the Emperor's Prison (**33.**), The Prince's Soldier (**35.**), The Banquet of the Pasha of Várad (**36.**).

The next group includes sporadic phenomena of Hungarian balladry, in whose instances the song, not ballad proper but something related to the genre at certain marginal points, was not borrowed from the French but from some other nation.

German: The Dead Bridegroom (**85.**), The Holy Virgin Searching for Her Son (**90.**), The Count and the Nun (**97.**) The Hunter and his Daughter (**100.**), The Beguiled Husband (**129.**) The first cannot be termed a ballad in the true sense of the word, the next three are modern broadsides, only the last-mentioned one has reached the stage of folklorization at which folk poetry begins.

Romanian: The Mountain Shepherd Murdered by Robbers (**32.**), The Wife Who Was Sold Away (**84.**), The Dead Brother (**86.**), The Girl and the Rider (**87.**), King István of Hungary (**88.**). The first is known, outside Moldavia, only from some recordings from the Székely region; Type **87**. from one single unfolklorized variant. The remaining three have turned up more recently in one or two variants among the Moldavian Csángós.

Similarly sporadic occurrences are The Girl Who Shirks Going to Church (**95.**), which was spread by broadside singers of Moravia; The Girl with the Peacock (**93.**), somewhat more widespread and more of a folklore product, does include certain elements of Slovak folklore, but is demonstrable exclusively from Hungarian tradition for the time being.

Finally: it cannot be decided as yet whether the theme of The Lover Returning at His Sweetheart's Wedding (**47.**) has been derived, in a peculiar

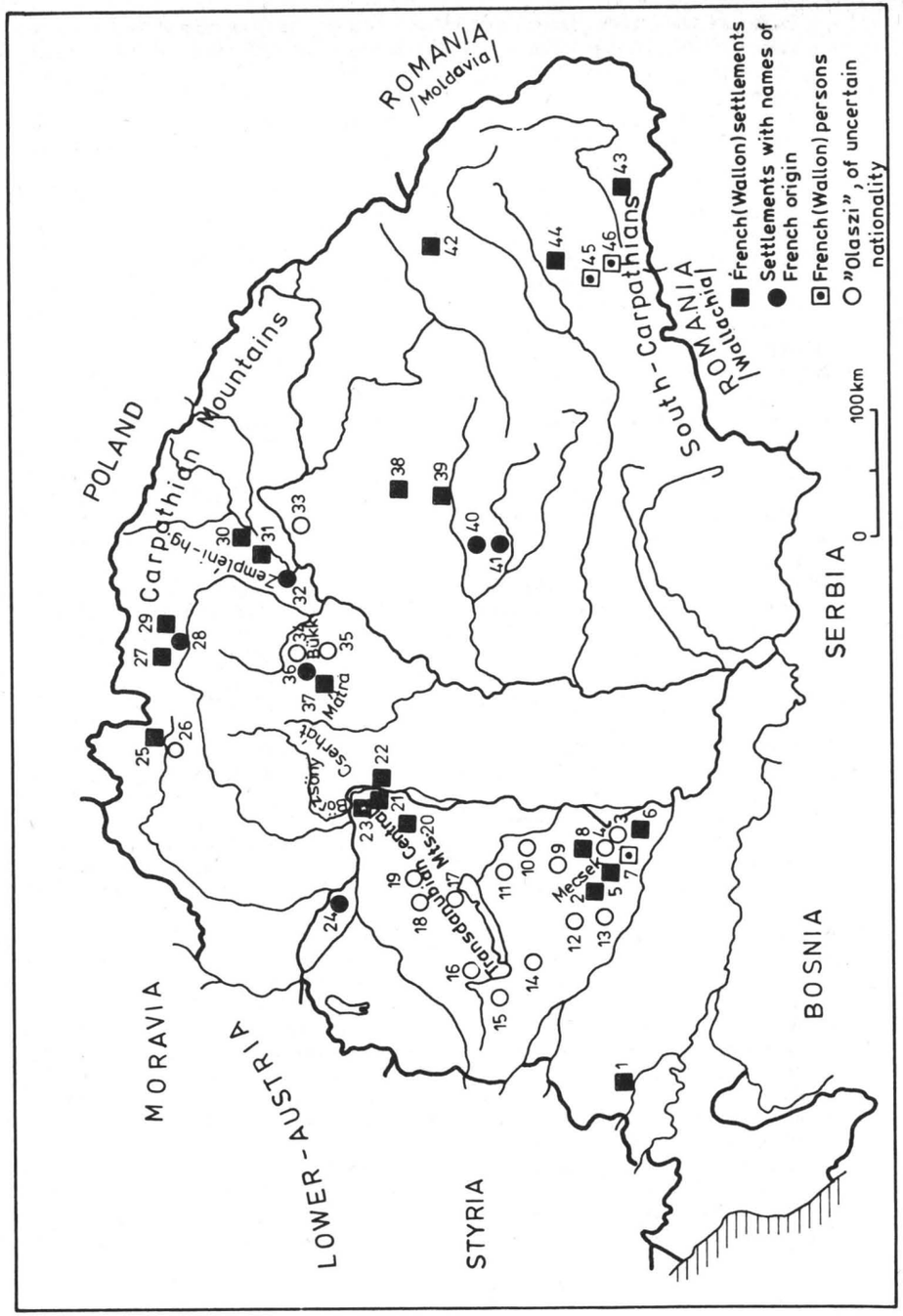
formulation, from a French song among the Moldavian Csángós or really from a Romanian art song.

The comparative problems of Hungarian balladry are actually ended with the survey of the old ballads. Of the undoubtedly new themes, only that of The Beguiled Husband (**129.**) is known to be extant among other peoples as well. The rest all have been developed on Hungarian soil, and also remained within the confines of the Hungarian language area; for most of them, the time of generation is also known, mainly the outlaw ballads can be placed with a high degree of accuracy between the late eighteenth century and the fourth quarter of the nineteenth. But also the generation of some other new ballads can be dated in cases they were based on some local event (**123., 96.**), or else on a poem giving rise to the ballad (**129., 122.**). And where no such data is given, the style and the type of event (The Girl Who Fell into the Threshing Machine, **128.**) can help the researcher, for instance, we know when threshing-machines, to stick to the example, were introduced in Hungary (around 1870). Even the development of the first variants can be followed from various collections (**126.**), sometimes also the tune gives point of orientation. Still, some of them may rely on old themes, like The Wife Who Murdered Her Husband (**124.**) and The Wife Who Killed Her Old Husband (**125.**) whose thematic relations can be found among the French (French 31). In such instances, formulation is simple but not modern. Yet, the majority of Types **93–140.** should be regarded as late eighteenth- or nineteenth-century developments.

REFERENCES TO FRENCH SETTLERS IN MEDIAEVAL HUNGARY

After *Karácsonyi, Auner M., Bárczi* 1929, 1937, 1938, *Rousseau* 1930, 1937, *Kniezsa, Amman, Mezey* 1955, *Surányi–Bárczi–Pais, Gáldi* 1960b, *Györffy* 1963, 1972, and *Székely*.

1. 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 canonized later, in 1232!) was the Vienne diocese of St. Didier de la Monthe, 14th century: "platea latinorum".
2. 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* 1955, 19); 1290: among the citizens of Pécs "gallicus-Latinus" (= Walloon) and "Lumbardus (= Italian) nationalities are mentioned; 1295: "Latinus civis Peechyensis", *ibid.* "Johannes Gallicus".
3. Olaszi (Baranya county) 1181; Uloz; 1295: Villa Olozy.
4. 1316: Olaz.
5. Olaszárpád (Baranya county, today a settlement in the vicinity of Pécs); 1181: Walloon names of witnesses occur in a deed of land survey; the arbitrator was called Marcellus "praepositus" (name of mayor in Northern France); 1334: in a Papal tithes register "Árpád Gallicus".
6. Gyula (Baranya county) in a brawl, six serfs of Walloon nationality (Gallici iobagiones) were killed.
7. Püspökbogád (Baranya county) 1295: a serf, Rechel-Rethel, designated as "gallicus" fled from his landlord, later they came to an agreement.
8. Olaszfalva (Baranya county—part of Pécsvárad) 1258: Walloon-inhabited district of the town of Hungarian-German-Walloon population.
9. Olaszfalu 1455/64: possessio Olazfalw.
10. Kánya (Tolna county) 1444: Olazkánya; 1506: Olaszkánya.
11. 1431: Villa Olaz.
12. Olaszfalu: 1346.
13. Olaszfalu: 1403, 1493.
14. Olaszfalu: 1448.
15. 1374: Olazfalu, possession of the Castle of Kemend.
16. 1496: Olazmyhallakosa (inhabitant of Olaszmihály).
17. 1426: Olazfalw, possession of Bátorkő.
18. 1475: Olazfalw, today an agricultural field;
    1510: possession of Anyavár.
19. 1426: Olazfalw, today an agricultural field near Szücs (Veszprém county); on the outskirts: *Franciavágás* (French Clearing).
20. Székesfehérvár: in mediaeval times the Walloon burghers of the city had a peal of their own, with the inscription: "Sigillum Latinorum civium Albensium".
21. Buda 1433: Bertrandon de la Broquière found French citizens in Buda. At that time there was a "French street" in Buda (and also an Italian street called "Welscher").
22. 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.
23. 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; about 1290: "ganthi péciák" (Ghent cloths); at the beginning of the 14th century there were several council members with French names, and the French had their own seal.
24. Alistál-Felistál (Pozsony county) 1268: Staul (stal, ustar) = French *staul-storehouse, settlement.
25. Kisolaszi (Liptó county) 1264: Johannes Gallicus obtains an estate in villa Latina "cuiusdam prati intra villas Topla et Latinam existentis... Magistro Johanni Gallico facta"; 1267: villa Oloscy; 1286/98: Olazy-Olazi.
26. Olaszi (Liptó county) 1262: Olazy (situated between Rózsahegy and Liptószentmiklós).
27. Szepesjánosfalva (Szepes county) in the 15th century Gehanfalva ("Gehanham").
28. Mecsedelfalva (Szepes county) 1278: Mytschelet = French Michelet, a diminutive of Michel.
29. Szepesolaszi (Szepes county) 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.
30. Bodrogolaszi 1224: Francavilla.
31. Olaszliszka 1201: mayor = praepositus, as in northern France; 1224: Franca villa; 1239/1400: Liszka Olazy; 1248: Liszka Olaszi; 1255: Lyzka Olazy.
32. Tállya (Zemplén county), French etymology from "taille" = clearing in forest; 1275: "ville Talya latine" mentioned for its corn produce.
33. Paszony (Szabolcs county) 1412: "Nicolao olasz dicto" mentioned in connection with a quarrel.
34. 1285: Olazyghaz (= Latin diocese); 1460: Olazy possessio, possession of Cserépvár.
35. Olaszi (Borsod county) 1275: Vluosci.
36. Tállya (Heves county, off Eger) French etymology from "taille" = clearing in forest, first mentioned in 1261.
37. Egervölgy (= valley of Eger, Heves county) 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. Scr. Medii Recentisque Aevorum.* Budapest 1938). 1494: Olaszfalu. See also Tállya in this connection.
38. Érolaszi (Bihar county) 1290: Eng-Olosy; about 1320: "Jean sacerdos de Olazi" in Papal tithes register, compiled by two Italian priests, with French name-form. In the Middle Ages the villages were given priests speaking their own mother-tongue.
39. Váradolaszi (Bihar county, in Nagyvárad = Oradea Mare) 1215: villa Latinorum Waradensium; 1374: vicus Olazy; 1475: Olazy is used to distinguish it from the town quarters called "Padua", "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).
40. Mezőgyán (Bihar county) from French "Gehan".
41. Kötegyán (Bihar county) from French "Gehan".
42. Wallendorf (Beszterce-Naszód county) 1295: de inferiori Waldorf; 1332–1336: de Waldorf Superiori; 1413/54: in villa superiori latina... in monte Gallorum.
43. Waldorf 1206: Johan Latinus receives the "Cwezfey 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 hospitis", "Terra Johan" etc., while among the signatories we find "venerabili Johanne Strigoniensi archiepiscopo".
44. 1231: villa Latina (situated between Felmér and Lemnek, on the border of counties Kis- and Nagyküküllő); possessor: Alard, son of Gyan.
45. Vizakna (Szeben county) 1289: Geaninus filius Alardi.
46. Nagyszeben (Szeben county) 1509: Johannes Wal was the mayor = Johannes Olaz (in the accounts).



TRENDS AND CENTRE OF DISSEMINATION

In the previous chapter I gave a survey of the various groups of Hungarian ballads according to their origin and reviewed the possibilities that used to be open for the Hungarian forms to disseminate. At the same time, I showed the several trends of dissemination of the European themes through the different connections of the Hungarian ballads. It will be certainly instructive to examine now these trends on the basis of the various *groups of adoptions* and from a general European approach. In the tabulations to follow I have relied on the results of earlier studies and comparative results which can be accepted in the knowledge of the entire European material, as well as on my new results, occasionally modifying the former by the latter. I know that some of my statements, too, are contestable and subject to subsequent corrections. But still I believe that the rule of large numbers will hold in my case as well; that is, a few possible errors will not change the general view of the massive relationships asserting themselves in the full area.

Largest numbers of direct borrowings can be established in French and Italian relations, in which always the former proved to be the donors. The Piedmontan collection of *Nigra* alone includes some 116 ballads, of which 53 have been considered French origins, as stated already by Nigra for most of the examples. In addition, there are ballads that can be derived from some lost but inferable French archetypes, like the Italian parallels of the Hungarian "The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death" or "János Who Was Poisoned". Connections with the French antecedents are so conspicuous in certain instances that even toponyms or names of characters have preserved their original French forms: "The Bride Dragged to Death" type, for example, retained the French form of Marianson as Mariansun, "The Beguiled Husband" has the name of Morblieu Marion as Morblö Mariun; the Italian wording of the Type "Mariage Anglais" makes the wife forced to marry an Englishman speak like this: "Come faro a parlare Inglese, io che sono nata Francese". Such texts seem only variants of the French wording, although some omissions or erosions betray their secondary nature. In many instances they bear relationship with more or less distorted, similarly secondary southern French texts, while in other cases they are so closely connected to the best French versions that one may readily suppose a diffusion also from the northern point (Switzerland) of French—Italian contact, from where the ballad entered the Piedmontan region.

The types belonging here are as follows: (first *Nigra*'s, then the French numbers are given) 1=16, 2=77, 4=24, 5=107, 6=4, 10=64+26, 11=49+17, 12=68, 13=109, 14=25, 16=55+ other details, 17=84, 19=98, 20=126, 20=118, 24=120, 25=9, 27=123, 28=115, 28a=113, 28b=114, 28c=114, 29=23, 32=11, 34=121, 35=109+87?, 39=131, 40=33, (41=29 in Hungarian transformation), 43=69+ other ballad?, 44=5, 45=41, 46=72, 47= Fr. by

Nigra(?) 48=52, 49=99, 50=70, 52<Fr. by *Nigra,* 53=11, 55=103, 56=51, 57=38, 59=79, 61=128, 71=93, 72<93, 73=67, 74=Fr. by *Nigra,* 78=30, 80=27, 84=133, 85=74, 102=99, 127=90. Further, correspondences of 5 inferred French ballads: 3="The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death", 26="János Who Was Poisoned", 37="The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession", 54="The Test of Faithfulness" and 107=the lost French detail of the "Bad Wife". So there are 58 pieces of French origin, that is nearly half of the entire Nigra collection (127 number). In one case a ballad was not borrowed directly from the French but reached Italy, through the mediation of Slovenes, in Hungarian formulation: "The Marvellous Corpse"=41; in this instance the ballad shows an even distribution not in Piedmont, bordering on France, but in Lombardy. At the same time, a more recent variant of the French ballad spread from the French border region—the story of elopement from the nunnery, without the motif of sham-death (80), that is, the French ballad migrated to Italy in two ways and the two different forms met there.

The number of borrowings in the Iberian peninsula is lower than in Italy, although still considerable, and fairly evenly distributed among the Portuguese, Spanish and Catalans. For this material no summary collection, like that of Nigra, is available. Owing to this fact, I am less informed of the Iberian relations. Hence, perhaps, the lower ratio. Further, I quote certain ballads from the material of one or another Iberian nation. Therefore I do not treat them separately but list the data of any of the three nations as belonging to the "common" Iberian material. In lack of a summary edition, I have to rely on the numbers of the French types and to add publication data relating to Iberian ballads.

15=*Amades* 2310, *Wolf I.* Portugiesische Romanzen, 15; 25=*Amades* No. 2306, Armistead-Silverman 1978/III; 33=*Braga* III. 3; 51=*Geibel-Schack,* 205; 52=The Soldier Girl, see the list there; 55 inset=The Song of the Ferrymen, see there; 74=*Cossio-Solano* I 27/120–129, *Geibel-Schack* 348, 350 and *Amades* No. 2322 (the last-mentioned two represent transition to "The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death"); 79=*Amades* 2861; 84=Geibel-Schack 354; 90=*Amades* 190; 93=*Geibel-Schack* 388, *Wolf-Hofmann* II 151 and *Braga* IV 1; 103=*Milá y Fontanals* No. 234 (15 variants); 109=*Wolf-Hofmann* II No. 119, *Cossio-Solano* II 67/275–276; 115=*Amades* No. 2294, *Braga* I 4; 118=*Menéndez Pidál* 46–47; 126=*Braga* II 2. These references serve as examples only. At the initial stage of my study I did not single out ballads of non-Hungarian concern. Yet the types number seventeen. According to *Armistead* 1979: twenty-eight. Here, however, the ratio of lost or inferred French are comparatively high: The Disgraced Girl, The Mother Kidnapped by the Son, The Test of Faithfulness, The Two Chapel Flowers, The Turtle-dove That Lost Her Mate, The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death, motifs of The Wife Dragged to Death and The Coward Lover (eight types). An earlier French connection seems to appear here rather than in Italy: early and lost French ballads are numerous, those still surviving are relatively less numerous. In contrast, with the Italians, it would seem, a later French influence continued unbroken up to the present time.

As regards the three Iberian nations, the Portuguese seems to have preserved most of the ballad tradition and French connections. This is brought out also by the

fact that while the Spanish have retained much of the epic genre of former times, the Portuguese have maintained hardly any trace of it. An indication of this is that a Spanish version of The Soldier Girl names the heroine The Maid of Portugal as if the ballad had been adopted from the Portuguese.

Why a country not bordering on France should have been the centre for disseminating French influence could be well explained by the existence of a French kingdom in mediaeval Portugal (*Wolf* has called attention to the fact), which involved French social institutions transplanted, and the coming and going of large military forces and the presence of servants of French nationality in Portugal. Thus plenty of opportunities offered themselves for contact and exchange of songs between the two nations. At the same time, as *Armistead,* an expert of Iberian folklore, informed me, Spanish ballad is much more original than the Portuguese, only the latter has retained more of its original traditions. As I am less versed in the Iberian field, I must leave the question to be settled to scholars possessing a deeper insight into it.

French folksongs proceeded farthest in the Greek isles of the Mediterranian Sea, where, however, French antecedents can be demonstrated in a considerably lower number. (Their ratio would be higher, perhaps, if I were able to rely on a direct knowledge of this area.) I can refer to seven French parallels here, and to a further six with inferable French archetypes. Such interrelationships have come to life in connection with my study of the Hungarian ballad stock, but a closer investigation will certainly reveal still further French–Greek parallels. The real and inferable correlations (thirteen for the time being) are as follows: French 10-25, 29, 52—to my knowledge, The Soldier Girl occurs as a prose tale—a theme-insertion from 55, further 79, 93, 103, and The Test of Faithfulness, The Bad Wife, the motif of shortening skirt, The Turtle-dove That Lost Her Mate, The Servant and My Goodwife, and perhaps the parallel of The Bride Found Dead.

The Greek had had opportunities to be acquainted with French ballads in the days of the French kingdom of Cyprus in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The situation must have been the same as in Portugal: not only lords and knights but also common ranks, merchants, servants, craftsmen and sailors reached the isle, travelled between the two lands, spreading their new songs among the Greeks. *Baud-Bovy* (1956) showed traces of their contacts in Greek correspondences of certain French verse forms.

The English have long experienced the presence of French ballad connections in their folklore. By evidence of Hungarian ballads even more English—French correlations can be clarified. With some further correlations, unknown so far, added, the following *Child* numbers may be reckoned with: *Child* 4=French 109, 5=121, 9=120, 13=132, 15 and 101=87, 20=64, 25=27+29, 44=79, 54=102, 72=24, 73=126, 76 (detail)=62 (detail), 96=41, 100=67 (details), 112=93, 193=105. Total 17. Also agreements with lost French ballads should be considered: 11=The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession, 12=János Who Was Poisoned, 17 and 75=Two Chapel Flowers, 65=The Disgraced Girl and 156: whose origin, by *Child,* was in a French fabliau (from which the French may have framed a verse). Total: 23.

A fairly identical view can be seen in German relation; earlier research, however, recognized much fewer French borrowings in German balladry, and in many instances suggested a trend in the reverse or simply ignored the existence of French parallels. The following numbers of D. Vlr should be taken into account: D. Vlr. 7 = French 87, 8 = 2, 11 = 114, 23, 24 = 24 (in this case the D. Vlr. tries to demonstrate German priority in a rather forcible way: while acknowledging Dutch influence in the German material, it infers elements present in French and English ballads in the German material), 34 = 55 (fitted in detail), 35 = 76, 41 = 109, 56 = 122, 59 (detail) = 69 (detail), 102 = 113, 116 = 131, E-B 460, 668 = 12, E-B 852 = 67, E-B 202 = 131. Total 16, to which borrowings from lost ballads should be added: D. Vlr. 49–50 = "The Bride Found Dead", 55 = "The Disgraced Girl" (the motif of shortening of the skirt), 67 = "The Disgraced Girl", 79 = "János Who Was Poisoned", further E-B 67 = "The Test of Faithfulness" and E-B 910 = "The Bad Wife". Seven types, that is, 23 French parallels in all, as many, by and large, as in the English stock.

Scholarly opinions often differ in respect of common French—German themes. Experts are prone to suppose a German priority when the theme of a ballad bears affinity to some Germanic epic motif. However, we must consider that also the French ethnic group incorporated several Germanic tribes; Franks, Burgundians, Normans and even Goths may have contributed to their folklore with their earlier traditions of epic themes. It follows, therefore, that *priority of ballad formulation* should be in every case assessed by confronting the folk variants. For instance, for D. Vlr. 6 = DgF 20, a seemingly Germanic epic origin existing in French tradition as well (61), I cannot state anything for certain for the time being; more recently *Baud-Bovy* (1977) demonstrated a Greek origin, seeing Byzantine traces in it which point to the Crusade period. D. Vlr. 7 = *Child* 15 = DgF 271 = French 87. At the same time, the scene of poisoning mentioned in the eighth-century Longobard chronicle had turned into a ballad theme certainly in France (Dame Lombarde, French 16).

The number of French borrowings is by and large the same with the Danes (Scandinavians), and the French traits in their ballads are even more conspicuous than in the German material. The DgF numbers belonging here are the following 47 = 118. In my former studies I have expounded my arguments regarding this correlation: the Bretons had developed a märchen-like introduction from the beginning lines of the French ballad which is essentially a psychological presentation; the song reached the Danes in that form. At the same time *Forslin* (1962–63) insisted on a Breton original, of which the French was only an abridged version. Had also the second part of the Breton song a märchen—fantastic character agreeing in style and spirit with the first part, then his standpoint could be accepted. But the second part follows the French ballad's psychological technique of presentation, in a sharp contrast to the style of the first part. 58 = 6, 89 = 131, 126 = detail of 121, 250 = 62 + The Test of Faithfulness, 263 (detail) = 55 (detail), 265 = Bele Aiglentine (a mediaeval French lay), 270 – 271 = 87 (+ 121), 311 = 4, 338 = 68, 342 – 343 = 103, 345 = 16, 357 = 121, 408 = 27, 409 = 29, 437, 525 = 79, 446, 458 = 122, and *Kristensen* 52* = *Dal* 42 = 93. That is, 22 types, to which a further 4 can be added from inferred French ballads: 247 = The Sister of the Man

Condemned to Death, 252 – 253 = The Test of Faithfulness (transformed), 446 = The Two Chapel Flowers. Here French connection is even more obvious since several formulas are found in several types whose English, Spanish—Portuguese and Hungarian analogues also suggest French antecedents (which are mostly absent in the German ballads). Such are the beginning formula speaking about the girl embroidering with gold thread, the motifs of chapel flowers embracing each other (true lovers' knot), the enticement to a wonderful country, and finally the circumscription of the fact that the hero(ine) should never return home, together with many minor corresponding details.

At the same time, the Danes have special connections with the Germans and the English too. In the final issue, some French origins reached them through German and English mediation. German transmission is likely or certain, for example, in connection with the French 109 = D. Vlr. 41 = DgF 183 = "The Enticed Wife", French 120 = in D. Vlr. 42 = DgF 249, "János Who Was Poisoned" = D. Vlr. 79 = DgF 341 and "The Test of Faithfulness" = E-B 67 = DgF 254.

Apart from these, German origin or connection may be accepted in the instances of DgF 90 = E-B 197 "The Dead Bridegroom", 97 = E-B 2056 – 2062 "The Holy Virgin Searching for Her Son", 306 = D. Vlr. 40, 369 = D. Vlr. 42, 370 = D. Vlr. 60, 378 = D. Vlr. 72, 382 = D. Vlr. 73, and 486 = E-B 78, Die Losgekaufte = "The Test of Love". Further, German researchers derive D. Vlr. 68 from DgF 126, which would mean a trend in the reverse in this single case. Thus, German—Danish connections are marked by 12 borrowings from German and 1 the other way round. (These results have been based exclusively on DgF material. Holzapfel, 1976, relying on the evidence of Swedish ballads and such Danish ballads which have not been incorporated in the DgF, has demonstrated more German→Scandinavian borrowings mediated mainly by broadsides of relatively recent times.)

Between the French and the Danes, the English may have mediated the following types: French 64 = *Child* 20 = DgF 529, French 122 = *Child* 75 = DgF 446 and French 93 = *Child* 112 = *Dal* 42. Further English—Danish (Scotch—Scandinavian?) connection are, by DgF—*Child* numbers: 81 = 43 (58 = 114? French 6) 82 = 7, 95 = 10, (270 – 271 = 15), 274 – 276 = 5, 340 = 13 (see *Taylor* 1931), (408 – 409 = 25), 416/2 = 71, 438 – 439 = 51?, 528 = 79. Total 14 (19?) cases, and possibly 2 in the reverse: 84 = 6, 95 = 10.

For the time being, problematic is to me the origin of two ballads occurring by and large in identical forms with all the three Germanic nations: *Child* 62 = D. Vlr. 74 = DgF 258 and *Child* 91 = D. Vlr. 53 = DgF 445. And so is DgF 338 in which *Child* 14 (Babylon) and the French 68 (Les larrons et la bague) are merged.

The above list shows much fewer Danish—English and German—Danish connections than supposed traditionally by experts of the said nations, who used to ignore French borrowings by the Danes in such instances when the French ballad was known in their country too and the similarity of English and Danish or Danish and German must be due to this common source.

The heroic ballad of the Faroe Isles, on the other hand, represents a transition form between the heroic song and the ballad, having come from the English late

heroic songs characterized also by French ballad traits (cf. Nolsöe). Thus it cannot be derived from some Old Norwegian epic poetry.

In Scandinavia English and German parallels appear side by side. Consequently, the question arises whether they are not directly related to each other. Therefore we have to review some relevant cases. D. Vlr 16 = *Child* 269 = The Daughter of the Pagan King (see there): an independent generation seems to be more likely. D. Vlr 21, Herr von Falkenstein redeemed from captivity by his wife by means of a duel = *Child* 209, shows no direct connection but some remote relationship. D. Vlr 38 = *Child* 268: the knight bets on his wife's fidelity with another knight who wants to entice her; it is questionable if this half-literary poem is a ballad at all; as to its final source of origin, it goes back to a French literary antecedent. D. Vlr. 53 = *Child* 91 = DgF 445: the connection of the story of the young wife dying in child-bed through a Breton folk tale is not impossible, although an autonomous development can be surmised as well. D. Vlr. 74 = *Child* 62 = DgF 258 (new bride and old mistress being sisters) may have been borrowed by all three nations from the French, the source being a mediaeval French literary composition, Lai de Fresne.

It appears from this survey that a direct contact between the English and the German can hardly be supposed. A sporadic trend in the reverse, at the same time, can be fairly well established from certain Norwegian—Scottish and Danish—German correspondences.

Let us now review the interrelationships of the German language area with East Europe. Of the wide range of nations involved, we have to disregard the Gottschee Germans, living wedged in Slovene territories exposed to strong Southern Slav influence, since they have never acted as mediators toward the all-German traditional regions. From the entire German stock, only three ballads show considerable dissemination in East Europe: D. Vlr 48–50, three elaborations of the theme of forced marriage, which we hold for a case of an opposite trend of dissemination, on the basis of our own research; it reached the Germans, through mediation of neighbouring nations, from Hungarian areas. Apart from these and certain other types appearing sporadically in Czech areas (*Sirovátka* 1968/I), the following types can be taken into account: D. Vlr 41 (Mädchenmörder), appearing in a few incomplete Slovene-Croat and in numerous Polish variants (the latter strongly contaminated with French elements). D. Vlr 45: a few Czech versions; D. Vlr 72 (Wiedergefundene Schwester) widespread among both the Southern and Northern Slavs, and amalgamated with diverse motifs; D. Vlr 89: a few Czech adaptations; and D. Vlr 114 (The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Child) represented by a few Southern Slav borrowings. Furthermore, perhaps, certain motifs of The Test of Love (E-B 67) and of the Edelmann und Schäfer (E-B 48) can be encountered in a medley of versions among the Southern and Northern Slavs, though never in the form of a direct adaptation. A reverse trend is shown by a still lesser number of adaptations. Disregarding the above-mentioned three ballads of a possible Hungarian origin, the following pieces come into consideration: Les Métamorphoses (East-Prussian notation), the Mädchenmörder (D. Vlr 41 = The Enticed Wife) whose beginning formula came from Poland to East Prussia, the Three Orphans (D. Vlr 116) one of whose versions was borrowed from the Czech,

and D. Vlr 78: Schwester Giftmischerin, adaptation from the Polish version of the French original (three recorded texts), also in the eastern part. As can be seen, apart from D. Vlr 72, a considerable amount of parallels in German—Slav (Slav—German) relation can be established only in three themes which, however, show Hungarian connections. This circumstance by itself is enough to warn us that the Hungarians must have played a greater role in the course of mediation. Anyway, as regards the Czech area, a kind of duality can be observed, which permits us to surmise two different trends of dissemination of ballads. In Czech—Moravian relation *Sirovátka* (1966–67) pointed out that Turkish motifs (Turkish character, Turkish imprisonment, etc.) come up fairly frequently in southeastern Moravia but less so frequently among the Czech towards the West or the Polish in the North, where they gradually disappear and lose their dramatic intensity. A similar line of demarcation between the dissemination areas appears in relation of the German influence as well, which is detectable to a remarkable extent only in the Czech provinces, in certain degree also among the Moravians but is mostly absent among the Slovaks. *Sirovátka* (1968, I.) states: German influence is important in the instance of the Czech and Lausitzians, but is meaningless for the Slovaks and the Polish.

On the other side, the dissemination of those types which can be brought in connection with Hungarian balladry fairly well complements the picture inasmuch as such tpyes are present in Slovakia, and mainly in those parts of Moravia where Turkish motifs have been demonstrated by *Sirovátka*. A coincidence of this nature cannot be by mere chance. On the whole it would indicate the trends of dissemination from the Germans, on the one hand, and from the Hungarians on the other even without further comparative knowledge of the spread of certain individual ballads. But since the two kinds of observation reveal the same territorial differences, the above conclusion can be safely drawn. Therefore also *Horálek* accepted, with some reservation, the possibility of French ballads, and even of autonomous Hungarian developments, penetrating into Czech and Slovak traditions from Hungarian territories.

The case of the Schwester Gemischerin points to still another role of the French ballad in East-European areas: French influence can be shown in the Polish versions of The Enticed Wife (The Man Who Murdered His Sweetheart) and the Dame Lombarde. An answer to the presence of French influence in East Europe can be found in the one-time existence of Walloon settlements on the Polish—Hungarian border (see, p. 86, Map) and some French ones in Silesia (near Wrocław) in the Middle Ages. More consequential than these may have been the wine trade between the Walloons and Hungarians of the Tokaj Region and the Polish of Cracow, involving a multilingual contact between merchants, drivers, coachmen, servants and the like, that is representatives of the peoples who must have met at convivial occasions, drinking wine and singing songs together. Thus no wonder that ballad parallelisms showing a strong Hungarian influence, and sometimes such ones as are indicative of a *direct* French influence, can be found in the Polish material.

The French ballad themes had not spread evenly in all the nations surrounding the French language area. Some of them made their way towards the

South-East, others to North and West. Hardly any ballad has spread in every direction. The same can be said of the dissemination of the Hungarian ballad. As in the latter case correlations are demonstrated in the context of the full material, I review the various trends of dissemination of Hungarian themes accordingly.

Toward the West only the scene under the tree of The Enticed Wife has spread. It is interesting to note that the same motif did not reach the other neighbours of the Hungarians! (Except for certain isolated and highly dubious texts of the Romanians of Transylvania.) I disregard here the three formulations of the Forced Marriage theme (D. Vlr 48–50) these being no results of a direct Hungarian—German relation but of a Hungarian→Slav and Slav→German route of mediation.

Toward the North (only!) The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Child, The Two Captive Brothers, The Speaking Corpse and Crying János have found their way. Toward the East (only)—to the Romanians—The Turtle-Dove That Lost Her Mate has disseminated (elements of The Song of the Ferrymen can be detected in a single Romanian notation from the fringe area of the Great Hungarian Plain). An exclusive Southern trend can be established for The Walled-up Wife, The Knight and the Lady, The Bewitched Son (and perhaps, judged from a vague and obscure version, also The Wife Kicked to Death); further the Test of Faithfulness in the Slovene material. The Three Orphans, The Mother Kidnapped by the Son, The Marvellous Corpse, and The Coward Lover proceeded toward the North as well as the South. A fairly even North—East—South dissemination holds for The Brigand's Wife (except Austria in the West), The Bride Found Dead and The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession, The Two Chapel Flowers (elements), The Cruel Mother-in-Law, The Girl Abducted by the Turks, The Soldier Girl and The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child.

It is conspicuous that several ballads of French origin have failed to disseminate from Hungary: The Girl Who Set out with the Soldiers, The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death, The Girl Danced to Death, János Who Was Poisoned, The Bad Wife, The Song of the Ferrymen and the possible French derivation of The Bride Brought Back. The same refers to such exquisite masterpieces of Hungarian development as The Girl Taken to Heaven, The Heartless Mother, The Mother of the Rich Wife; and The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death, from which only the motif of punishment has been applied abroad, without the plot and the portraiting of the characters. At the same time, the list of transmitted ballads includes such autonomous developments as The Brigand's Wife, The Walled-up Wife, The Bewitched Son(?), and The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child, a seemingly Hungarian song built up of markedly western motifs.

It is strange enough that two Hungarian ballads derived from one French precedent branched off in two directions: The Two Captive Brothers proceeded to North, while The Knight and the Lady to the South exclusively. (As to the Romanians, the latter is a borrowing from the stock of Southern Slav epic song rather than from Hungarian balladry; by the way, they have taken over numerous epic songs from the Slavs.)

Special attention has to be paid to the ballad routes in the Balkan area. Hungarian mediation is responsible for the spread of many western types, or types

existing also in the West, in the Bulgarian and other Southern Slav areas, although not every one of them has reached each of the Balkan nations. Thus five ballads can be found in the Croat—Slovene areas (sporadic Serbian and dubious Bulgarian versions being disregarded): the Three Orphans, The Test of Faithfulness, The Coward Lover, The Servant and My Goodwife, The Cruel Mother-in-Law. The Bulgarian and Southern Slav areas have been equally penetrated by The Marvellous Corpse, The Soldier Girl, The Two Chapel Flowers, The Brigand's Wife, The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession and The Bride Found Dead, further The Knight and the Lady, The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death, The Mother Kidnapped by the Son, The Test of Love, and so perhaps The Rivalry of Flowers. Thus, omitting for the while The Walled-up Wife, we have a total of 10 (11?) ballads in this class. Only the Bulgarians have taken over The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child. The two last-mentioned groups—11 (12?) ballads—are generally spread throughout the *entire* Bulgarian or Serbian areas to the *Greek frontiers*.

Of the Italian balladry, only certain traits of The Soldier Girl are present in the Croat and Serbian material, but the formulations follow, on the whole, the Hungarian version. An Italian trait is, for example, that the girl has to substitute for her brother in the army, occurring, however, only in a few variants; further, that the test by bathing is turned into a test of strenght by swimming across a river, which can be found in the majority of the variants. In this case, therefore, a ballad learnt from the Hungarians has incorporated a few Italian elements with the Serbo-Croats, while the version of the same ballad includes only Hungarian elements with the Bulgarians. To my knowledge, Italian traits do not occur in other Balkan ballads. The sparseness of Italian motifs show that the Balkan peoples had been sooner acquainted with the ballad genre from the Hungarian than the Italian side. (Cf. *Vargyas* 1972.)

The Greeks also passed a few elements to the other Balkan peoples' folklore tradition, mainly alongside the Greek borders, like The Bad Wife recorded from Southern Bulgarian and Aromoun border areas in one version each; exceptionally Greek solutions occur in the Albanian formulation of The Cruel Mother-in-Law, and in two or three Serbo—Croat versions of the same ballad (one of them being an obvious literary transcription); but also in this case there are numerous other variants following the style of the Hungarian ballad; finally The Soldier Girl's Albanian version includes, beside the Greek name of the heroine, certain Greek tale elements.

Special question is raised by the origin of the "Métamorphoses" in Romanian folklore. In principle it is not precluded that the Romanians acquired the ballad from the Greeks; were it so, the Northern Slav forms might be direct borrowings from the Walloons of Northern Hungary, without Hungarian mediation involved. Such an opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that the ballad did not reach the Bulgarians who live mingled with Greeks in a wide stretch of land but it did reach the Romanians having no common border with the Greeks. At the same time we may equally surmise a possible origin from a lost Hungarian ballad (see pages 63–64). Thus the ballad in question represents a border line.

Ballad-like epic songs other than western types may have spread from the Greeks to other Balkan peoples. For instance, The Dead Brother. This song,

marked by a märchen atmosphere, has penetrated the Serbian, Bulgarian and Romanian material, in which the tone is not alien at all; but its dissemination stopped at the borders of the mentioned folklore areas! (At this place I leave out of consideration its sporadic occurrence among the Hungarians of Moldavia.) Not only the Hungarians but also the Croats have failed to accept it: notably, these nations had been already acquainted with the ballad, consequently, such fantastic stories must have sounded strange to them.

To sum up what has been said so far: numerous Hungarian ballads have disseminated in the various language areas stretching to the Greek borders: Italian elements appear in one single Serbo-Croat ballad whose construction follows the Hungarian; sporadic Greek motifs come up in two Albanian songs, one Serbian song, and a Greek song occurs here and there along the borders, in Bulgarian and Aromoun populations.

This picture sheds light on the course of dissemination of The Walled-up Wife from a novel aspect. This ballad is undoubtedly of a western style,—and this holds particularly for the Hungarian version—and also its spread rather fitting in the general picture of the Hungarian ballads disseminated among the Balkan peoples: many ballads conquered the entire Balkan area to the Greek borders, one of them even transcended them. A picture in the reverse could be hardly imagined. It would be strange to suppose that one or two sporadic elements should have just transgressed the borders while this one covers the entire Balkan area and brings about a long series of sound variants even in Hungary!

The fact that this ballad has gained popularity over more extensive areas than the others can be certainly attributed to the popular belief connected with building sacrifice. Although the belief in itself provides for no more than a starting point from which the tragedy of the man losing his wife is developed; still it exercised a stronger effect on the imagination of the Balkan peoples whose folk poetry is imbued with similar popular beliefs.

Another trait featuring Hungarian ballad's spread in the Balkans is that the Bulgarian adoptions show marked differences compared with their Serbo-Croat correspondences, so that they must have followed a different trend of dissemination: in all probability, the Bulgarians had borrowed them directly from the Hungarians, that is without Southern Slav interference. This is the more surprising because the Hungarians have not had a common border with the Bulgarians for a long time. Such ballads following a different path of dissemination are The Soldier Girl, The Two Chapel Flowers, The Marvellous Corpse, and above all, The Walled-up Wife, further The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child, which does not occur at all in the Southern Slav material, and must have originated from a direct Hungarian—Bulgarian connection. On these ballads I wrote a special summary for the Bulgarians (*Vargyas* 1963a). Here again we are faced with a case that well supports my opinion relating to the origin of The Walled-up Wife, namely that the ballad streamed from the Hungarians to the Balkan nations, through the Bulgarians. The one-time area of contact may have been the Banate of Szörény (see the Map on page 51, Vol. 2).

The first lesson to learn from this survey is that the view of dissemination varies from area to area: not each ballad could radiate in an equal measure in every

direction. We cannot find a reassuring explanation for this phenomenon for the time being. In certain instances the reason may be looked for in the internal distribution of the ballad in the donor area: the song may have had a wider spread in either the northern or the southern part. Evidence of borrowing, or the absence of such evidence, may be, respectively, signs of antiquity or recent spread of a ballad. The popularity and amalgamation of The Girl Abducted by the Turks and The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession seem to show that—as proved by comparative results as well—both songs belong to the oldest layers of French borrowings. Again, from the fact that certain wide-spread French ballads are absent in the Hungarian areas—Roi Renaud, Germine, Pernette—I have concluded already in my former studies that these must have developed as late as the turn of the fifteenth century, or shortly before that time, when the Hungarians entertained no direct contact with the French. As against this, a new vogue may have been responsible for some old French origins, surviving in a restricted area, having become fashionable and wide-spread unexpectedly in recent times. This would be an explanation for the sudden revival of The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death, and The Girl Danced to Death throughout the entire Hungarian language area. And so we could explain why these ballads have left no traces behind in the folklore of the neighbouring nations. At the same time, the utter absence of The Disgraced Girl, a very old borrowing, in the material of the northern neighbours is a riddle for us, because it seems that this ballad had enjoyed a general vogue among the northern inhabitants of Hungary in the high time of ballads (i.e. when they were at the peak of their flourishing). Among the unknown factors should be mentioned the tune: a happy combination of words and melody could have lent a vital force to certain variants in the border regions. Finally, success or failure of the translation, i.e. rendering the text, may have been also consequential for the range of dissemination of a ballad.

In some instances we have to take into consideration also the decreasing strength of emanation. Let us compare the numbers of direct and indirect French borrowings: to my present knowledge, the Hungarians took over 29 themes (perhaps 32) from the French, of which only 23 went into the neighbouring nations' possession; 18 to the South, and 15 to the North. If the Hungarians had borrowed one-third or one-fourth of the French stock they had possibly got acquainted with, then the neighbours of the Hungarians must have borrowed these (and the songs developed autonomously) at a similar ratio. Still lower numbers enter the vista if the various neighbouring nations are taken separately (Slovak, Ukrainian, Serbo-Croat, Bulgarian, Romanian). The result, however, can be appreciated summarily only, but not broken down by ballad types, for we have seen that a ballad that failed to disseminate in one direction had proceeded in another. Thus we cannot explain the stops and inconsistencies of dissemination. Not all that a nation had been acquainted with from the tradition of one nation went over to another nation. In any case, the various degrees of inclination to borrow have to be reckoned with among the factors impeding dissemination. Where, for instance, some other genre was deeply rooted, like the epic or fantastic song among the Romanians and Serbians, the songs of the new genre found more obstacles in their route and were subject to stronger modifications. Consequently, one should not suspect at the one

or the other geographical terminal of dissemination some point of expiration where the ballad lost all its vitality, and conversely, the centre of dissemination should not be looked for in the middle point of dissemination. This again should be taken into account in combination with other indications, when it comes to establish the focus of origin.

The number of types that went from the Hungarians over to their neighbours is much lower than that of the French ballads borrowed by Italians. And nothing is more natural, not only because Hungary played a secondary role as source area while the Italians borrowed directly from the French, but also because peoples linguistically related with each other could more readily adopt songs which were not quite alien to their idioms (almost like villages within one and the same language area). There is hardly anything to be altered in them. In contrast, multilingual populations, although understanding each other's idioms, had to *translate* the texts into their native idioms, which is more difficult a task than rendering a simple variant. Therefore the number of ballads the French passed over to Neo-Latin peoples far exceeds that of the French origins in other language areas or of those the Hungarians had mediated to other nations. The Hungarians transmitted 15 ballads to their northern, and 17 to their southern neighbours, which are somewhat fewer than the ballads the French handed over to their non-Latin neighbours (about 20 in all) but is fairly equal to the English—Danish or German—Danish parallels.

The differences appearing in adaptations between related and non-related languages allow us to make valuable inferences as regards the nature of adaptation.

The fact that nations lingually related can take over hide or hair the ballads, while those not related linguistically are compelled to translate them, supports the thesis that ballads spread from village to village among the peasantry. We may add, from town to town, too, since the illiterate majority of urban population in mediaeval times shared the universal folk tradition. But since a language area is mainly filled out by villages rather than towns, the former play a much greater role in the even distribution of oral tradition. That the more sophisticated urban population is not involved in the process is brought out by the fact that the settlements of French merchants dispersed in some German and Czech areas along the Cologne—Prague—Esztergom road (cf. Amman) had hardly any role to play in the dissemination of French ballads in the said regions. There is no trace of direct French borrowings in Czech areas, and French folklore elements invariably reached the Germans from the French borders. Similarly, transmission by peasants makes it understandable why the local variants (so-called local redactions) represent a chain-work of types closely related with, and replacing each other in geographical order. Within one and the same language area regional solutions can develop which change into other kinds of solutions through a process of gradual transformation. In like way, national formulations constitute a chain of versions showing closer or remote similarities as they proceed from nation to nation.

This order of sequence, however, is disturbed in the fringe areas of dissemination, like Scandinavia, and even in such points of contact as are found in Hungarian—Slav, Italian—Southern Slav, and Greek—Slav relations. The fact that some French ballads have been directly borrowed by the Danes and the other Scandinavian peoples from the French source directly and indirectly from the

German and English can be readily explained by the French ballad's disseminating in many directions. But the fact that ballads transformed in Scandinavia stream back sometimes to German or Scottish territories can be explained only by the flow of ballads crossing each other's route in the process of even dissemination. Overlapping versions of the French and Hungarian types of The Enticed Wife in the eastern border, and even in the central part, of the German language area shed more light on the nature of this process: in the Rhenish region versions of French and Hungarian origin cross each other, while in the Northeast the German version proceeds towards the Polish area to mingle there with French motifs of local development, while a starting formula of one of the latter, a French motif, is seen to return in a narrow German channel. Sometimes the same ballad type (The Bad Wife, Three Orphans) reach the German territories from both the French and the Hungarian sides.

It is rather in the Piedmontan region that French ballads appear in large numbers among the Italians. The other Italian provinces have fewer French origins, and with the Southern Slavs only The Soldier Girl has left some traces; at the same time, the Hungarian formulation of The Soldier Girl is extensively represented in details of the Southern Slav versions. Here again influences of different trends overlap each other. The same holds for The Marvellous Corpse, the only ballad that reached the Italians through Slovene mediation. It is characteristic enough that the Hungarian version proceeding through Lombardy did not go farther than the border of Piedmont while a later French version of the same ballad penetrated Piedmont from the French border. In the Southern Slav as also in the Czech—Moravian—Slovak traditions German analogies are present side by side with Hungarian parallels. (*Sirovátka* 1968, I.) Interesting is the case concerning the Hungarian—Slovak—Moravian relation. One would imagine that Hungarian ballads could reach the Slovaks sooner than the Moravians. But in certain instances a closer relationship can be established with the Moravians than the Slovaks (The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Child, The Mother Kidnapped by the Son, Three Orphans, whose Slovak parallels bear hardly any resemblance to the Hungarian versions). With the Czech, German connections come to the fore. Many German ballads stopped in Czech territories, while Hungarian songs, and sometimes the same types proceeding from the Hungarian area, appear in different versions among the Moravians and the Czech.

From all this a picture of streams crossing each other in many ways toward the end-sections of the routes of dissemination—in the fringe areas—emerges; as if two brooks were flowing into a lake, one being more profuse than the other, and their well discernible currents were bringing about stirring movements of water, in different, sometimes opposed and recurrent trends, mingling in the remote places and fading slowly out of sight.

It is the consistency of geographical spread and the known trends therein that enable us to infer "lost ballads", and that provide us safer points of orientation than the transmission zones in former conceptions. Thus, for example, details of a French ballad occurring in the Polish material cannot authorize us to conclude that the ballad should have been extant at some early date and became extinct later in the German area: we know now that ballads of French origin could have been taken

over by the Polish directly from certain North-Hungarian villages, and also from some West-Polish Walloon settlements. In like way, we need not imagine a course of dissemination from the Greeks to the Germans if there are data to show that one or another motif of French origin had reached both Greece and Hungary on different routes. On the other hand, if mozaics are found here and there around the French centre—say in Western Germany, then in the British isles, further in Iberia—and the same elements occur combined in a Hungarian ballad—,the researcher can safely draw conclusions regarding a lost French precedent. (This is the case, for example, in connection with The Disgraced Girl.) Namely, such conclusions are fully substantiated by dissemination in many directions of the French ballad. In the same way, clarified connections of Hungarian and French ballads and their intrusion into East-European areas help us to distinguish between the theories of multifarious "apparent" correlations and those of "extinct links in the chain of evidence". Further research will need not suppose either German or Italian mediation or an interim extinction of certain mediatory links in respect of a considerable group of Slav ballads. Of course, we still have to reckon with the possibility that not all, one time extant ballads had survived to the years of systematic collection; at the same time, it seems likely that what remains of the stock is enough to inform us with a high degree of accuracy about the past history of the genre.

What we have learned about the diffusion of French ballads toward the North will modify the former opinions about the German–Dutch connections and lost German ballads. The Dutch and the Walloons used to be neighbours and had lived more mingled than recently—French settlements are known to have existed in Cologne—and thus the Dutch had had more opportunities to contact the French folk culture than the Germans. This in itself is enough to explain why a motif unknown in the German area still lives among them. Therefore, in cases when a Dutch ballad which has no German counterpart but which can be confronted with extant and widespread French texts, or inferable French texts, like in the instances of D. Vlr 28 (Der gerächte Bruder), D. Vlr 52 (= The Mother's Curse), D. Vlr 58 (= The Marvellous Corpse), D. Vlr 76 (= The Cruel Mother-in-Law), D. Vlr 97 (Duel in Girl's Attire), one cannot use the Dutch texts as German data. These have been taken over by the Dutch and have never been adopted by the Germans. The summary German collection regards several types whose texts exist in Dutch or Danish, as evidence of extinct German ballads; this method of demonstration is not justified unless references to melodies, broadsides or some other historical data corroborate the quondam existence of a German version, or at least some German morphological forms present themselves to support the idea.

The trends of dissemination help us to reveal interconnections between the East-European nations as well, and the results will be more in harmony with the historical circumstances. As the ballad genre had developed and flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, we have to consider the contemporary geographical and cultural conditions of Europe. Three kingdoms of similar build-up existed in Central Europe in the mentioned centuries, namely Bohemia, Poland and Hungary; to this sphere belonged Croatia, first an independent kingdom, later a country joined by personal union to Hungary; further Slovenia, a member of the

community of the Austrian provinces should be mentioned. All these nations belonged to the Roman Catholic cultural zone of Europe, maintaining direct connections with the Germans, Italians and French and participating in their social and cultural movement (Humanism, Reformation, etc.). At the same time, the majority of the Serbians lived in the sphere of Byzantine influence, although for some time they also enjoyed connections with the Western sphere through the Hungarian Kingdom to which they were attached once by voluntary once by forcible ties. But after its early fall the Serbian kingdom was annexed to the Turkish Empire and separated from the West-European development, part of the population of Serbia even adopted the Moslem creed. As is generally known, the different historical fate has drawn a sharp line of demarcation in the Southern Slav folklore: epic songs of one and the same type show an anti-Turkish disposition in regions belonging to the Habsburg Empire and a pro-Turkish one in the parts that belonged to the Turks. In the latter, for example, Prince Marko belonged to Carigrad (Istanbul) and was a warrior of the Sultan. The Bulgarians and Romanians assumed the Byzantine form of Christianity; the Bulgarians had been earlier subjugated by the Turks than the Serbians, the Romanians had become vassals a little later, in a state of constant menace.

Russia similarly belonging to the Byzantine sphere had been engaged in serious warfares against the Tartars in those times. In the North it maintained loose contacts with the Germans and the Scandinavians, and it also developed connections with Middle Europe through the Polish and, on a narrow strip in the Eastern Carpathians, through the Hungarians. Obviously, the above-mentioned nations received different kinds of stimuli from the different historical—geographical environment for their cultural development. This is why we find exclusively western-type ballads uncontaminated with heroic epic among the Czech, Polish, Hungarians, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, and ballads that had co-existed and contaminated with epic songs among the Serbians, Bulgarians, and coloured with the bilina style, among the Russians. This is the reason why the Romanians' ballads are interwoven with fantastic märchen elements. Changes in the folk culture of the various nations were functions of their closer or less explicit connections with the development of peoples in Middle or West Europe.

The term of folk culture has a special emphasis here. Notably, I am convinced that different types of contacts come into play at the level of folk culture than at the level of high culture: different kinds of cultural goods had been exchanged at these two levels. My Hungarian critics—mainly literary historians—made attempts at explaining the French connections by the influence of French mediaeval courtly culture. Undoubtedly, Hungarian representative art, and in all likelihood also Hungarian literature, had been strongly indebted to the French. As regards literature, however, only indirect traces survive, such as Southern Slav translations of the novels of Troy and Alexander, whose errors of interpretation can only be explained from erroneous reading of extinct contemporary Hungarian translations; at the same time, names of heroes characteristic of the said literary works appear in contemporary Hungarian deeds as names of feudal lords: Achilles (Ehellős), and Priamus, the latter surviving even in toponyms (Perjámos). One of the manuscripts on St. Ladislas of Hungary, for example, compares the saint to

Priamus. All this shows how favourite these two mediaeval romances had been with the contemporary Hungarian public. But can we find any trace of the fashion among the rural population of either Hungary or the Southern Slav areas? And, by way of contrast, can one find any trace of the ballad either in French or in Hungarian literature? Later, in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, some of the ballad texts were recorded—in Hungary transcribed—but comparative analyses of such texts show that the themes involved had reached Hungary through the media of folk poetry and by no means through the learned circles. A revealing example for this is seen in the case of The Soldier Girl, open to examination in many nations' versions. Obviously, it is not the Hungarian sixteenth-century chivalric song that had disseminated to Western regions in this case, for if it had been so, the Italian formulation should be closer to the Hungarian than the Portuguese and the Spanish, and the texts of the Croats would not bear signs of Italian transformation. (Provided—though not admitted—that a special romance is supposed for each nation that would have been fairly identical everywhere and that would have survived only in Hungary, and in the Iberian peninsula; and that the theme had sunk down from literature to the folklore level in every nation, to form a network of deceptive routes of dissemination of more or less similar formulations we come across in the extant folk versions!) With such a possibility refused, we have to accept what I wrote in the comparative note of the ballad mentioned: the Hungarian written text is a phenomenon brought to the "surface" from the depths of an underlying culture at a happy historical moment. And that such happy moments were offered for the folk culture of the sixteenth century to emerge will be shown below.

But Hungarian education evolved to share a later stage of European development, that of the Italian renaissance in the fifteenth century which first of all in Europe had spread to Hungary. Yet, we can see no Italian influence in Hungarian folklore and folk ballads. The same can be stated in connection with the Croatian ballads, although the Croat learned circles had been acquainted with the achievements of Italian renaissance perhaps earlier than the Hungarians. Connections of Italian folklore with the Croatian can be demonstrated sporadically in a few adaptations of ballad elements. Even the Italians acknowledge the two possible ways of cultural dissemination: while the urban population of Italy brought about a new type of culture, that of the renaissance, preceding all European nations, the populace borrowed large quantities of folklore products of a quite different spirit from the French lower strata. Obviously, urban culture followed different paths than the culture of the villages.

Scrutiny into the questions of transmission and adaptation has revealed the movement of folk culture in the time when ballads were at their height. Dissemination is no function of linguistic affinities, it does not depend on correlations of primitive poetry, but on affinity of nations under late-mediaeval conditions, on cultural contacts allowed by the prevailing social, political and geographical situation.

From these contacts, as well as from the trends of dissemination, a centre can be concluded which was in France. French mediation toward the South has long been acknowledged, also the Danes know that certain generic traits of the ballad,

like the strophic forms with refrain and certain ballad themes had reached them from the French. The English also recognized the great importance of French sources in some of their adaptations. It has been only the French—Hungarian connections leaping over intermediary nations that had to be detected in order that the spread of the ballad in East Europe down to the Greeks could be ascribed to the French, and that the inter-connections of the Germans could be assessed from a more realistic approach.

To sum up, the ballad genre disseminated everywhere from France—with the Northern French region—as centre, where it shows its clearest form. It is this centre where the genre had to come into being.

The role the French had played in the development of the ballad can be judged from the fact that the Hungarians have hardly any ballads borrowed from the Germans. At least no ballads of mediaeval origin. On the other hand, certain ballads conquered the German areas both from France and Hungary. The only explanation of this phenomenon is that the French had had the ballad earlier than the Germans, and that the Hungarians were acquainted with the genre simultaneously with its growth in its native land, through the mediation of French settlers. This is the only explanation of the fact that while a French ballad was to make headway slowly, seeping from village to village through vast German territories before reaching Hungary, the same ballad was spread very quickly by Walloon and French settlers in Hungary, from where, then, it started its way back. Had the ballad been born in Germany or other western parts outside France, the Hungarians ought to have acquired it certainly from Germans. In some other fields of culture lacking such extraordinary means of communication as had been offered by the French settlers, the Hungarians indeed shared western influence through German or Slav transmission.

Prosodical studies of Verrier have shown that both the English and the Germans had drawn considerably inspiration from French folk poetry in the Middle Ages, especially as regards their ballads.

A French centre may be inferred from a comparison of ballad traits as well: where do ballads occur in their most typical form, and where can we see characteristic deviations from the genuine ballad style?

It is conspicuous that the ballads of the diverse nations are not of the same length. They tend to lengthen south and north of France, where a rule is seen at work in the tendency to expand the overall formulation, in detailed presentation of insignificant portions of text. For instance, the Dutch have The Enticed Wife to consult her father, mother, brother and even her confessor before starting out with the enticer, and the preparatory scene is almost as long as the rest of the ballad, the subject proper. Similar is the situation with the Portuguese who omit essential elements occasionally, yet their versions are longer in form. As to the Danes, the manuscript variants composed by professional singers are much longer than those passed down in oral tradition, which again exceed in length the average French ballads. A comparison between two national versions of a ballad type will make the point clearer.

Let us take, therefore, a French song represented by many variants in folk tradition which are not eroded or fragmentary at all; such songs have preserved

their original forms in all likelihood. The Three Orphans belongs to this class. On the average, its French variants range between 12 and 53 lines (the mean being 24.4. lines), while the same song in Danish has variants of 26 to 92 lines, their average being 47. (In addition, also the individual lines are longer with the Danes, which circumstance is now irrelevant, since it follows from intrinsic features of idioms beyond comparison.) Collation of the Roi Renaud and the Danish Elveskud shows the following differences: with the French, the variants extend to 20 to 68 lines (the average being 48) while with the Danes we find variants of 40 to 108 lines with an average of 63.6. For the French—Portuguese relation L'occasion manquée, a comic ballad, is revealing. In French the songs of this type vary between 12 and 32 lines in length with an average of 24.5, while the Portuguese parallels range between 36 and 108 lines (the average being 64.6). (See *Braga* 230–260: Infantina.) Another example: La courte paille has variants of 18 to 20 lines (average being 18.6), while the variants of the Portuguese Não Cathrinata (*Braga* 1–32) run from 50 to 136 lines, giving an average of 81.7! (The difference is remarkable even with the somewhat eroded nature of the French songs considered.)

The evidence supplied by the above figures cannot be regarded a chance work. Once we accept the rule emphasized by all definitions of the genre, namely that ballads are marked by conciseness of presentation concentrating the narrative on a single decisive episode, then we must also accept as its place of origin the country in which this most characteristic trait of style is found to prevail throughout the entire stock of ballad poetry.

Anglo-Saxon researchers have discovered already the typical character and the central position of the French ballad. *Jones* writes (pp. 34–35): "The French chanson populaire 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, is off-stage." "Thus the songs of the French people are dramatic in nature, not epic, if compared with the Scandinavian vise or with English and Scottish popular ballad." At the same time, *Hodgart* emphasizes (p. 85): "The British ballads have some points of contact with the German, but they are most closely related to the Scandinavian, and of the ballads outside the Nordic area, they have most in common with the French."

Entwistle (1939) also supposes a French centre of dissemination, although he places it in the twelfth century, furthermore he calculates with a Geek centre in the eleventh, regarding the epic cycle Dygenis—together with the Southern Slav epic songs and the Russian *bilinas*—as belonging to the ballad genre. Even though we reject this opinion, and date the years of generation a century later, the central position of the French ballad was correctly reeognized by him.

A typical feature of the French ballad is brought out by some other traits as well: it always depicts psychological, human problems, while the northern ballad is strongly interwoven with fantastic, miraculous fairy motifs, and thus the stylized representation of the incidents and actions in a figurative sense is replaced by a

world of unrealistic, supernatural beings. More about this, and many other distinguishing features can be found in the chapter about the Ballad Areas. At this point of discussion we content ourselves by stating that—and this is the final conclusion to be drawn from what has been propounded in connection with the centre and trends of dissemination—from a knowledge of these trends we are able to explain all such correlations which had given rise to so many speculations in earlier studies that ignored the possibilities of historical connections. Research so far had to operate with the concept of "international motifs" whenever it was faced with something turned up at a place where its presence could not be reasonably explained. Now that the main trends of dissemination have been established and such exceptional ways of transmission like those offered by the swarming out of French settlers to East Europe discovered, we are inclined to search for solutions along the paths of massive transmissions and adaptations even in cases when the traces of connections are vague or completely missing. I think this approach is much more fruitful than the earlier one that mainly relied on the role of itinerant singers. Most of the agreements that used to be attributed to their function have now received plausible explanation from the historical antecedents, and what little has remained unclarified can be safely attributed to the sweep of time and evolution.

In the foregoing we have concerned ourselves with ballad themes exclusively. These by themselves are enough to show how densely Europe had been covered by a network of close contacts. The picture can be made even more complete by examination of the minor details of the formulation of the themes. Namely, there are certain formulas, motifs that tend to come up, as characteristic "building stones" of formulation along the same roads on which the themes themselves had disseminated. Let us take for example a typical opening formula known from several Hungarian ballads, including Type **19.** "Aye, Fair Anna Biró was sitting in the window, Sewing her embroidery with black silk. Where the silk yarn was not enough, she filled it with her tears. As she looked out of her window..." (MNGY III, 20.) From Type **14.:** Katalina Biró was sitting in the window, Sewing her embroidery with black silk. She is pouring tears on the yarn. She looks at the corn-field, Well, they are coming with much shooting, The son of the Turkish emperor..." (Kallós 1970, No. 90.), and: Sewing, sewing busily, Fair Ilona Langos, Sewing, sewing busily, Sewing in the window. Stitching, stitching with silk yarn, Pouring her tears on the embroidery..." (manuscript from Moldavia). "My Ilona, my Ilona, My Fair Ilona Langos! She was sewing at the window with blue silk yarn. She was stitching with pure gold. She looked out of her window of glass..." (*Kallós* 1970, No. 91; similarly 92; see further incipit and notes to No. *45.*) Compare the detail published from Type **21.** Further: "Mrs János Mónusi is sitting in the window, There she is sewing with black silk. Where her silk yarn is not enough, she fills in with her tears. With her feet she is rocking her little running baby..." (MNGY III, 17.) Another form: the woman is sitting in the balcony, sewing a shirt, sitting in a golden chair, as seen in No. *37.* In this type **(12.)** the motif occurs in a shorter variant: "High above, on that porch a beautiful Miss is sitting. Three golden rings have rolled in my lap..." (Ethn. 18, 127.) Number *38* again links the formula to the window.

The first form comes up in a word-for-word agreement with the English. *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 stanza 9., *Greig-Keith* Nos 16 and 21 (= *Child* types 41 and 52).

The other element of the Hungarian formulation appears in the Spanish material. *Cossio-Solano* I, 215: "Sentadita en silla de oro, bordando en un bastidor. Vino por alli don Carlos". In the same story, the girl is sitting on the balcony: 121–129, further 108, 109–113. In the continuation, she is sewing with a golden needle: XIV/392–4, 396–7, *Menéndez Pidál* 1885 Nos 31, 32, 35 (while stitching, she feels pains of labour). The formula, to my knowledge, is unknown in the German language area, except for two peripheral regions. In Gottschee (D. Vlr. 49/3): "Es kleidet sich gar schön an. Es steigt hinauf in die Giebelfenster hoch, Es hebet an, es nähet schön, es singet schön..." In Transylvania, in Saxon of Beszterce (D. Vlr. 46 4b): "Es sass ein Mädchen gar wohl hintern Fensterchen, Das näht', das näht' mit Gold und Seid. Es kam ein Ritter..." The motif is absent in the variants known from other German areas. Therefore, in this case, the Hungarians of Transylvania must have been the donors. The Danes frequently apply the following opening formula (e.g. DgF 83):

1. "Stalt Hyllelild siider i burre:
   hun syer dansker dronning en hue. Refr.
2. I bure
   hun syer dansker droning en hue.
   Hun syer der med guld,
   det hun med sielcke skulle.
3. Syer med guld,
   Det hun med sielcke skulle.
   Det hun skulle wercke,
   det syer hun offuer med silcke.
4. Wiercke,
   det syer hu offuer med silcke.
   Snart kom der bud for droningen ind:
   Saa wild syer Hyllelild sømen sin."

The motif appears sometimes as a beginning formula also among the Southern neighbours of the Hungarians, but mostly in the body of the text, and if the case is the latter, the traces linking it to the western formulation are gradually blurred. Closest to the Hungarian are the texts of the Moravians, used also as opening formulas. For instance, in Type **13,** No. *30:* "Ten Prešpursky mytny peknu cerušku má. Ona nič nedela, l'en v okénku sedá. V okénečku sedá, zlatem, štribrem šije, hedbávem vyšivá, tenkym hlasem zpiva." (The mayer of Pressburg (Bratislava) has a beautiful daughter. She does not do a thing, only she is sitting in the window. She is sitting in the small window, sewing with gold and silver, sewing very

beautifully, singing in a nice tone.) She does not look out of the window, neither does she weep, for the plot proper starts at a later point when the Turkish emperor hears her sing and asks her to marry him. Therefore the continuation, that is that she looks out of the window finds its place in the middle of the song. In Number *26* of the same type the motif of sewing with gold and silver is omitted, the lady is just sewing and singing; in No. *28* she is not sewing just sitting in the window. In No. *36* of Type **13** she is not sitting in the window but behind the shed, although she is sewing with gold, listening to the sounds of drums. She asks why they are sounded, but in this ballad it has been told in advance that the Turkish emperor would come to marry her, thus one of the original purpose of the beginning formula—that of indicating ill-omen—is lost.

Number *13* of Type **49** of the Ukrainians, a close enough version, shows the girl sewing a shirt in the house. She looks out of the window and asks her brother about the flashing arms outdoors. With the Southern Slavs No. *54* of the same type contains the formula: The Beautiful Mara is stitching, and as she is sewing with small, tiny stitches, she looks at the field and beholds three young men. A completely distorted portion of a Bulgarian song also bears unmistakable traces of the formula: The lad is sitting under the arch of the door, sewing his jacket of white cloth. His mother appears, asking for whom is he preparing the jacket. (*Stoin* 1939, No. 641.) But in the further variants of the southern nations the picture of the sewing girl is gradually faded, and what remains of it is hardly more than that the heroine looks out of the window, or looks down from the castle to view the neighbourhood.

Obviously, the close agreement between western and Hungarian versions and some versions of the neighbouring nations are results of earlier close contacts. The gradual erosion of the formula also bears testimony to this.

Another formula widespread in Europe expresses the final farewell by means of some metaphor referring to impossible things. For example, "never more" with the Danes is implied in the following answer: "When are you going to return?" "When feathers can sunk, when stones can swim", and the like. (DgF, Types 18 and 340.) With the English: "When the sun and the mune leap on yon hill, And that never be" (Child 49E), "Whan the sun and moon Dance on the green And that will never be." (*Child* 49D.) *Archer Taylor* (1931) examining the interconnections of English and Danish ballads discussed this formula, and earlier *Child* presented an international survey of it (I., 347). The metaphors used by the various nations are highly varied, yet they always are expressive of the same basic idea. Closest agreement can be found perhaps among the eastern nations who indicate the impossibility of the heroes' return by referring to the picture of dry poplar or maple-tree which can never bring green leaves. The same thought occurs in their lyrical songs as well. For example, the Hungarian folksong says: "Do you see, sweetheart, That dry poplar, That dry poplar? When it turns green, I shall come to see you again, To see you again." (AP 1122c.) Further: "...I should like to know When your return takes place...When I see a rose-bush blossoming on your hearth...When two grains of wheat yield Ten stacks, When two grapes of vine yield Ten buckets of wine... You must know, sweetheart, it will never happen... That a dry poplar should have green leaves..." (Sz. Nd. 110). (Cf. divergences of

Type **13,** Note 4 of Type **14** in this book.) In Hungarian ballads the motif never forms an essential element of the story; it is occasionally fitted in some of the variants.

The Croat ballad reads much the same: "Draga grlicice, ja ti dimo dojdem, Da bu suhi javor zelen listek puščal. Golubek ljubljeni, toga nigdar nebo." (Dearest heart, I shall return when the dry maple brings green leaves. Dear sweetheart, it will never occur.) (*Žganec* 1950; No. 140; *ibid:* No. 353; *idem:* 1924, Nos 187, 246; *idem:* 1950–1952, Nos 76, 83b, 106d, 150f, 116). *ibid:* No. 595 is relevant in other respect: "Dok ne rodi javor z jabukama, dok ne ruste na kamenu cvece" (not as long as the maple brings apples, flower grows on stone). (Cf. "I see rose-bush growing in your hearth"). In *Stojanović-Vitezica,* No. 699, the hero will return from the wars when rose grows out of marble. With the Slovenes,, the motif of dry wood reappears: "Pazi mila, pazi, gda bo suhi javor zelen listek puščal", *Štrekelj* Nos 859–860. With the Moravians: "Az sa bude sucha linda zelenat" (*Bartoš* 1953, No. 58, *idem:* 1889, No. 136 in like way). By the way, this same metaphor is not unknown in the West either. In France: "Dieu lui fit cett' réponse: Une branche pourrie jamais reverdira" (*Rossat I,* No. 76 12d). In English: "When shall we meet again, sweetheart? When the oaken leaves that fell from the trees, Are green—and spring again" (*Sharp* 1905–1909, No. 15 VII).

Similar inventions cannot be considered typological agreements developed of necessity at identical phases of social development; rather they have to be appraised as results of close contacts between nations, and signs of the unity of late mediaeval Europe in which a possibility for ballads to disseminate in a more or less homogeneous cultural area was given.

The peasant mode of life was much more uniform in Europe at those times than one would think. The stream of re-settlers from the West to the East may be a good enough explanation for the continual exchange of cultural goods among the lower social strata (including merchants' retinues, pilgrims etc.)

Agreements in the formal characteristics of ballads also point to this unity. For example, all kinds of repetition of lines, and that particular type of repetition, rather frequent in ballads, which has the second half of lines repeated in the first half of the next line, or the second part of the stanza in the first part of the next. This latter stylistic form is common in Hungarian folk ballads, fairly common one among the Croats, Slovaks, sometimes among Moravians and Bulgarians too, but less so in the eastern and southern areas where it is gradually replaced by inventions characteristic of different poetic practice.

Along the paths of dissemination discussed above common themes and within them common types and motifs may have developed which every nation could make use of at will: signs of ill-omen, evasive replies in delicate human situations, deceptive answers instead of plain speech, sending on false tracks of the returning hero, commonplaces of formulas and formal characteristics of the common elements of presentation, common types of refrain and strophic construction, distribution of text portions within the strophe, variations of a given strophic form, free application of the repetitive devices, etc. All these constitute a network of poetic inventions which essentially differs from any other kind of poetry, and which is uniform in nature to such a degree as if it has been brought

about by one nation. Therefore the European ballad claims a special treatment in distinction with all comparable poetic achievements—if any—that should have appeared at some by and large identical stage of social development and in a fairly similar psychological surrounding in other areas where the epic poetry of earlier times offered ground for a kindred genre to come into existence. Outlines of a similar genre can be detected for a more or less identical stage of social development in the Caucasus; yet the results there are far from approaching the refinement of the European ballad, and are devoid of all the characteristic features common in the entire European ballad area. Therefore we think it is not to the prejudice of scientific thinking if we regard European ballad as a uniform poetic achievement paralleled nowhere in the world.

WHEN AND WHY THE BALLAD EMERGED

As to the question of "when" the answer has long been looked for and given in various ways, gradually restricting the time limits whithin which to place the origin of the genre. One time it was regarded as primitive poetry; Goethe considered it to have been the ancient egg from which the epic, lyrical and dramatic genres had differentiated one after the other. Today, however, scholarly opinions hold that the ballad was generated in late-mediaeval times. (Cf. *Heusler* "...die Ballade eine spätmittelalterliche Neuschöpfung ist... Die Ballade ist ein Kind der vollreifen Ritterzeit...".) The time limits are fixed between the twelfth (sometimes eleventh) and the fifteenth centuries, although many are prone to accept the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the origin of the ballad. In this case again we can find the right answer by sifting out all arguments and hypothetical speculations which cannot stand the test of time.

At the start we have to eliminate such opinions which take certain personal names and "related historical events" for the basis of establishing the time limits. It is a fact of common knowledge that names are the most elusive elements of folk poetry; they tend to change and to be exchanged, irrespective of their connection with a person that may or may not have been a living figure, often becoming a mere name fully detached from any definite personal traits. And even more often stories of different origin are linked to one and the same name.

We have to be the more cautious because names and events may survive in *other epic genres* as well, such as epic songs and even in the form of chroniclers' records and thus get into ballads centuries after the date of their first appearance. The Hungarian Demeter Csáti composed a song in 1526 about the Great Hungarian Conquest (896–900) on the basis of earlier chronicles and folk tradition. "Adaptation" of this kind may have taken place in other instances, too, and a poem or legend may have given rise to a ballad. Nobody can believe reasonably now that the French—Italian ballad Dame Lombarde—Donna Lombarda had stemmed directly from the eighth-century Lombard epic tradition. Parenthetically, this story of poisoning is a fairly widespread commonplace in epic poetry recognizable even in Central Asiatic material. An epic song of the Minusinsk Basin tells about a woman who offers poisoned wine to her husband, but "according to old good custom" she has to drink the first cup. "Bulat's wife is reluctant, but she must do it against her will." (*Schiefner* 6, pp. 314–320.) The motif occurs in the cycle connected with Khan Bogda Gesser: a beautiful woman invites the khan to a feast and offers him a poisoned dish. Protecting spirits warn the khan who exchanges the dishes so that the woman eats the poisoned food. (*Schmidt*, I. J., pp. 218–219.) Particular attention should be paid to the mediatory role of *sagas* among the Norwegians. But apart from all these considerations we have to bear in mind that highly dubious results have been gained by linking ballad names and events with historical data, the

method having been originating from a time when scholars habitually were looking for authentical historical sources in ballads. Therefore, this method of documentation must be ignored in our study.

The dance-song of Kölbigk had also been regarded as a supporting pillar of early dating. Allegedly this song was noted down in connection with an eleventh-century "event" in the twelfth—thirteenth centuries. Attempts were made to translate the Latin stanza into German and so to explicate the earliest original German ballad from its "epic" incipit and refrain. But even if we were to accept the results of such ventures we should learn hardly more than that the Latin text was modelled after a short song with refrain, possibly a lyrical song, since no continuation whatever is indicated in the documentation; anyway, we can adduce dozens of recent lyrical folksongs with similar incipit and refrain to parallel the meagre substance surviving in this source.

"Equitabat Bovo per silvam frondosam, Ducebat sibi Merswinden formosam. *Choir:* Quid stamus, cur non imus?"

Let us see a few examples from recent Hungarian folksongs.

1. "Over the hill planted with vineyards
The girl and her little brother are walking.
Wind blows from the Danube.
If wind blows from the Danube
Lie beside me, then it will not hurt you.
Wind blows from the Danube."

2. "Over the hill planted with vineyards
The girl and her little brother are walking.
Her white neck is decorated with beads,
Her handkerchief adorned with lace."

Refrain: "Hey, tini-tini-tini tin-din-don."

"Hey, little Jancsi, little Jancsi,
Why did you not grow bigger?
Why did you not grow bigger,
To become a brave soldier?"

Refrain: "Hey, tini-tini-tini tin-din-don!"

3. "I went to the green woods to walk,
I sat down under a green tree to rest.
While resting I fell asleep,
And a beautiful nightingale came to me.
She brought a note, holding it in her nails.
She brought my lover's wish in it.
By the River Maros there are two beautiful green branches, tenderly bending,
Two beautiful birds lit on them, nicely moving.
One bird is József Angi, nicely moving,
The other bird is Kata Szabó, tenderly bending."

4. "Alas, deep is the water of the Tisza,
And it is even deeper in the middle.
Three pretty brown girls are walking about,
They want to cross the water.

They want to cross the water.
To tear tea-roses.
Yellow tea-rose, do not smell so sweet,
Sweetheart, do not be waiting for me!

For if you are waiting for me,
You shall never get married.
You are weak, sweetheart, to marry as yet,
Your dear mother places you in your bed."

As can be seen, a seemingly "epic" incipit whether with refrain or without it, does not guarantee a text containing an epic subject. The two first Hungarian songs are dance-songs that may have been sung or played to dance, as well as people of Kölbigk might have danced to their song in the eleventh century in the church garden (cemetery). What is more, even the metre of the Hungarian songs is mediaeval in origin (7,7,6; 7,7,6), that is they may well have been dance-songs with refrain used in mediaeval times and sung with an epic incipit like the song about Bovo, still they have nothing to do with the ballad. The Kölbigk record can also be regarded as a similar dance-tune, and as such it proves nothing as to the one-time existence of a ballad.

The one-time existence of a ballad can be proved only by the following criteria: (1) a text or a portion of a text of some extant ballad occurs in a precisely datable record; (2) there are available data referring to certain lines of a known ballad, possibly to the beginning line by way of mentioning the pertaining tune, or literary adaptation of an extant ballad text, plot, etc.; (3) in addition, the results of comparative studies may offer points of orientation, provided they are in *full harmony* with the evidence of other data of unquestionable value.

Of course, we must bear in mind that a folklore product or even a genre is not always as old as the first written record related to it. Still, a certain regularity of data emerging within a certain time span may allow us to make conclusions regarding the generation of a genre. What, then, do the data betray?

References to beginning lines of ballads had been first made in the German area: in the fourteenth century, Totenamt (D. Vlr. 61) in a contrafacture from 1358, mentioned in a tune reference of 1439; the first line of Schloss in Österreich (D. Vlr. 24) mentioned in a polyphonic choir movement in 1480, fully recorded in 1600; a late fifteenth-century reference to the tune of Herr von Falkenstein (D. Vlr. 21); as an "old song" the first line of Bernauerin (D. Vlr. 65) is referred to by a data from 1488–1501. Here belongs a literary adaptation of the French—Netherlandish variant of The Marvellous Corpse surviving in a "Prelude" from the years 1385–1400, which has been preserved by a manuscript prepared between 1400 and 1410.

Full ballad texts first appear in French manuscripts from the late fifteenth century: that of the Pernette (98 *Gerold*), certain portions of the Tristes noces inserted into some other poems (126. *Paris* and *Gevaert*), Peronnelle (99 *Paris* and *Gevaert*), Occasion manquée (93. Bayeux MS.), Fille aux oranges (36, cf. *Doncieux*). From that time forth the number of records is increasing. Admittedly, the English ballad of Judas (*Child* 23) is older, dated in general to the thirteenth century. But since recently the date of an English manuscript can be assessed with a precision of ten years, the ballad may be dated perhaps to the end of the century as well; further, it is not a ballad in the true sense of the term but rather a ballad-like presentation of the Biblical story. More important than this, however, is that no subsequent records until 1597, two centuries and a half later, are at hand, before the Fair Flower of Northumberland (*Child* 9) was noted down as the first English ballad, and another Biblical story also in the ballad style: that of the Dives and Lazarus (*Child* 56), from 1557. Subsequently ballads appear in increasing numbers in broadsides, evoking derisive remarks on the part of literary critics in the seventeenth century.

The Germans started to record their ballads in the sixteenth century, from which all the earliest-dated numbers of the D. Vlr. originate: 28. Der gerächte Bruder, 1518; 29. Degner und Lussevinne, 1537; 37. Mordknecht, 1547; 16. Bremberger, after 1550; 30. Frau von Weissenburg, after 1550; 31. tune reference to Steutlinger after 1550; 41. broadside of Ulinger 1550–1565, 1560; 48. Graf Friedrich 1552–1584; 53. Die Elfjährige Markgräfin, 1556; 63. Des Grafen Töchterlein, from the second half of the sixteenth century.

Two Dutch collections of the same century: Souterliedekens, 1540 and the Song-Book of Antwerp, 1544, also contain a large number of ballads. Contemporaneously the Danes produced manuscript collections filled with ballad texts and transcriptions of ballad texts from 1550; further, Vedel published a hundred selected ballads in 1591, following which manucripts and broadsides presented a mass of ballad texts of the Danish stock.

Literary transcriptions of ballads also survive from the same century in Hungary: The Soldier Girl in the bella istoria about King Béla and the Daughter of Bankó (1570), Kata Kádár in the bella istoria of Telamon (1578), as also the epic antecedents of the Hungarian ballads of Szilágyi and Hajmási in manuscripts from 1561 and 1571. Furthermore, we may include the mention as "factual events" of the story of "The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death" in a letter in Latin (1547) and in one of the sermons by Péter Bornemisza from 1578.

It appears that ballads were recorded mostly in the sixteenth century when the genre penetrated literature with an equal force throughout Europe. But its existence had been indicated as early as the fourteenth century. I have to add that in this survey I have disregarded many English and German texts which fail to meet the generic requirements of a ballad. (The Robin Hood cycle, and a number of German ballads, like D. Vlr. 1, 2, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 26, 64, and 66.) This omission, however, does not alter the general view, since the mentioned pieces all belong to the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries; for the dance-tune of Kölbigk, which, though originates from the twelfth century, cannot be taken for a ballad.

Thus it appears from the data that the ballad began to be known and mentioned from the mid-fourteenth century in Germany, to be recorded at the late-

fifteenth in France, and the other nations also recorded ballads in ever growing numbers from the sixteenth century on. The English Judas, isolated and Biblical as it is, originates from one of the decades of the thirteenth century, which, dubious though, shows in any case that the ballad style began to transform the previous themes already at that time. The consistency and uniformity of the data recorded cannot be ascribed to chance work. The records could not have lagged behind the appearance of the genre by several centuries' interval in every nation. It is more likely that increasing interest began to enfold in the ballad genre a half or at most a century later than it was born. That is, it began to take shape at the end of the thirteenth century, developed its first characteristic products in the early fourteenth century, and then it conquered its fields of dissemination rapidly.

The evidence offered by French origins in Hungarian balladry fits well into the general picture. It has been shown that this group must have reached the Hungarian areas before the end of the fourteenth century, as later on the French—Hungarian contacts serving as agents for the exchange of folklore goods had come to a halt. It has been shown further that among the French loans the earlier French versions come up in certain cases while the later ones are missing (the Porcheronne is present while the Germine is absent, for example), and that they do not include the most popular ballads recorded at the end of the fifteenth century, like Pernette and Occasion manquée. This circumstance brings out the fact that the texts written down in the late fifteenth century did develop in the course of that century and became fashionable at a time when communication with Hungary had stopped already; vogue songs that had developed some twenty-five or fifty years before came into the foreground of literary interest, although ballad poetry, in the form of other pieces, had been thriving in the popular layers for at least a hundred years, with an increasing vigour.

That the birth and flourishing of the ballad cannot be dated to an earlier century than the fourteenth is also evidenced by the fact that the heroic song that had preceded it continued to live even in that period. The later Hildebrandslied was printed and published in 1472; it must have existed so far in oral tradition. The text of Ermenrichs Tod originates from 1560! The Hungarian representations of the St. Ladislas legend in the fourteenth—fifteenth centuries show that the epic tradition preserved in the form of legends was still very productive in the public mind. In English—Scottish and Danish tradition a co-existence of the two genres can be observed: therefore elements of the bardic and epic poetry merged in the ballad style.

Certain content-elements also refer to the period in which the late-Gothic architecture reached its mature stage. Let us recall the formula "She was sewing in the window...", and the image of the young lady of the castle doing her embroidery in the bay of window. Although the first elements of Gothic architecture appeared in the late-twelfth century in France, castles built in the Gothic style and the pertinent mode of life could not be generally spread before the end of the thirteenth century. And considering that it must have taken a fairly long period of time for the people to get used to the sight before they could shape their type-depicting formulas, we may safely believe that this formula could by no means become a characteristic stylistic element of the ballad in the thirteenth century. And

the appearance of this formula in by and large identical wording with the diverse nations testifies to the fact that it came into being contemporaneously with the earliest layers of ballads and that it owed its spread to their dissemination in every direction.

Naturally, genres do not come into life from one day to the next. Accepting that the ballad began to flourish in the fourteenth century, still we have to suppose a preliminary process in which transitional types began to appear here and there, like the Judas in Great Britain. But the preliminary process could not last a century. Certain effects will accumulate in folklore—as in any other field of culture—preparing the way for the new to come, but then the increasing amount of elements will reach a stage of fermentation—to quote the classical example of the boiling water—at which the new style springs forth suddenly. More about the nature of this process below, in the chapter entitled The Ballad Created by Peasant Communities.

Now we have to pose the question *why* the ballad had developed and replaced other genres precisely in the fourteenth century. Is it perhaps because people's life had changed to such an extent as to alter their tastes, poetic claims and experiences so radically? Are we able to establish some transformation in the life of European peasantry that should explain the reason of the change in that period? To find answers to these questions we must clarify first of all the difference that distinguishes the ballad from earlier epic genres from the point of view of social attitudes.

Instead of heroic deeds we have conflicts within a family, conflicts between social classes manifesting themselves also through family relations; instead of mythical or fantastic adventures of heroes, "incidents" arising from psychological problems; instead of struggles at community-historical level, problems connected with the ways of common human life: love, mercy, humanity, of the absence of humanity, frustration owing to social laws; above all contradictions of the social order: antagonism between the rich and the poor and sentence passed on it. All this indicates a higher level of social-civilizational development attained by the peasantry as the carrier of traditional poetry. An increased sense of security—getting rid of the depressive communal feeling that in the world of the heroic songs could be overcome only by heroic feats enhanced to world-wide dimensions, possibility of individual happiness—that is to say, such living conditions in which the typical ballad themes mentioned above could come to the front as against those relating to the mere fact of surviving or averting menace from the extraneous world; all these taken together are not only signs of a civilization development but also of a more advanced standard of material and spiritual aspirations for a more human life, for an urbanized style of living in the period when the ballad came into existence, that is, at the end of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century.

This period fully coincides with the time of the fundamental transformation that ensued in the life of the West-European as well as the Hungarian peasantry from the mid-thirteenth century on. I rely on information *Márta Belényesy* kindly gave me concerning the contemporary development of European peasantry. A novel form of land rent to be paid in money was introduced at that time, replacing the form of tithes in kind and in working days typical of the earlier period of self-sufficiency. (Cf. *Lamprecht's* abundant collection of data.) The transformation was

apparent in the improvement of the method of agriculture, the introduction of the rotation system in three shifts, systematic manuring, more effective forms of the plough *(Grand)*, intensification of tillage by introducing more frequent ploughing, by use of scythe instead of sickle, market production to meet urban needs satisfied by sales of surplus produce of wine, meat and wool in the first place (Cf. *Wackernagel, Eilen Power*). As a result, there was an abundance of money. (Many records mention that *money* was taken away from serfs on their way to the *market*.) Peasants of those times had already acquired the important items of household and clothing from the market. (For the Western conditions, see *Baumann, Hagelstange* and *Schultz*.) Parallel with this development, courtly elements appear in the material culture of the peasantry: jewels, imitations of lordly belts in cheaper materials, clothes, pieces of furniture; tables, beds and cupboards made in the Gothic style, etc. The change affected, as a matter of course, only the well-to-do layers of the peasantry, for from the middle of the fourteenth century sharp differences are seen in the material condition of the peasants: the classes of pauper cotters and wage-workers appear *(Dopsch, See, Hon-Firnberg)*. As a characteristic feature of this development, the system of economy based on extended family was gradually replaced by one in which the small family was the basic unit of production. Although this trend was chequed in a later phase (to revive subsequently), it was certainly typical of the said period. *Márta Belényesy* (1969, p. 475) states: "Zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts wurden die grösseren Hufen und die dazugehörigen Felder im Laufe der Zersplitterung der früheren Grossfamilien den Ansprüchen der eine wirtschaftliche Selbständigkeit anstrebenden Kleinfamilien gemäss aufgeteilt". *Idem*, p. 476: "Diese grösseren Hufen waren aber nicht typisch für die Bauernwirtschaft des Spätmittelalters. Träger der Landwirtschaft... war der Mittelbauer. Dieser Wirtschaftstyp entwickelte sich... aus der Halbhufe von durchschnittlich 10–15 Joch, die infolge der Aufspaltung in Kleinfamilien zustande kam und im 15. Jh. im ganzen Land schon zu einer allgemeinen Erscheinung wurde." *Idem*, pp. 474–475, Note 64: "Unter *mansus* verstand man ursprünglich in ganz Europa ein Bodenausmass, das für den Unterhalt einer Familie genügte: dieses zerfiel dann langsam überall. Dieser Prozess setzte sehr früh z. B. in Frankreich ein, wo die Quellen bereits im 12–13. Jahrhundert auch über halbe Sessionen berichten (*Bloch* 1931, 166). In England erwähnen zwar die Quellen auch noch im 13. Jahrhundert die alte *hide*; doch überlies allmählich ihren Platz der *virgate*, die einem Viertel der alten *hide* entsprach, oder *bovate*, einem Achtel der alten hide. In Deutschland erschienen ebenfalls im 13. Jahrhundert neben den vollen Hufen immer häufiger die 30 Hektar umfassenden kleinen Höfe (*Inuma-Sternegg* 1889, III, 212). Auch die ausländischen Beispiele zeigen also, dass in den zwei letzten Jahrhunderten des Mittelalters neben den grösseren Hufen mehr die kleineren Bauernbesitze überhandnahmen, die durch Trennung der Familien, Bodenenteignung oder sonstige Umstände entstanden."

The economic process must have been accompanied by certain social-emotional phenomena which are reflected by the ballad poetry as well. A relevant point is, for instance, what the ballad considers to be a tragic issue. By evoking compassion and pity, the tragedy implies protest against those who are responsible for it. For example, revolt against the unconditional authority of the head of the

extended family is indicated by such tragic ballads in which the bride is forced to marry against her will, the mother-in-law maltreats the daughter-in-law, or the mother has her daughter executed because the latter had fallen in love with some unwanted young man. The true meaning of these ideas can be assessed in their "revolutionary" import only after a better knowledge of the life of the young, especially young wives, in the extended family had been made available by relevant studies (cf. *Judit Morvai*).

All the grand styles make a selection of phenomena of life with a delimited interest. The great, common cycles of ballad themes, too, manifest problems on which the ballad-makers wanted to express their opinion.

A survey of the old Hungarian and the related European ballads will show that their most widespread songs are restricted to a rather narrow scope of themes. *Forced marriage* **(11., 12., 13., 14.,** and **20.)**; *forbidden marriage* **(9., 16., 38.)**, *forbidding and punishing of love* **(10., 25.)**. All these present as detestable the uncontrolled power of the head of the family. Here belong The Cruel Mother-in-Law who as head of the family killed her daughter-in-law **(28.)** and The Test of Love **(69.)**, in which the lover instead of blood-relations is willing to sacrifice himself; the ballad of the Three Orphans **(6.)**, propaganda against the stepmother and many stories, sometimes speaking for, sometimes against the adulterous wife who is fighting for the freedom of love; in all these stories the rights of the individual, whether in love or otherwise, are contrasted with the mostly material interest of the head of the extended family.

In these ballads the woman is the central figure, and the events are looked at from her point of view. The girl learns that she has been given away in marriage, she sees the unwanted-for bridegroom approaching, she lays a curse on herself. The bridegrooms role is secondary. It is not impossible that this kind of poetry was created for the most part by women. In any case, when a theme of this kind exceeds the scope of balladry and enters the sphere of the heroic songs, which is masculine in nature, it immediately assumes a male-centred character. For instance, in the Southern Slav versions of The Bride Found Dead or The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession the plot starts in the bridegroom's house, and the events are shown from his point of view (**12**/*46*, **13**/*51*, *56*).

In the estimation of western historiographers the highest wave of this development lasted from the second half of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century (*Abel, Postan*, and *Bloch*), although they write uniformly about either an immense peasant misery or extreme riches, lending little importance to the above-described changes in production compared to the phenomena connected with market production. *Márta Belényesy's* research has made it clear that in Hungary a uniform and realatively backward tillage and living standards had prevailed to the end of the thirteenth century, which gave way to more advanced conditions in the early fourteenth century; but while in the West these conditions were characteristic of the two last mediaeval centuries, in Hungary lasted for centuries for which the Turkish occupation and the "second period of serfdom" had been responsible. But in the period discussed we witness a process of large-scale urbanization resulting in the upswing of the market towns in the rural districts. A commodity-producing peasant society emerged with an increasing bourgeois

consciousness in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the production of this class supported the economy of the country. *Elemér Mályusz* (1960, p. 171) writes the following: "As a result of the peasants' work the country's agricultural production developed evenly during the fourteenth century, the number of villages increased, market places and boroughs appeared in large numbers, and the intensification of commodity trade had an enlivening effect on the commercial centres... not only the big landlors but also the members of the petty nobility enjoyed ever more increasingly the fruits of their serfs' industry... They rose to ever higher levels on the shoulders of their serfs... This peaceful course of development was not checked in the years of feudal anarchy after the death of Lajos I, nor in those of the first Turkish raids..." Admittedly, commercial cities of the western type could not develop in Hungary, owing to lack of coasts and trade-routes; the rate of urbanization that was brought about by trade in wine, wheat and cattle cannot be matched with that of western towns with their splendid cathedrals. But the poorer endowments in this respect should not baffle the researchers in framing their judgement about the standards of courtly as well as peasant civilization of Hungary of those days; no doubt, the general living standards of the country did not lag behind the West-European level in those times.

The economic upswing and the concomitant change in the form of living offer a ready explanation for the development of ballad themes and styles. For example, when the peasants began to imitate the ways of living of the upper classes, they introduced nobles as heroes of ballads, together with the outward features of their environments. Anyway, a hero—even though no longer a mythical one—should always represent a man of dinstinction, living in top circles, among the most attractive forms of life. The same applies even today: motion pictures appeal to the broadest masses if they show the nicest people in richest surroundings. It is not by chance that the heroines of ballads are always "beautiful": Fair Damsel Julia, Fair Julia, Fair Annet, Schön Adelheid, Skjön Anna, Stolt Elselille, etc. They are exceptional characters standing high above the average men-in-the street: young ladies and knights of the aristocratic class whom people had plenty of opportunity to admire. whom they tried to imitate in their external features, and whose domestic affairs had been extensively discussed by the villagers. An aristocratic marriage of convenience certainly stirred up the imagination offering ground for them to form their opinion about similar "giving away in marriage" in their own class: what is more, love connections between members of the opposed classes were thought no longer impossible, even if with a tragic outcome, as shown by the parable of The Two Chapel Flowers, in which the haughty lady denies her son the serf's daughter and destroys both of them. But the flowers growing out of their dust lay a curse on her. This motif is expressive of the rising class's sentence about the social barriers that prevented people from giving a free vent to their personal emotions. And is the sentence in itself, and the very fact that such a love can be imagined at all, a sign of an emerging novel demand? Could such a problem come up in a society in which even its possibility was precluded, say a century earlier? When a demand like that even could not emerge?.

The new themes and the new psychological interest bespoke of new living conditions: rights of love, protest against obstacles of love, concentration on

personal feelings, representation of faithfulness and infidelity, of related tragic events, protection of virginity, violation of the same as a crucial problem—all this had been irrelevant in the society of the epic song. Fidelity meant a different thing in the latter type of community than in the world of ballads: instead of the human-emotional side, emphasis had been laid on attachment to the husband: does the heroine promote or prevent his interests? Does she defend his master's wealth or does she pass it over to alien hands? Even the rather developed Homeric epics sharply differ from the ballad in this respect: the fidelity of Penelope is pronouncedly marked by the former-mentioned traits, the main question being if she succeeds in preserving Ulysses' wealth while the question of spousal fidelity was of a secondary importance. In earlier societies virginity and deception in love did not play a significant role. A wife was kidnapped and regained; but the point had always been to recover a rightful property or to redeem the imprisoned wife. In contrast, the many ballads in which the heroine choses death rather than loosing her virginity, in which acts of violence against chastety are held up as causes of tragic issue, testify to the emergence of a new type of society raising higher demands for freedom and ignoring all obstacles in the way of fulfilling such demands.

A higher degree of personal security is also brought out by the shift of themes from the sphere of communal interest—heroic deeds achieved by fighting the enemy—to the sphere of personal private life.

The sole theme of the epic song, invariably appearing in relation of the hero and the enemy, is fully absent in balladry. That is to say, the ballads no longer concern themselves with fights of the hero embodying communal-national struggles against the enemy menacing the clan or people. The society that created the ballad was indifferent to the exclusive central problem of the heroic song. Although feudal warfare had been on the order of the day in contemporary Europe. Why did people remain tacit about these? As far at least as the outcome of the feuds was concerned. For fight and victory are not described in ballads, if not in the form of background scenes in which the hero takes leave of his beloved ones, fells in action, and the relatives psychic response to his fate is depicted. In my opinion, this negative feature also reflects the social condition of the ballad-creating community. In contemporary Europe characterized by a fairly uniform social system in every country, the change of a monarch (English kings conquering France, Polish kings ruling in Hungary, king Matthias in Moravia, etc.) did not involve an essential change in the living conditions of the subjects: each ruler wanted to acquire the same performances, to ensure the continuation of the former mode of living in the conquered areas. The conquerors did not drive away masses of population as war prisoners, they did not ransack a whole country as did the Huns, Vandals, Goths, Hungarians, Mongols in the years of the Great Migration, and the Turks later, under whose rule peoples separated from the general course of western development. Whenever a new conqueror annihilated the existing system of living, degrading the population to carry ever more burdens, the only thing important for the whole nation was to defeat the conqueror. Of course, feudal warfare did not spare the people either. An army marching through a region always meant a disaster for the inhabitants, involving possible acts of violence and devastation. But these were considered works of ill-fortune—acts of God—something like robbery;

and so were many cases of feudal abuses regarded as personal calamity rather than a danger menacing the existence of the whole of the community; as sinful acts that could be revenged or compensated by legal means occasionally. At the same time, the concepts of "state" and "nation", precisely because of the nature of feudal dominance in a state of constant flux, were essentially non-existent for the people. As they were variable they were not important. The spirit of the ballad seems to ignore state and all-menacing enemies, and this is what distinguishes it from the epic song in the first place; this is why general human problems related to domestic and personal lives came to prevail in it. Questions of personal happiness, mainly within the family confines, entered the forefront of interest.

Of course, not all of a sudden. Great heroic deeds were first turned into sensational adventures, still in praise of the heroic ideal presented in events of ever decreasing importance. After this phase of transition, the peasant society gradually lost interest in stories based on warlike adventures and began to deal with its more intimate problems.

These problems sometimes were common with those of the ruling classes, stemming from the same feudal soil. The lot of the girl married to a stranger, for example, was of a common concern. Aristocratic marriages of convenience in which the bride was forced to go to live in a strange land was interesting inasmuch as the girl's situation was apt to symbolize the fate of any girl given away in marriage to a strange family. The elaboration of this theme always depicts the psychic state of the girl taken into a distant, foreign environment without referring to the suitor's being an enemy as *Putilov* (1965) would have it in his attempt to transfer the problems usual in the epic songs to the sphere of ballads. Western as well as certain variants of Hungarian, Transdanubian Croat, Moravian, etc. ballads unanimously show the portrait of a girl wishing to get rid of the ties of marriage in a strange land, among people speaking a strange idiom. At the same time, no inimical attitude is witnessed on the part of the bridegroom and the bride's mother. Not even in cases when an "enemy" is introduced subsequently (Turk, Arab) in place of the suitor coming from a foreign country. What we see is always the figure of a man mourning his bride, a mother-in-law lamenting the girl. Both appear as simple human beings behaving according to the rules of normal family relations. It is just the substitution of the "enemy" that provides convincing proofs of the case: even when an apparent enemy is involved, friendly attitudes bespeaking of family relations prevail. (Cf. the Hungarian No. *41,* Type **12,** the Moravian Nos *38* and *39* of Type **13.**) The "enemy" had been introduced in place of the stranger for the sake of gradation, as the figure of the brigand and robber was substituted for the strange bridegroom for gradation's sake, still within the limits of feudal conditions. By this, the community passed sentence on the system of marriage of convenience in which the contradiction between parents' material interest and the victim's human feelings was sharpened to the extreme. By this, the peasants proclaimed the right of the individual to decide on his own fate.

In the West the motif of kidnapping is not always connected with the figure of an enemy, since the image of a conquering enemy with strange manners was hardly known to the common ranks in those days. The sister found up at a later date was kidnapped either by robbers or by itinerant merchants. What is more, in western

ballads the story of the girl married to a strange land is interpreted sometimes in a humorous manner, e.g. in the Mariage anglais (French 72), in which the bride rejects all friendly approaches on the part of the bridegroom ("maudit anglais"), and accepts him as a "kind Englishman" after the wedding night.

The bride in the peasant society felt depressed even when she was married not to an "enemy" but to someone living afar. Bridal laments and bridal farewell speeches offer evidence enough of this. Sorrow and dispair emanates from their nuptial texts. "Prepare, mother, prepare My attire of an exile, So that I can find it ready When I have to start! O my starting on this way, O my breaking of the heart, O my starting on this way, O my breaking of the heart! . . . Alas, my mate Julis, my beloved flower, Are you sorry to part with your dear mother? Alas, I am sorry indeed, I am near to die! Had I a heart of stone, It would still break with grief!" (Nógrád county, MNT III/A, 238.) "Mother, my dear mother, My dearest who nursed me, Who carried me in your womb for nine months, Who brought me to this world After nine months, Who brought me to this world After nine months, Who brought me to this world, Who gave me teats, I wish she had given me poison When she bathed me In lukewarm water, I wish she had bathed me In boiling water! When she was wrapping me In fine linen, She should have wrapped me In glowing embers! When she was rocking me, She should have rocked me Seven fathoms deep in the earth!" (Lábnik, Moldavia—Egyházaskozsár, Baranya county = MNT III, 242.) The latter portion of this bridal lament occurs in several lyrical songs and ballads. The true cause of the bride's grief is displayed by the following two laments: "Come in, mother, come in, plait my hair In braids of five, six, In braids of five and six, With two threads of silk! If you do not plait it now You will never plait it again! *Strange land, strange country, Take me in!*" (Nyitra county = MNT III/A, 259.) Of course, the strange land here means only a distant region. A further example:

1. The coach is rattling,
   Jancsi is cracking,
   Perhaps they are coming for me *(bis)*.
2. Of my mother,
   Of my father
   I have not taken leave as yet *(bis)*.
3. Of my brothers and sisters,
   Of my girl friends
   I have not taken leave as yet *(bis)*.
4. Unknown land,
   Strange parents-in-law,
   How can I meet your pleasure *(bis)*.
5. Go to bed late,
   Rise early,
   This is how you meet their pleasure *(bis)*.
6. Kindle the fire, boil water,
   Get up early,
   This is how you meet their pleasure *(bis)*.

7. I went to bed late,
   I got up early.
   Yet I did not meet their pleasure *(bis)*.

8. I kindled their fire,
   I boiled their water,
   Yet I did not meet their pleasure *(bis)*.

9. Boil their water,
   Boil out their eyes,
   So you meet their pleasure *(bis)!*

(AP 7973a, *Nyitra county*.)

The girl was usually "kidnapped" by people of her own nation, so there was no need to go as far as the Turks or Arabs for an explanation. In the French correspondences of The Girl Abducted by the Turks, the girl is kidnapped by the landlord, from whom to escape she jumps into the river; in other variants she is cajoled by sailors to go aboard.

In the ballad, everything reflects conditions of late-feudal times looked at from the viewpoint of the peasantry. Everything expresses opposition to these conditions. The head of the extended family is the eldest man; if the father is not alive, he is followed by the eldest brother, who makes the girl, against her will, marry someone; he will chase the bride if he is against the marriage. Hungarian examples: No. *41*, Type **12**, English, Child 11, Danish DgF 82 and 83, 168, 303 and 334 (in the latter the head of the family comes home from a village meeting, tells her sister that he has engaged her to someone, and the girl only asks: "To whom"); the same takes place in connection with the father in 333, 395, 396, 398, 400, 415 and 433.

The characteristic metaphors of the ballad also refer to the living conditions of late-feudal times. The beginning formula presenting the girl engaged in embroidering in the window has been discussed earlier. In former times the figure appeared in the opening scenes of romances as well: for example in the *Chanson de toile*. But in them the girl always is shown from the interior, as the courtly poet may have seen her. It is up to the point that the Danish courtly manuscripts depict the scene in a like manner. As against this, the English, Spanish and Hungarian popular texts invariably look at the girl's figure from outside as she exposes herself to the eyes of the populace. She appears in the balcony or in the window. The process of erosion is interesting: where late-Gothic architecture, and mode of living, was not known at all, the picture gradually faded, to a point of utter evanenscence. As it had been used to represent a typical situation of a form of life, it had been employed at every place where an identical form of life prevailed, that of lords who lived in it, and of peasants who grew to develop a taste to imitate it.

Even the formal characteristic features of the ballad stemmed from the changed living conditions of the peasantry. Exaggerated claims for entertainment, a general vogue of dancing among courtly people as well as peasants, concomitant singing, etc. had made it necessary that the peasants should have at hand songs of

their own, and epic songs expressing their own ideals. The specialists of the heroic song, the "minstrels" had become poets of the courts by that time. Their compositions increasingly departed from the popular level, turning into what we call now "literature". But the common ranks also had a demand for similar products: they were in want of such songs which could be performed on any communal occasion and by the entire body of the community, in the spinning houses, at dancing parties, and the like. They needed songs to replace the former lengthy epic chants. Thus came into being the genre that suited to all, that met the requirements of expressing the psychic condition of the villagers. A genre which, according to *Zhirmunsky*, "...mehr eine Massengattung, für die...eine breite und nicht berufsmässige volkstümliche Vortragsweise charakteristisch ist...". (1961, pp. 101–102.) An epic form that concentrated on the most capturing incidents, that offered a possibility for all to express what was typical of the new urbanized style of living. And this was the ballad.

QUESTIONS OF COURTLY ORIGIN AND THE DANISH BALLAD

What I have stated so far in connection with the origin and development of the ballad as a typical genre of the peasant populations is in contrast with the standpoint of many ballad researchers who regard it, mainly on the basis of the Danish ballad, as courtly and literary in origin. The enormous collection of *Grundtvig,* the DgF (Danmarks gamle Volkeviser) with its arresting number of types (543 text types published under 539 numbers) has influenced public mind to this day. As this mass of types and variants mainly survive in manuscript song collections made by ladies of the higher social classes, and as the texts reflect the ways and tastes of the aristocrats, they provided an almost unshakable basis for the opinion that the ballad had come into existence in courtly circles, from where it descended gradually to the peasants among whom research discovered it in the nineteenth century. Especially the German scholars insist on this conception. They stick to the evidence of Scandinavian songs in their comparative studies, drawing their theoretical conclusions accordingly. Anyhow, we have to dedicate a separate study to this material before passing an opinion, whether *pro* or *contra* regarding it.

Expert readers of the Danish collections will certainly accept our preliminary remark, as a starting point of our speculation, that not all texts passed by the courtly collections from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries are ballads: extreme differences in content, conceptions, style and size exclude the possibility of their belonging to one single genre. First we have, therefore, to discern the elements which are obviously alien to the ballad genre as a whole. Or—if we wish to realize the proportions—we have to single out, by careful selection of the sundry texts, those pieces which may be considered ballads with more or less justification. Our procedure is the more reasonable because what these collections show to have lived together in "peaceful co-existence" had been written down by literates of aristocratic tastes, that is, in a particular environment, in which the diverse genres—higher in number and also more variegated—may have exerted a stronger influence on each other than in folk tradition. Thus, theoretically, the differences may be more pronounced than what usually prevail at the folklore level.

Subject-matters of several well-known genres can be clearly deliminated in the Danish collection: (1) survivals of mythical epic songs; (2) late-feudal courtly epic (post-heroic epic); (3) abridged narratives in the romance style; (4) märchen-like songs and sagas; (5) legends presented in unballad-like style. Transitional forms also can be added: (6) songs that are ballad-like in presentation but not in content; (7) songs ballad-like in theme but not in formulation. The pieces that cannot be accepted as ballads have been separated in Group I from those which lend themselves for treatments as ballads, Group II. In many instances, the songs of Group II are hard to differenciate from the transitional types: II/1 ballads of the märchen-fairy-legend kind; II/2 texts saturated with overdetailed realistic elements

and traits of the *bella istoria* and court poetry; II/3 stories lacking any explicit dramatic conflict; II/4 pieces bearing closer resemblance to ballads of other European nations. To facilitate survey, I attach to this chapter a tabulation of the entire DgF material. By way of characterization, I propose to analyse a few examples to show what kind of texts have been relegated into the various groups.

The collection includes such primitive-mythical elements which portrait the hero flying in his dress of feathered skin (1.). The same is known from creation myths of the Voguls, Ostyaks, the Altaic peoples, and even among the aborigins of Oceania. The hero sets out to find the golden hammer which his brother had lost. The figure of the goblin king also occurs in this kind of fable; the goblin king is unwilling to restore the treasure he had robbed until he receives the hero's sister in marriage. The father, dressed like a bride, devours a herd of cattle, drinks tons of beer at the feast, threatens the goblin whom he slays eventually. Flight in feathered skin is found in 33, in which the troll-raven spells doldrums onto the ship, keeping it motionless until the queen promises to give him what she is bearing under her belt. She gives birth to a child who must fly to the raven. Detailed depiction of the hero's arms in connection with a typical "heroic" adventure also betrays archaic traits of the epic song. The king boasts of having no match in bravery. Someone mentions an ogre. He starts to fight it. As people in the ogre's castle see them approaching, they remark: "We are going to receive hard guests!" (Approaching enemies are called "guests" in the Vogul–Ostyak heroic songs as well.) Then follow scenes in which the gate-keeper is killed, discourse with the king is held, forty enemies are slain by a single warrior. Further, we have a blood-thirsty sword that can fight by itself and can tell the hero (25.) how to revenge his father's death; scenes of wrestling heroes tearing off flesh from each other's body and shaking the cliffs beneath their feet (259.). As if we were wandering in the world of the Altaic heroic epic songs!

From this sphere we proceed towards the realistic scenes of post-feudal epic poetry where wealth is declared to be highest value. The king is desirous to win a girl's favour who puts on her finest clothes and obeys his demand. Next day she asks for the "dawn present"—this being the usual reward for such a night—and a furious debate follows because the girl is not satisfied with the value of the present. Finally she wants to marry a noble, whom the king orders to appear, and who is reluctant until the king promises to grant him an estate (122.). In 246. the king calls together the girls, among whom also the heroine appears. Two knights bring her gold. The king orders her, by words of his first page, to be his mistress. Thirty knights keep silent, only the little page dares to speak whom the king in turn threatens with his sword. No sooner does the clash settle than the page props the main argument: "But my lady has gold enough to fill fifteen boats, which is enough to make her queen of Denmark!" Then the king marries the girl and knights the page.

The same "reality" prevails in matters of love as well. In 219., the hero marries a young English lady. They are received by the family on the Danish shore. "It is a shame, son, that instead of a girl you have brought an ugly goblin!" "Yes, but she has brought a good deal of gold to make us rich; in addition, I am not young, and she will not cheat me." The girl, however, feels ashamed and returns home. Her armed brothers assault the bridegroom's manor and destroy it by fire.

The girl asks them not to hurt her man. She promises him to live in his place to death, provided his mother will treat her kindly. Thus everything turns out well. (Notably enough, the wording of the song is not contrary to the ballad style.) Several times the conflict is avoided or solved by sudden turns or without any motivation, sometimes according to manifest feudal way of thinking, which again disturbs the human order of value characteristic of ballads. Type 362, for instance, starts with scenes of love of happy spouses. The husband leaves for the court. A knight makes up his mind to entice the lady. He bribes the servants with gold. The wife asks her maid-servant what to do with the entreating knight. The maid chides the lady: were she as beautiful as madame, she would not resist. Thus love takes place. Tidings of it reach the court. The husband hurries home, and unlike the hero of Les anneaux de Marianson, he sees his mother first. She calms him, saying he must not give credit to all gossips, rather he should be kind to her instead of beating her. The mother rides before him to the wife to warn her. A reunion follows, and it is only after the night is over that he asks her about the case. The woman thrust all responsibility onto her maid, who is burnt, and so life returns into the usual rut. Not for a moment can we doubt that stories of this kind developed in aristocratic societies. At the same time, it is equally true that there is a world's difference between the moral conceptions of this and the ballads' sphere.

But at least the above examples are linked with domestic conflicts, love affairs with an inconsistent happy ending. Beside these, however, we find pieces of decidedly political poetry. Type 139 enumerates what kind of taxes the queen imposed on the subjects, describing her cruelty in a satirical dialogue: she demands a golden crown from each girl. "There are many poor girls to whom this is death." "Let not every woman wear scarlet robes." "Sir, do not let each peasant lad ride a good horse . . .", and the like. Apparent sympathy with the poor is expressive only of the mind of the nobles discontent with the heavy taxes. In Type 153 the mother warns her girl about to marry the king not to impoverish the country; and the bride setting foot on the soil of her new kingdom asks the king to free all political prisoners. A contrary view is voiced in Type 165: the king ransacked the land of the Frisians who refused to pay the taxes.

Details such as we find at the beginning of 151. also point to late-mediaeval courtly epic. A knight is lording it over fifteen provinces which he holds in tenure. He leads a merry life. The king sends one of his men to arrest him. It appears, however, that the knight and the man used to be school-mates. No. 164. even relates that the hero buys cows at a price of four marks per head, oxen at five marks when he collects victuals for fifteen years in his newly built castle. A political verse speaks about the Danish parties in the form of bird allegory in 173. There are romances among them, e.g. stories about Paris, Helena, Priamus and the brass horse (467.), stories of adventures woven from several threads (472.). A king has a dream: his wife will give birth to an ogre which will kill him. Therefore the woman bears the child in secret, sends it to Britain to be raised. When grown up, he has a love affair with the queen, for which he must leave the court. Arriving at home, his mother embraces him. Her old husband asks her about the young knight whom she embraces so kindly. The young man flies into a passion and slays his father. The mother advises him penitence, gives him a potion from which his hands and feet

turn white. As a pilgrim he returns to England, unveils himself before the queen for whom he had to flee. The king gives him a thousand gold and has a doctor called who cures him. The knight marries the king's sister. "This all his troubles are over now, he will be a king, finding rest in the arms of a princess." This formula is something like "they lived happily until they died" in tales. As to the formulas, there are phrases to indicate the presence of epic survivals, such as "det vil jeg for sandigen sige", which pushes the person of the singer into the foreground. (See *Holzapfel* 1969, who unfortunately traces formulas in the first fifty types only, and even in these not all of them.) These formulas applied consistently at certain place of the stanza refer to an established poetic practice, and as such would certainly deserve to be subjected to a thorough examination throughout the entire material, because according to my experience they mainly come up in unballad-like types and manuscript variants, and only very rarely in true ballads recorded from oral tradition. On the other hand, in an overdetailed text which has not much of the ballad style, this "promise" comes up six times (251). Commonplaces are occasionally used to characterize, instead of the hero's psychic state, a courtly gesture: "Axler sin skind", "Stolt Mettelild svöber sit Hoved i Skind, saa gaar hun i Höjeloft . . . ind". Such formulas occur sometimes in traditional variants as well, yet they mainly come up in manuscript texts. To quote an example, in certain literary variants of Type 338—paralleling the Hungarian ballad about The Girl Who Set Out with the Soldiers—the formula is met with when the text comes to describe the mother discovering the murder of her daugher by three guests who, in addition, call her to lie with them, as she enters her husband's room to wake him. The use of this formula is out of place not only in this instance but in the whole field of ballads, too. Commonplace as it is, it goes into such details which are typical of a lower approach (looking at things from a less elevated angle) than that of ballads. The formula has been framed from the viewpoint of courtly heroic epic. In like way, it cannot be regarded as a ballad commonplace when at a sudden turn the hero stops "to stay and ponder for a long time". Although a psychological condition is aimed at, it is by no means one fitting in a ballad's swift course of presentation in which incidents run forward by leaps and bounds. A retardation like this would go contrary to the nature of the genre. An extreme situation will show the awkwardness of this formula applied in a ballad. DgF 387 has the following story: Sitting at the wedding feast, the bridegroom receives news about his bride lying with her old lover. He jumps over the table and runs into the room where he sees the girl lying in the arms of his rival. And at this point the formula (he stops to ponder) follows, which is good enough for the rival to offer his sister to the bridegroom in place of the bride. The bridegroom accepts the offer, and all comes to a happy ending. Imagine the scene in a real ballad, like the Les anneaux de Marianson or The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death!

Here I have to refer to those Danish and English formulas which give expression to the carnal side of love, and which are more outspoken than would be required by the elevated style of the ballad. The woman or girl asks the visitor: "Do you want first to eat or to make love?" (359. and 365., among the many examples); in 351 we have: His wife is so beautiful that the who takes a glimpse of her wants to lie with her." The most common formula "I have not made an

appointment with anybody" with which the girl wishes to avert the visitor knocking at her door at night, is milder though still "looking at things from below". This formula is included even in the Danish version of the Three Orphans, in which the dead mother knocks at her husband's door. That is, the presence of commonplaces of the said types reveals, supporting what has been made clear from the content before, that the poems involved originate from courtly circles and from poet singers, but not from composers of ballad songs! Not even in case their influence is to be felt on a real ballad to whom they had lent certain colouring elements.

The difference I have mentioned before, namely that differently styled texts derive from oral and manuscript tradition, is well brought out by the tabulation attached to this chapter where it is indicated in brackets after each type how many variants of it are known from oral tradition and how many from manuscripts. It cannot be by chance that in the first five groups only a few of the pieces included are paralleled by oral variants. At the same time, the true ballads, mainly the international types, are represented by a vast number of traditional variants, and often by not a single written variant! (For example, 271, 305, 306, 311, 369, 241, 263, 370, and 446.) These two factors: namely, international dissemination on the one hand, and survival in oral tradition, on the other, can offer reliable points of unbiassed orientation in this medley of material intertwined in many ways. No really international theme can be found in the first five groups. As regards the three types referred to in the table, 430 (= DgF 20, with a different solution) is an extensively long text known only from manuscript, while the other two (104 and 535) derive from a common Christian legend. International themes are encountered here and there in the transitional groups—of both the ballad-like and non-ballad-like pieces—mainly among the legends. But the bulk of them can be discovered in the last group, that of the real ballads.

There is still another "objective" ground of information which excludes all possibility of arbitrary insinuation following the dictates of personal predilections: length relation. Texts extending to eighty to two hundred and thirty stanzas cannot really be called representatives of the ballad genre characterized by briefness and dramatic performance. And such enormously long compositions are found precisely among pieces which are at the same time least ballad-like in content as well. The variants of Type 72 range between excessively wide limits: 56, 84 to 162 stanzas; 126; 59 to 180; 145A: 108; 220:; 106 to 150; 251: 88; 266: 49 to 117: 474: 105 and 135; 475: 183, 188 and 200!; 476: 97; 481: 13! to 103! (extremes of this kind occurring in certain manuscript variants well exemplify the method of transcribers swelling to such an extraordinary extent a story that could be related in 13 stanzas): 485: 94, 157 to 183!; 519: 152; and finally 480: 173 to 233 stanzas, this being the longest example! It is interesting to cast a glance at the content of the last-mentioned story. The hero is in love with the king's daughter. The king, knowing this, sends him to the inimical king of Iceland, who furiously tears apart the letter the hero handed over to him; anyway, the king of Iceland has a grudge against him because his father had robbed the king of seven tons of silver. Now he demands eight tons of gold in compensation. The hero is thrown into prison. His comrades inform his relatives about the developments. In the meanwhile the heroine has been asked in marriage by another man, and wedding is to take place. The king's

daughter sends a maid instead of herself to the wedding bed. The king offers gold to the bridegroom to compensate him for his daughter's forfeited virginity. The bridegroom refuses the offer since he found the servant maid virgin. During the wedding the hero returns. The princess apologizes, telling her lover that the wedding had been against her will. Then she advises the knight to marry another girl who resembles her. The hero agrees. In the end, the princess becomes a widow, the hero's wife dies in child birth, and the two loving hearts are united.

A Hungarian reader will find hardly any difference between this story consisting of 233 four-lined stanzas with refrain and the bella istorias of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included in the Collection of Old Hungarian Poets *(Régi Magyar Költők Tára)* from whose volumes he has got acquainted with large numbers of similar love stories, in company with other stories of historical interest, warfares, and the like.

Let us see a few of them for comparison's sake. Anonymous of Patak: *Euryalus and Lucretia* (1572, 1592) 515 stanzas; Pál Istvánfi: *Volter and Griseldis* (1539) 295 stanzas; Péter Ilosvai Selymes: *A History on the Remarkable Feats and Knightly Deeds of the Renowned-Famous Miklós Tholdi* (1574) 101 stanzas; György Enyedi: *Gismunda and Giscardus* (sixteenth century) 203 stanzas; (identical with the theme of The Pagan King's Daughter); Albert Gergei: *Prince Argirus* (late sixteenth century): 243 stanzas; Sebestyén Tinódi: *The History of Ali Pasha of Buda* (1554) 116 stanzas; Anonymous: *On the Death of György Thuri* (1579) 103 stanzas; Anonymous: *Istoria Bella about King Telamon and the Terrible Death of His Son Diomedes* (1578) 86 stanzas (containing the theme of the Chapel Flowers); Anonymous of Szendrő: *Szilágyi and Hagymási* (1563, 1572) 50 stanzas; (identical with The Young Nobles Who Escaped from the Emperor's Prison); Anonymous: *Bella Istoria of King Béla and Bankó's Daughter* (1570) 38 stanzas (identical with The Soldier Girl).

We cannot enumerate here the full contents of the relevant volumes. Nevertheless, it is worth-while mentioning that events of early chronicles are also versified by the poets of the period in Hungary. (So did, in all likelihood, the poets of other nations.) For example, the title of a work by András Nalkai: *History Written as a Song On Andoinus, the Tenth King of the Longobards, and His Son Alboinus* (1579). At the end of the Kolozsvár edition he owns: "All this was written as a Parable in the Form of a History, in His Frequent Reading of Bonfinius". (A historiographer of the late fifteenth century of Hungary: Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, 1486–96.)

Following the Danish example, we might incorporate the full material of the Collection mentioned above into the body of Hungarian balladry. True, it abounds in poems by named authors. But also the Danes attribute their similar songs to authors. Thus there is no difference in this respect. Further, some of the Hungarian songs published in the Collection are also paralleled by survivals in the oral tradition, with such ones among them which have never been regarded as ballads (e.g. the Story of Argirus whose variants had been popularized by broadsides, so that Kodály recorded it in Bukovina). Kodály also noted down the song of István Kádár, a composition by Farkas Ködi about a seventeenth-century episode of war against the Tartars still sung in the Székely region. Of course, survivals of literary

pieces in oral tradition are much fewer in Hungary than in Denmark because of the wider gap that used to exist between products of undoubted literary origin and traditional ballads. But the circumstance that there was an interaction between literature and oral tradition in so far as ballads exerted an influence on the style of the authors of songs, and the latter also left their imprint on ballads preserved by masses of manuscripts, printed collections and a kind of "oral tradition among the nobility" in Denmark, will not authorize us to bring heterogeneous things to one common denominator.

Length relations in the Danish texts reveal regularly the difference: for the most part the traditional oral variants are shorter than those surviving in manuscripts (15 to 30 stanzas, that is short enough to stay within the scope of the ballad). As to this observation, a ready-made opinion is not wanting: in the course of time literary compositions were shortened in the oral tradition of the peasants. But this is no explanation for certain oral variants of ballads having become longer than the original models, particularly in such instances when there exists a great difference between the extent of manuscript variants while the oral ones represent a mean. (For a numerical documentation, see the table at the end of this chapter.) In any case, the compass of ballads orally transmitted is confined within a fairly stable and rather narrow range, varying from seven to fifty stanzas, while the manuscript variants show a vacillation between seven and two hundred and thirty stanzas, and even in the variants of one and the same ballad, between twelve and a hundred and three (the traditional version of the same extending to sixteen stanzas only!). This peculiar distribution betrays a stylistic uniformity of the oral and an unevenness of the manuscript practice. If a content can be related in, say, thirteen or sixteen stanzas, then the expansion of this content to one hundred and three stanzas must result in verbosity; and if we accept briefness of presentation to be a characteristic feature of the genre, then we can accept only that manuscript as the origin of a ballad in which the author condensed the theme in thirteen stanzas, which people enlarged subsequently to sixteen, while song composers and adaptors extended it to one hundred and three stanzas. No progress in the reverse sense can be imagined. And finally, if the stylistic quality of the text is also taken into consideration, this being the method applied by sholars of literature in establishing the identity of the author, time of generation etc. of a questionable composition, then it will be seen that it is the more detailed poems that least comply with the requirements of a true ballad, and that in most cases they are inferior to the shorter ones assessed from the aesthetic point of view. All this does not support a process in which a longer original was eroded but on the contrary: an original form of a ballad which was shorter and more dramatic in nature was enlarged by transcribers of a different taste. Anyway, earlier research observed this regularity in connection with certain ballads. Speaking about the Danish connections of Der grausame Bruder (D. Vlr. 86) *John Meier* states: "Die Fassungen der dänischen Adelsvisbøger, ... sind nicht im *Volksmund* aus der Urform umgestaltet worden, sondern haben nach allgemeiner und wohl zutreffender Anschauung eine *literarische* Umbildung erfahren, die ihren Umfang auch stark aufgeschwellt hat.... Von diesen Ausgestaltungen der Adelsüberlieferung halten sich im ganzen die ausserdänischen nordischen Gestalten...fern, wenn auch gelegentliche Berührungen bei einigen von ihnen

zeigen, dass die Fassungen der Adelsvisbøger auf sie eingewirkt haben." (p. 20.) Of course, even this can be established only with reference to real ballads. Numbers belonging to other genres cannot be considered here, even though they happened to be included in a collection in which also ballads had been taken up, depending on the taste of the compiler.

But even if we omit all the texts which are explicitly un-ballad-like, still we find that their characteristic features are present in a lesser extent in the remaining numbers. Lengthy and detailed presentation, avoidance of conflicts, verbosity of courtly formulas, etc., must have been taken over from literary parallels, since the latter certainly influenced the oral tradition. The influence of "co-existence" is apparent even in such pieces as the Danish formulation of The Daughter of the Pagan King. In every nation in which it occurs the mentioned ballad received a tragic solution burdened with social conflict. So does it in the Danish No. 305. At the same time, another solution is seen in No. 94: the parts of the lover cut to pieces are put together and restored to life by the sweetheart by means of water of life, this märchen motif being present in a traditional variant. Thus the borderlines are washed away through the interaction of the two kinds of poetry. Still the difference is manifest by the rule of large numbers. Traditional variants are shorter than the manuscripts, their style is more ballad-like; in some instances the former are marked by a tragic atmosphere while the latter with a happy ending (e.g. 415); they maintained a larger number of international types, and offer in general more reliable points of approach for the study of balladry.

Naturally, this statement cannot be interpreted in a rigid way, precisely because of the manifold "contamination" of the two kinds of literature. For example, even in the group best marked by the characteristic features of the ballad genre (II/4) we come across types which we know exclusively from manuscripts (see the tabulation). Oral tradition does not preserve everything that used to exist in it. Early records provide evidence of what every scholar is aware of, namely that many ballads went into oblivion in the course of time. In mediaeval times more ballads existed than what have been preserved by oral tradition. In principle it is not precluded that song composers wrote ballad-like poems in imitation of real ballads: such counterfeits may be well regarded as written specimens without parallels in oral tradition. But experiences gathered from the fields of oral tradition, as well as from the written Danish material, show that individual compositions contain more or less elements of reality and eventuality, even in case they are successful imitations of folk products; these elements will only be gradually dropped from the pieces surviving in oral tradition in the process of continuous variation. Thus, uniformly ballad-like songs can be regarded as recordings of folklore creations polished to a mature stage under the creative work of the community rather than some relics of "individual inventions".

At the same time it should be stated that not all true ballad types have been included in the great Danish collection. For instance, *Dal* 42 is absent in the DgF. Obviously it was considered to be an *efterklang*, that is subsequent folk creation although it belongs to the international type "l'occasion manquée" (French 93), a ballad of mediaeval origin as indicated by its spread among the Italians and the English (*Child* 112).

As to the comic ballads, the researchers, for the most part, are sceptical; they tend to accept only tragic stories for real ballads. This stand is rather contradictory in the case of the Danish manuscript versions which often dissolve conflicts in a happy ending. Comic ballads entered the scene together with the tragic ones, and we have no reason to eliminate them from the universal stock of mediaeval origin. In any case, the number of Danish ballads could be increased by inclusion of such songs which had been collected after the publication of the DgF volumes.

Let us now draw the conclusion. The large Danish collection cannot be regarded as one of ballads in every respect; neither can the *Child* collection. In the former, however, the differences are more conspicuous since texts representing a different genre are more numerous. Obviously, products of a different type are mixed with ballads to such an extent that an uncritical approach to them results in false judgement of the true nature of the ballad. Not even a separation of the incompatible elements would suffice, for in that case the transitional groups still would remain which fail to prove anything. Generic features are shown by the extreme oppositions, and everything in between can be an outcome of interaction of the two kinds of poetry. Such "contamination" was possible only with the Danes. More about this and the properties of what may be taken for true ballads in the Danish material will be said in the chapter about the Ballad Areas and Ballad Types. In this place we set the sole task of examining how far Danish texts lend themselves as sources for theoretical speculation concerning the ballad, and what parts of the material are relevant to our points. One thing has become clear to me—and I think I am not to meet with a general disapproval in my proposition—namely: if a major part of this collection bears relationship with other literary genres, although a considerable part agrees with ballads of other nations, then we have to start from these two facts and have to ignore the great mass of transitional forms: by this procedure we shall be able to state what songs are real ballads in the collection and what are not, the former being in agreement with the ballads of other nations, the latter at variance with all ballad properties. And then, the abundance of transitional forms should be ascribed to the fact that in Denmark the folk genre used to penetrate the culture of the learned circles—nobles, and aristocrats and their poets—in a more than usual measure, and that a trend in the reverse used to prevail also to a greater degree than in other nations: from the end of the sixteenth century masses of collected and printed ballad songs, broadsides and manuscript collections of popular poetry had strongly reacted on Danish folklore and oral tradition as well. The circumstance that we are still able to distinguish between folklore and non-folklore elements of style and construction in the Danish material argues unequivocally for the existence of a distinct folk style. In consideration of all this, however, the Danish collection will help us to derive valuable conclusions concerning the theoretical and historical questions of the ballad, precisely on account of its unique abundance of written documents.

TABULATION OF DANISH BALLADS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEIR GENERIC FEATURES

DgF numbers followed (first) by numbers of variants known from oral tradition, and (secondly) by those known from written sources or broadside, both bracketed. Variants of ballads referred to in bold type are known to me from other nations' collections, too. (f = Faroe Islands.)

I. UN-BALLAD-LIKE PIECES

1. Mythical epic-song features 1.! (3,3) 5.(0,3) 7.(2f,9) 8.(0,2) 9.(0,8) 10.(2,8) 11.!(3,6) 12.(1f,6) 14.(0,2) 16.!(0,4) 17.(0,3) 24.(0,1) 25.(0,1) 33.(0,6) 34.(0,2) 93.(0,1) 259.(0,21) 289.(6,12)297.(9,9) 298.(1,25) 478.(0,1) Total 21 (14 exclusively from MS).

2. Courtly epic ("post-heroic") 6.(0,5) 15.(0.5) 21.(0,5) 32.(0,4) 69.(0,13) 71.(0,9) 72.(0,10) 77.(0,6) 78.(0,13) 80.(0,2) 115.(0,4) 116.(0,2) 118.(0,1) 119.(2f,0) 120.(0,1) 122.!(0,1) 127.(0,7) 128.(1f,15) 131.(0,6) 132.!(1,3) 133.!(0,2) 134.(0,1) 135.(0,3) 136.(0,3) 137.(0,2) 138.(0,22) 139.(0,2) 141.(0,8) 142.(0,2) 145.(0,14) 147.(0,4) 150.(0,1) 151.(0,2) 153.!(0,3) 154.(0,7) 156.(0,10) 157.(0,3) 158.(0,5) 159.(0,8) 161.(0,3) 163.(0,2) 164.(0,1) 165.!!(0,2) 166.(0,10) 167.(0,8) 168.(0,2) 169.(0,1) 170.(0,5) 171.(0,5) 172.(0,2) 173.(0,3) 174.(0,1) 176.(0,4) 177.(0,11) 179.(0,1) 181.(0,12) 188.(0,1) 190.(0,2) 191.(0,2) 192.(1,1) 194.(0,12) 199.(0,16) 205.(5,15) 206.(0,1) 207.(0,1) 220.(3,12) 221.(0,13) 222.(0,2) 225.(0,20) 227.(0,10) 228.!(0,11) 233.(1 fragment, 13) 235.(0,1) 236.(0,1) 240.(0,7) 246.(1f,1) 261.(0,1) 262.(2f,12) 266.(3,11) 268.(0,11) 307.(0,16) 309.(0,1) 314.(0,8) 315.(0,2) 316.(0,4) 317.(0,2) 318.(0,9) 325.(4,12) 326.(0,1) 327.(0,1) 331.(0,4) 332.(0,16) 350.(0,2) 351.(0,2) 353.(0,8) 360.(7,10) 362.(1,15) 374.(0,11) 377.(0,13) 393.(0,25) 394.(5: other, 11) 396.(0,9) 398.(0,8) 399.(0,1) 400.(0,2) 401.(0,1) 406.(0,1) 407.(0,19) 412.(0,3) 414.(0,14) 417.(0,8) 419.(0,12) 420.(0,1) 425.(0,5) 428.(0,19) **430.**(0,14) 432.(0,21) 434.(0,1) 452.(0,13) 465.(0,2) 469.(0,2) 521.(0,1) Total 130 (114 exclusively from MS).

3. Romance, novella 27.(0,3) 28.(0,1) 30.(0,4) 31.(0,3) 35.(0,2) 36.(0,4) 49.(0,10) 62.(0,6) 63.(0,1) 70.(3,7) 86.(0,15) 87.(0,14) 88.(0,3) 91.(0,1) 92.(0,1) 112.(0,8) 114.(0,4) 155.(0,8) 248.(0,5) 251.(0,1) 257.(0,1) 259.H.! (0,1 A–G see Heroic song) 290.(0,6) 467.(0,11) 468.(1,11) 470.(0,8) 471.(0,14) 472.(0,6) 474.(0,8) 475.(4,37) 476.(0,15) 477.(3,15) 479.(0,10) 480.(0,17) 485.(0,11) 519.(0,1) Total 36 (31, exclusively from MS or broadside sources).

4. Märchen-like fables 22.(0,2) 23.(0,12) 41.!(0,5) 43.(0,1) 44.(0,12) 46.(0,5) 57.(0,12) 59.(0,8) 60.(0,9) 61.(0,1) 64.(0,2) 65.(2,2) 66.(0,4) 68.(0,9) 285.(0,1) Total 15 (14 exclusively from MS or broadside sources).

5. Saga, legend 50.(0,3) 51.(0,1) 96.(1,2) 97.(1,2) 98.(1,1) 99.(0,1) 100.(2,1) 101.(8,0) 102.(3,6) 103.(1,2) **104.**(8,2) 105.(0,1) 106.(0,1) 113.(0,1) 518.(0,1) 531.(0,1) 532.(1,1) **533.**(1,0) 534.(2,0) 536.(5,0) 537.(1,1) 538.(2,0) Total 22 (8 exclusively from MSS, 5 from oral tradition).

6. Other un-ballad-like content 286.(19,2) 385.(3,0) 403.(0,1) 440.(0,2) 451.(0,6) 454.(1,1) 456.(0,6) 460.(3,4) 461.(0,6) 462.(0,1) 482.(0,20) 484.(0,11) 488.(0,1) 489.(0,15) 491.(0,1) 492.(0,1) 493.(0,4) 494.(0,2) 495.(0,2) 497.(0,8) 498.(0,11) 499.(0,8) 500.(0,14) 501.(0,3) 502.(0,1) 503.(0,9) 504.(3,3) 505.(0,1) 506.(0,2) 507.(0,3) 508.(0,1) 509.(0,4) 510.(0,3) 512.(0,1) 513.(21,7) 514.(6,0) 515.(4,0) 516.(0,1) 517.(1,0) 520.(0,1) 527 Tillaeg II (1,0) 535.(5,0) Total 42 (31 exclusively from MS or broadside sources, 6 from oral tradition).

7. Formally ballad-like, with untypical content 2.(2,4) 18.(0,6) 26.(1,6) 29.(4,7) 38.(18,2) 42.(0,2 45.(0,1) 48.(3,1) **52.**(0,7) 79.(0,6) **84.**(3,10) 85.(0,12) **90.**(1,3) 152.(1,5) 162.(0,2) 175.(30,1) 184.(4,12 only peasant variants, tragic) 185.(0,1) 186.(25,3) 187.(0,1) 189.(5,6) 192.(0,1) 223.(1,7) 230.(0,7) 244.(0,6) 245.(6,0) 264.(0,2) 300.(0,1) 319.(0,10) 324.(0,4) 329.(0,10) 330.(0,2) 336.(0,2) 352.(0,1) 373.(0,1) 386.(7,0) 429.(0,12) Total 37, of which 20 from MS or broadside sources.

8. Ballad-like content, presented in un-balled style 4.(0,4) 39.(0,6) 40.(7,5) 67.(0,6) 73.(0,10) 74.(0,11) 75.(0,12) 76.(5 fragment,16) 126.(2,10) 160.(0,2) 180.(0,16) 182.(1,13) 197.(0,2) 202.(0,1)

203.(0,4) 204.(0,2) 212.(0,7) 219.(0,1) 269.(0,3) 322.(1,0) 363.(0,11) 364.(0,3) 365.(4+2f,0) 366.(0,8) 388.(0,2) 392.(1,8) 395.(0,5) 413.(0,9) 447.(0,7) 453.(0,10) 455.(4f,11) 457.(0,4) 463.(0,5) 464.(1f,10) 481.(2+4f,32) 483(0,13) 487.(0,6) 496.(3,17) 511.(2,6) Total 39, of which 26 from MS, 2 from oral tradition only.

I. Total: 342, of which 258 only from MS, 83 also from oral tradition.

II. PIECES WITH A MORE OR LESS BALLAD CHARACTER

1. Ballads with fairy, märchen and legend elements **37.**(6,6) **47.**(6,2) **58.**(1,0) **81.**(2,0) **89.**(23,8) **94.**(1.1) **95.**(10,0) 107.(3,3) 108.(0,14) 109.(4,0) 110.(1,0) 361.(1,0) 383.(0,7) 522.(1,0) **525.**(2,0) 526.(3,0) 527.(63,0) **528.**(2,0) **529.**(6,0) 530.(1,0) Total 20, of which 2 from MS, 11 from oral tradition.

2. Features of, or detailed presentation in the style of the "bella istoria", courtly or warlike genres 3.(1,4) 13.(11,1) **20.**(4f,13) 82.(16,11)? 111.(0,3) 117.(0,6) 121.(0,5) 124.(0,1) 129.(0,5) 130.(1,4) 140.(1,16) 143.(1,1) 144.(1,12) 146.(11,3)? 149.(0,7) 178.(0,11) 193.(3,2) 195.(1f,7) 196.(0,1) 197.(0,2) 198.(0,1) 200.(0,9) 201.(1,8) 209.(0,5) 210.(3,7) 211.(0,8) 212?(0,7) 213.(0,5) 214.(1f,2) 217.(0,3) 219.(0,1) 224.(4,18) 226.(1 fragment,10) 234.(9,15) 237.(2: different,4) 238.(23,13) 239.(15,9) 243.(6,0) **247.**(0,6) **252.**(9,23) 255.(0,7) 256.(0,6) **258.**(60,42) 260.(1,10) 296.(3,0) 301.(3,0) 303.(0,14) 308.(1,0) 310.(3,1) 312.(0,9) 313.(0,9) 320.(0,4) 321.(0,2) 323.(1,0) 333.(0,2) 334.(0,2) 335.(8,0) 337.(0,4) 339.(0,1) 343.(0,1) 346.(0,1) 348.(0,3) 354.(3+2f,17) 355.(4+2f,7) 356.(0,4) 359.(0,1) 367.(0,4) 387.(18,9) 388.(1,1) 389.(6,22) 390.(35,9) 402.(1,0) **408.**(1,16) 415.(6,1) 418.(4,8) 421.(10,2) 422.(7,0) 426.(0,3) 433.(0,18) 459.(0,1) 466.(4,0) 473.(6,12) Total 81, of which 27 from MS, 9 from oral tradition.

3. Without a dramatic conflict, or the conflict washed away in the style of courtly poems 242.(0,8) 267.(65,19) **274.**(6,4) 275.(0,2) 276.(0,9) 278.(5,1) 279.(0,7) 280.(0,11) 281.(0,1) 282.(1,1) 292.(3,1) 328.(0,1) 404.(2,0) 405.(0,1) 448.(0,2) 450.(1,0) **490.**(2,2) Total 17, of which 9 from MS or broadside, 2 from oral tradition.

4. Genuine ballads 19.(0,4) 83.(2,10) 123.(0,1) 125.(0,2) **183.**(21,11) 208.(4,2) 215.(0,1) 216.(0,1) 218.(11,12) 229.(16!5?) 231.(3,3) 232.(0,3) **241.**(15,0) **249.**(10,4) 250.(7,24) **253.**(10,0) **254.**(64,7) **263.**(9,0) 265.(2,1) 270.(0,1) **271.**!(more than 150,0) 272.(1,1) 273.(0,2) 277.(9,11) 283.(1,0) 284.(1,0) 294.(11,3) **304.**(9,2) **305.**!(55,1) **306.**!(66,8) **311.**!(84,5) **338.**(14,2) **340.**(6,0) **341.**(4,0) **342.**(3+5f,10) 344.(3,4) **345.**(2,7) 347.(0,1) 349.(2f,1) 357.(11,1) 358.(0,1) 365.(4+2f,0) 368.(4,1) **369.**!(45,0) **370.**(5,0) 371.(0,3) 372.(4+1f,2) 375.(4,6) 376.(85,5) **378.**(2,14) 379.(4,1) 380.(1,0) **381.**(9,2) **382.**(19,1) 384.(2,0) 391.(0,7) 397.(2,1) **409.**(8,19) 410.(4,0) 411.(0,1) 416.(65.3) 423.(2f,0) 427.(6,0) 431,(6,18) **435.**(1,0) 436.(0,4) 437.(1,2) 438.(5,2) **439.**(1,0) 441.(5,0) 442.(5,0) 443.(0,5) 444.(0,2) **445.**(25,13) **446.**(16,0) 449.(0,1) **458.**(49,8) **486.**(11,2) 523.(1,0) 524.(7,0) 527. Tillaeg I.(11,2) 527. Tillaeg III(0,1) 527. Tillaeg IV.(0,1) **539.**(10,0) Total 83, of which 19 from MS, 23 from oral tradition.

II. Total 203, of which 57 from MS, 105 also from oral tradition, 45 from oral tradition.

Length of traditional and MSS variants within a type

Type numbers are followed, first, by limit values of stanza numbers of MS variants, secondly, by those of orally transmitted variants. Only such DgF numbers are given in whose case there exist traditional variants longer than at least one of the MSS.

184: 20–35, 30–33. 186: 21–22, 12–33. 239: 13–56, 22–33. 249: 14–30, 24–35. 252: 14–50, 14–17. 267: 9–38, 12–29. 278: 18, 12–22. 306: 9–21, 11–21. 355: 20–31, 22–26. 357: 28, 19–32. 362: 27–58, 30. 372: 15–17, 16–20. 379: 27, 14–28. 387: 33–43, 20–36. 390: 17–23, 17–25. 415: 21, 21–27. 421: 21, 10–33. 445: 21–45, 14–36. 458: 6–16, 7–19. 460: 20–28, 24–26. 481: 13–103, 16.

THE BALLAD AS A CREATION OF PEASANT COMMUNITIES

The title of this chapter is likely to evoke resistance in some of my expert readers. Ever since the theory of "communal authorship" of the turn of the century has been discarded, after long debates, an opinion has been generally accepted that ballads had individual authors in the beginning. Subsequently they were polished by communal tastes, changed to some extent, but not essentially. They preserved the original form set by the author. Indeed, improvisation of "the dancing-singing throng" could not give rise to ballad poetry. Any peasant creation of recent times—if discovered at all in *statu nascendi*—is more of a patchwork than mature folklore product, so especially in the field of the narrative poems which require a more explicit, fixed construction. Who then could be responsible for the emergence of the ballad as a genre, and for all its types, except the ancient order of singers, minstrels, performers of epic poetry, or their descendents? This conception was modified in so far at most that ballads originated from "minor" singers who adapted their compositions to the popular taste. In this way ballads turned into folk creations, common properties of "oral tradition". For example, *Jeanroy* states: "... production émanant, sans doute, de poètes... qui sont restés avec le peuple dans une union assez intime pour traduire fidèlement sa pensée et faire battre son cœur des pièces, composées en un mot, non *par* le peuple, mais *pour* le peuple...".

Attractive though and seemingly natural, this conception raises serious scruples as soon as facts are closely examined. The ballad is now unanimously regarded as a late-mediaeval development, and only singers of late-mediaeval times, the Spielmanns and minstrels, authors of romances often referred to in the literature may come into consideration as producers of the genre. Therefore we have to review what they "created" and how far their style agrees with the style of the ballad.

In the first place, the epic singers of the thirteenth century—known or unknown—wrote long epic poems, more precisely romances, in which differences from the ballad style are manifest in both the manner of presentation characterized by realistic detail and the predominance of the poet's subjective approach and even his personality. It is worth-while recalling some of their typical stylistic devices as stated by *Curschmann* (142), an expert of Spielmann poetry: (a) Anrede des Publikums: (b) Fallenlassen bzw. Wiederaufnehmen eines Handlungsfadens: (c) epische Vorausdeutung: and (d) Wahrheitsbeteuerung und Quellenberufung. It is not difficult to realize that all these devices equate with those which I have sifted out from the ballad genre, being completely alien to its style. None of them can be found in any of the classical ballad songs. The address to the public survives to this day in the practice of market-singers and broadsides. Whenever the Croat versions of the Hungarian Three Orphans replace the incipit: "There over stands a nut-tree, Under which three orphans are weeping" by the formula "Poslušajte vi ljudi, kak žene tak i

muži", ("Listen, people, men as well as women!"), reference to a "blind singer" or a "market-singer" and the like is rarely missing in the collector's notes. The dropping and recovering of the thread of the narrative, this widespread device of the Spielmann poetry, can be discovered in a Hungarian song, too, originating from the late-fifteenth century. (The Siege of Szabács: "But let us leave it as it is, For it would be no use for us to speak more about it. Rather shall we announce the arrival of Beg Ali.") The same is found in the longest, most detailed and least ballad-like texts of *Child* as well. (No. 48, Stanza 33: "But let us leaue talking of this ladye, And talke some more of young Andrew"; No. 53, Stanza 20: "Now will we leave young Susan Py a while in her own country, And return to Young Bichen"; No. 109/A, Stanza 30: "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..." No. 134, Stanza 46: "Now leave we Robin with his man... Now pass we to the bold beggar"; No. 167, IV, 504 Addition Stanza 24: "Now we'll leave talking of Christy Grahame, And talk of him again believe: but we will talk bonny Bewick: *ibid.*, Stanza 52: "Now we'll leave talking of these two brethren..."; No. 271/A, Stanza 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."; *ibid.*, Stanza 25: "Now let vs leave talk of the child... And we'l talk more of the false steward.") In Spanish, this formula occurs in a narrative of eight hundred verses. (Stanza 30, in the translation of *Geibel* and *Schack*: "Lassen wir zur Zeit die Gräfin, Die in heissen Thränen klagt, Und berichten von Gayferos, Von dem Wege, den er wallt.") In the Serbian epic song, *Parry* and *Lord I*, 76 = II, 15, No. 1, the singer shifts over to a new topic much in the same way: "Now let me tell you the strange tale of Fatima, Of Fatima of the city of Buda." This heroic song, anyway, extends to several thousand lines. There is no doubt that the formula in question belongs to narratives composed of many threads of plot and not to the ballad which concentrates on one single episode.

The last-mentioned device, that of making reference to a real story, can be met with in those Danish texts which we have relegated to the group of pseudo-ballads. *Curschmann* (p. 134, Note 3) quotes the corresponding middle-high-German Spielmann formula: "zeware sagen ich iu daz", without confronting it with the same Danish formula occurring in numerous Danish manuscripts: "det vil jeg for sandigen sige", and with some *Child*-texts: "I tell you this tale for true". And similarly, what he cites on page 149 from a thirteenth-century author's remark on the Spielmann poetry reminds us of Danish and English–Scottish ballad turns: "cantant gesta principum et vitam sanctorum et faciunt solatia hominibus."

Thus it is not the Spielmann style but the opposite of it that we have in ballads. Yet, what we have adduced as examples so far holds by and large for the courtly poets. Is it not possible that there had been "minor" poets as well who used to entertain the populace in a different style?

There is only one area in which this question can be settled by evidence of factual data, instead of suppositions, namely, that of the Southern Slav folklore (and the Albanian). Folk-singers survived there to the first days of systematic folklore research, and we can trace their life, function and connection with the people and the genre almost to the present date. And we find that here there is a sharp distinction between the heroic song *(junačka pesma)* and other folksongs

(ženska pesma), the latter having been held in deep disregard by professional folk-singers and performed exclusively by females and "non-professional" male singers. Ballads almost without exception figure among the females' songs, even though one or two ballads, for instance, certain variants of The Walled-Up Wife have been mingled with the epic songs on account of King Vukašin and the rest being involved in these variants (the names refer to heroes of epic songs). But the very duality that one variant is taken for an epic song, another for a ballad shows that we are dealing with a ballad theme and not with an epic poem, for the latter genre will never permit such dinstinction. The Greek-origin "Cruel Mother-in-Law" is a female song with the Albanians! The evidence of the Southern Slav and Albanian epic is unequivocal to such an extent that science must draw the lesson from it. What has been supposed to be a special order of singers creating ballads, whose existence has never been supported by a single record anyway, the rank of minor "Spielmanns" living among the people, stand in front of us, and their representatives unanimously confess that they have nothing to do with the ballad.

As against this, there are many signs to show, apart from the evidence of the Serbian material, a direct connection of the ballad with the peasant communities without an order of singers involved. One of the proofs has been discussed in connection with the spread of the ballad. When a ballad crosses a border between related language areas, say French–Italian or Czech–Polish frontiers—it suffers hardly more alteration than when it produces variants within one and the same area. But as soon as it passes over to an unrelated language area, it tends to alter essentially. Suppose that poet-singers take over each other's compositions, formulating national variants: why do they transform them only when they have to translate them from a language into another? Why should they recast the whole of the plot in such cases? They must understand the original! Are we to suppose that they take over the song unaltered only when they interpret it from a kindred language? How then that only German poets adapt French themes but the Italians do not?

How simple the explanation is when the question is examined from the aspect of ballads proceeding from people to people! The songs transmitted in areas with slight differences of dialect undergo, by gradual transformation, hardly any perceptible alteration from one village to another. Names as well as parts of formulation remain, at most they are replaced by way of variation. In contrast, translation supposes a practice of recasting the text, involving innovations, often misinterpretations.

Whether looked at from the side of a hypothetically supposed order of singers—in a phase in which ballads already co-exist with epic songs—or from the aspect of dissemination, or from that of the Spielmann style, the answer will be invariably the same: the ballad is no product of poet-singers.

If however we start from the method of comparison, say with lyrical folksongs, we find a great degree of similarity of style, elevation of presentation as has been pointed out in the first chapter, and also a similar technique of producing variants. A mosaic-like movement of motifs characterizes the folksong fitting into ever new correlations the existing elements, a process giving rise to ever fresh fascinating effects in the songs. The same holds increasingly for folk music in which

one a finds nothing else but basic elements combined. Yet, numerous beautiful melodies come into being in this way. That is, by variation! And we cannot suppose some composer who should have been made responsible for the creation of the "first song". For what is "first"? And if such a thing ever existed, what a great number of new and new beauties had followed it! The "first" must have been something representing an older style which in turn had been preceded by some still more primitive style. Beauty, therefore, may be created without an author involved in folk music, in folksong and even in the decorative art—in which shepherds and peasants as creators, together with their products, are visible every now and then even in our days. Their products are "variants" as well as in any other branch of art, variants *determined by the style*, yet they are things of beauty. If works of art may arise from the continual process of variation in so many kinds of art, then why not in ballads? Can it not be produced by the peasantry as community through the individuals who do the variation?

The gist of the question is if ballads can arise by way of variation. Are we not to ascribe a narrative song to the authorship of one man? After all, the process of creation presupposes someone who had a definite idea about the whole of the plot. But a man who is not a professional poet can hardly be suspected of being able to compose a ballad so perfect of construction as, say, The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death!

In my opinion, the ballad can take shape in the way in which other folklore products come into existence: that is, in the gradual course of variation, modelling and re-modelling. (On the method of creating oral compositions see: *Lord*; *Buchan* 1972, Chapter 6; *idem* 1977; see further *Piø*.) Only we need not think in every case of the "whole plot". Concentrating on the "details" we can immediately discover what might be taken for "prefabricated elements". Experts have long been aware of a feature of ballads: in any nation's versions they employ certain identical elements as building stones. "Wandering motifs", "contamination", "ballad commonplaces" and other expressions have been used to clarify this phenomenon. For certain instances *Ortutay* (1959) set up the concept of "affinity" with the meaning of "relationship", "attraction". That is, themes of a kindred nature have an appeal to each other, borrowing certain elements from one another. It is a question, however, whether only "ready" ballads avail themselves of this possibility? Are we to suppose that independent ballads came into life as ready made products which, governed by the rule of affinity, then attracted more or less fitting portions of other similarly developed ballads, thus exemplifying the theory of "contamination"? Such a process can be undoubtedly observed even today. But can we not surmise that the method can be projected into the past when "ready" ballads were coming into being? Namely, even experts mapping ballads according to their correlations are surprised at seeing how complex this "affinity" is. There are very few ballads that would not be connected with some other in a way or other, some of them with as many as eight or ten types. Most of these ties are certainly not recent in origin. When autonomous, well definable ballads include portions of other ballads, but only in a few variants and sometimes not even fitting in the context, then we may really speak of recent "contamination". But when essential plot elements of a ballad occur in every—or in many—variants of another ballad in which they are also

essential, then we have to consider the case of a genuine relationship: either the one or the other, or both, must have possessed the "building stones" from *statu nascendi*. Text agreements are particularly revealing when occurring in ballads almost on the verge of final extinction in wide apart regions which could by no means react on each other during the past two centuries. Such correlation can be detected between the isolated text of **29.** The Girl Abducted by the Turks (recorded in the Szeged region) and the Transdanubian variant of **28.** The Cruel Mother-in-Law. Both contain a similar formulation of the address to the fishermen. Similarly, the words of The Rich Old Husband boasting of his wealth in the only extant Transdanubian variant of Type **46.** is echoed in two Székely variants from the East, in **83.**, The Bride Brought Back. There are further examples offered by several variants of ballads surviving in wide apart areas: motifs of The Wallad-Up Wife **(2.)** occur in some full variants of The Disgraced Girl **(10.)** recorded from Hungary proper (The horse belongs to dogs, The coach to fire. . .); or in identical places, the scene of encounter, the questioning of the old man or the shepherd in the Hungarian variants of The Disgraced Girl and the Transylvanian song about The Two Chapel Flowers **(9.)**. In addition, several other ballads show relationship in construction and theme, in whose cases the generation of the one may be deduced from the basic idea of the other, according to instinctive practice of variation. The grades of relationship between ballads can be stated as follows: 1) thematic relationship; 2) employment of certain scenes, basic ideas and portions of the narrative; 3) identical blocs of text; 4) commonplaces, formulas and other minor details of text agreeing in different ballads. For 1) a good example is provided by the relationship of The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession **(13)** with The Bride Found Dead **(12)** on the one hand, and with The Mother's Curse **(16)** on the other. The basic ideas are the same in **12.** and **13.** only the plot takes a different turn: the girl dies in the procession in the one, and found dead at home by the bridegroom in the other. In **16.**, however, the basic idea is turned: the girl is not forced to mary by the mother or the head of the family, but she marries against the will of her mother. What, then is this, if not variation?

And is it not variation when the Soldier Girl appears in ever new frames of plot with the French? The essence of French 52. is the test of sex; in 43. she accompanies her lover to the battle-field where she is discovered when wounded; in 47. she follows her unfaithful lover to the war and kills him in a duel; in 34. she sees her lover to the army only to meet a flat refusal by him; in 110. she has been away with the army for seven years and returns with a baby in her arms. Here again new plots were shaped from details: but in every case the basic situation of a girl dressed as a soldier is imagined. Of the similar correlations of numerous Danish ballads, let us refer to one only: from the words of the girl with a child the bridegroom learns that he is responsible for her condition (sometimes the story takes a different turn) in DgF 276, 278, 279, and 280.

In class 2) the following basic ideas occur: tests, recognition, apparent evasive replies; ill-omens and explanation upon request; the questioner's sending on errands to gain time, etc. In every case the original idea requires a new formulation to suit the new situation.

Class 3) is represented by numerous examples: think of the complaints of the Three Orphans, The Girl Who Made Love with the Servant, The Brigand's Wife, The Girl Abducted by Soldiers; "Take out my heart", etc., or the addresses occurring in The Girl Abducted by the Turks, The Bride Found Dead, The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession, and in certain variants of many other ballads ("My flowers, bend down to the ground", etc.?), or the bewailing words of The Brigand's Wife and The Bride Dragged to Death ("Why did you give me to a murderer..."?), or of similar scenes of complaints overheard through the door in The Brigand's Wife, The Wife Taken at Her Word, etc.

Class 4) is featured by an abundance of similar formulas: "She is sewing in the window...", "There are warm showers...", "The horse belong to dogs, the coach to God..." and the like.

It appears from the tabulation of ballads according to these four grades that hardly any of them is composed of some material not discoverable in other songs. (See the table attached to this chapter.)

But not only the elements are common but also the sequence of the details of plot, that is the pattern of construction is determined to a certain extent. From a closer examination of the line of actions it appears that nearly every one of the ballads show a surprisingly identical basic construction. The starting-point A) is a dialogue or a monologue, which forcasts a conflict. This is always followed by B), a change of scene, i.e., a journey: somebody leaves for a distant place or somebody arrives from afar, occasionally both happens or the action is transferred to a completely different scene; in any case, the text indicates an event which seems to contradict the law of conciseness of presentation in a plot built up on a single episode. Basically, however, it is not so, because this "movement" is depicted sketchily, with a few words, sometimes only suggested by the words of the characters at the moment of departure or arrival. Only in a few ballads is the scene represented in more detail. Remember the beginning scene of The Two Chapel Flowers **(9.)** with the debate between the mother and the son, after which the latter departs to return later when the kerchief changes in colour; or the opening words of the father, mother and child in The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death **(1.)** followed by the man's departure who when on half way returns home; further, the agreement of the masons in The Walled-Up Wife **(2.)** after which Kelemen's wife immediately sets out of her home to see her husband; also The Rich Woman's Mother **(22.)** forebodes the impending evil as she asks leave of her husband to see her daughter in Turkey. In the thematic sphere of The Girl Forced to Marry against Her Will **(11–15.)** the bridegroom appears with a splendid wedding company after the girl's reluctance to comply with the forced marriage has been made clear. The Disgraced Girl **(10.)** sends words to her lover after a revealing dialogue with her mother, then he speeds to her mother-in-law's place, which, however, is expressed by her address to the latter. Only four Hungarian ballads enter into a detailed description of the journey: The Brigand's Wife **(20.)**, in a Transdanubian variant of which the motifs of evasive replies attach to those of the journey, thus indicating the gradual approach to the paternal house. (Characteristically, in the Transylvanian variants, in which the tragedy is really concentrated on one scene, the motif of journey comes up additionally in the end of the narrative when the wife is sent by a coach to the

place of execution.) In the other three ballads, The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession **(13.)**, The Mother's Curse **(16.)** and The Bride Brought Back **(83.)**, the tragedy proper develops during the journey. In general, however, the dramatic plot C) evolves after this "movement". By way of conclusion, we find the lesson drawn D), though never in the style of the moralizing broadsides but always in the form of a dialogue, a curse or a statement that sums up the meaning of the parable. Besides, delaying the conflict by evasive replies E), is another frequent element of the plot, which however may be linked to A), to C) as well as to B).

Disregarding the strophe-repetitive ones, almost every Hungarian classical ballad follows the above-described construction pattern, best discernible in **1–3., 9–14., 16, 19–20., 26., 28., 37., 47.** and **83.**, and fairly well recognizable in **4–7., 15., 18., 21., 23–25., 27., 31–34., 39–42., 80–81., 84–86., 93., 97.**, and **121.** (Letter formulas are applied in the tabulation to show this type of construction.)

Even the less typical ballads refer to the change of scene even if the pre-indication of the impending tragedy is missing, as if the people had some dramatic construction in mind. Or did they want to imitate some model? Did they want to transfer the tricks of the market mimics and puppet players into song poetry? Or is it an instinctive attempt at expanding the tight limits of the plot based on one main scene by suggesting shifts in places?

So much is certain that this construction pattern prevails in Hungarian ballads and occurs in other nations' balladry as well. Again, a common element of "creation" can be touched upon here, which seems to be in point of fact a well applicable scheme that was easy to imitate with the one ballad serving as an example to another. In this way a well-adaptable scheme was varied.

Apart from this, there is only one other "construction" in Hungarian as well as European balladry: the "strophe-repetitive structure". Whether with simple strophe-repetition, or repetition of two or three strophes, the same construction pattern is realized by this technique. Folk poetry operates with clichés.

If songs with incomplete plot and fragments are disregarded, altogether nine Hungarian ballads follow a different construction method **(8., 17., 29–30., 38., 44–45.**, and **78–79.)**, but even in these changes of scene occur here and there. The outlaw ballads are also based on one scheme: reflecting a typical episode, possibly glorious, of the life of outlaws, then bold defiance to danger, and finally the fall. Accordingly, folk-narrative ever since ballads appeared has invented two basic schemes of construction, followed by a third one in Hungary in recent times. (We know that the heroic epic used to variegate a few closely delimitable sets of episodes.)

However surprising the result is, this deeply hidden basic pattern betrays that all these "things of beauty" came into existence in the course of variation at the folk level.

And if we add now the elements borrowed from other nations, we find that still less remains to be considered as "individual invention". This statement, of course, cannot apply to that nation which first created the ballad. But in turn, in the case of the original creator we may reckon with literary themes and themes of earlier epic poetry, both recognizable in the French peasant ballads. And then we need not suppose many new thematic inventions. Let alone the possibility of ramification of

a theme in two directions, as in the instance of The Wife Taken at Her Word **(21.)**, The Murderer Who Gave Himself up **(126.)** which had already taken the first step towards the generation of a new ballad. The themes are in a constant state of development one into the other. And what stands alone at present may have been a link between other ballads. In former days there must have been considerably more ballads than what we know of today. The Danish written materials testify to this. The same holds for the transitional forms. Today only the results of a long-prevailing selection can be seen: the outstanding peaks. But field work digs up ever new types in recent time as well, among which increasing numbers of solutions pointing to known themes occur: half-new or half-complete ballads. Beside the peaks, passes, slopes and plateaus come into prominence. It can be made out of this picture that any first ballad at the very moment of its birth may have drawn from a number of already existing songs: all of them included a number of "plagiarisms". (The term has been rightly used since in literature—even in mediaeval literature—adoption of text portions, even with alteration, counted for such. Although literature presents numerous examples of new elaboration of themes, in these cases the theme is always recast in original wording.) But in Groups 3) and 4) neither the formulation is new, and in 2) the other solution is so near that even in a new formulation it would pass for a case of plagiarism.

Weaker solutions have sunk into oblivion not only because of failure of memory. As a new brisk solution emerged from the attempts, especially if associated with a fine melody, the new creation swept over the language area, displacing all the earlier formulated, less fortunate variants. (Examples of such sweeping successes can be observed even today, especially in relation of folksongs which often gain popularity through the agency of television, radio, army, mass organizations, etc.) Similar may have been the case in connection with a re-formulation of The Test of Faithfulness on the German language areas. Today this song invariably begins with the following formula: "Es stund eine Lind im tiefen Thal, War oben breit und unten schmal". Lovers take leave of each other under it. This beginning formula occurs in sixteenth-century and later broadsides as well. But other sixteenth-century publications start the story in a different way: "Es hett ain Junckfraw einen Reutther lieb, Sie hett jn lieber dann ihr eigenn leib, Sie beschedden vff einer heyden wol, Vnder einer groner Lynden." This form survives with the Dutch, too, and is well in accord with the other European variants in which the story begins with the motif of returning. Therefore this must have been the earlier solution. Yet it has been fully replaced by the new one, owing perhaps to the attractive novel image, to good rhymes and the pleasing melody. How many other songs may have been forgotten in a like way! Perhaps each first attempt at variation was doomed to a similar fate as soon as a new, successful variant had developed from it.

The way of gradual shaping can be traced in certain new Hungarian ballads. For example the "original" of "The Spinning Girl Who Was Murdered" **(123.)** is known to us, thanks to *Béla Vikár* (1905). The event took place at Mezőcsát in 1825. Even today the persons involved are commonly known by their names, and so are the circumstances of the murder, since the following record can be read in the register book: "1825. 134. November 15. Mária, daughter of the late András Szűcs

was beaten to death." Another record was found in the archives of Borsod county, according to which the public prosecutor heard witnesses in the case brought against István Tóth, a citizen of Csát. In the opinion of the villagers, this István Szarvasi Tóth was the murderer. A friend of his, a certain Péter Új composed the first verse on the incident. He was literate, and as a best man wrote many verses in celebration of wedding feasts and other village occasions, the copies of which *Vikár* had had opportunity to take a look at. One of them was known by everybody in the village.

1. The town of Mezőcsáth does not grow anything
   But love that blossoms at the peak of each three.
   Love blossoms though no-one tears it,
   Which all can understand who thinks of it.

2. It is evening, evening, the clock struck six,
   Each girl is preparing for the spinning room.
   Preparing for the spinning room, the lads in their wake,
   She receives a couple of kisses, and that is enough for the poor soul.

3. Alas, poor Maris Szűcs, she also started there,
   But the sky grew gloomy above her.
   It grew gloomy, it grew dark,
   So that poor Maris Szűcs missed her way.

4. Ravens wear mourn with their black feather,
   It is by rule of nature.
   That black feather, worn by ravens, means mourn—
   Maris Szűcs is being looked for, and nowhere found.

5. Maris was found at Tuesday's dawn,
   But gloomy was for many beautiful girls
   The day that broke when she was found
   In the well from which the herd of thirsty cattle drank water.

6. They took up Maris Szűcs, they take her to the grave,
   Come on, girls, she is being placed in it.
   See, what lustful love results in!
   I do not write more verses, I have written enough already.

7. The oak of Tarjány has been drifted by the flood,
   Maris Szűcs is gone, covered with earth.
   Covered with earth, and they wrote on her grave-post:
   Let each grown-up girl take care of herself.

8. Come forth, girls, what I wrote with my pen,
   I have written it with triple words of woe in the middle of each verse!
   I do not wail, I do not wail, I have enough of wailing,
   For I know, sweetheart, I shall never be yours.

The author kept silent about the name of his friend, as also on the mode of the murder. But early variants of the basic texts refer to the friend's name, and to certain portions and place names of the ballad. For instance, to the oak of Tarján which is name of a part of wood.

1. A handsome brown lad began to see us,
   He wanted her to lie with him for a red kerchief.
   You need not come, you need not wait for me, for you will not lie with me,
   Before you stand up with me in the church.

2. It is evening, sweetheart, the clock struck six,
   Every beautiful grown-up girl prepares for the spinning room;
   Poor Maris Szűcs also started by herself,
   But the sky turned gloomy above her.

3. Pista Zilasi has a beautiful bunch of flowers,
   His spurs are twinkling, his lips inviting kisses.
   Maris Szűcs starts a conversation with this jaunty lad,
   They amuse themselves with dallying talk.

4. I ask you, sweetheart, ask you upon the skies
   To give an ear only to two words of mine.
   The girl agreed to what Pista asked of her,
   An lo, now there is no end to her tears and sorrows.

5. Girls, girls, learn a lesson from my example,
   If you go to the spinning room, do not take a distaff with you,
   For if you take a distaff with you, you will see the same fate:
   Like a flower which is worm-eaten, you will decay.

6. I have been weeping enough, I do not weep any longer,
   For I know you have deceived me, and I shall never be yours.
   My mind is disturbed for love of you,
   Like a little swallow, it flitters under the sky.

7. Pista Zilasi himself has confessed it
   That he has murdered poor Maris Szűcs.
   Let my blood flow in one stream with yours,
   Let my body decay in one grave with yours.

8. It is evening, it is evening, it has grown dark,
   Poor Maris Szűcs's heart has stopped
   She has been covered with earth, and it is written on her grave-pole
   How mournful a case was the reason of her death.

Mindszenty, No. 88, 1831.

1. It is evening, it is evening, about seven o'clock,
   Every grown-up girl prepares for the spinning room.
   Also poor Maris Szűcs would have gone there,
   But the sky grew gloomy above her.

2. It grew gloomy, it grew gloomy, it grew dark,
   Poor Maris Szűcs lived to see a misty night.
   She went to the spinning room, sat on the bench,
   A lad called her out for a minute.

3. Come, girls, come, help me!
   Alas, I shall never again go to the spinning room with you.
   They went out, took her up, placed her body on the ground,
   Her blood painted the earth red.

4. My goodwife asks: whose daughter may this be?
   A lad drops in: O she is my sweetheart!
   Girls, girls, take a lesson from my example
   Not to make friends with jealous lads!

5. Girls, girls, take a lesson from my example,
   Not to take a distaff with you when you go to the spinning room.
   For if you take a distaff with you, you will see the same fate:
   On Monday dawn your words will stop.

Upper-Tisza—Bodrog Region = Szini II, 74. 1864–65.

1. The church of Vásárhely
   Is surrounded by fence.
   Three stalks of rosemary
   Are planted there.
5. Pour water on them, girls,
   So that they may not wither away.
   So that your sweethearts' souls
   May not be grieved.
   Evening, evening, evening
10. The clock strikes six,
   Every beautiful maid
   Prepares for the spinning room.
   Poor Mariska Szűcs
   Would start by herself,
15. But the sky above her
   Turns gloomy.
   Girls, girls, girls,
   Take a lesson from my example,
   With reckless young men
20. You must never make friends,
   For you shall meet the same fate,
   To the valley of Tarján
   You will meet your end.

25. As he struck one,
His hatchet was bright,
As he struck the second,
Her words stopped.
As he struck third,
30. She was covered with blood.
My feet have grown weary
Of rocking my shackles,
And my two weak arms
Of tolling gossip-bells.
35. My coffin of marble,
Girls, you shall nail down.
On my grave-post
You shall bind a ribbon.

Szentes (Csongrád county) Sándor Farkas = Ethn. 1891, 226.

1. It is evening, it is evening, about eight o'clock,
Every maid prepares for the spinning room.
Also poor Máris Szűcs would have gone there,
If the sky had not turned gloomy above her.

2. It turned gloomy, gloomy, and it grew dark,
Poor Kláris Szűcs, clad in mourn,
Went to the spinning room and sat on the bench,
A lad called her out for a minute.

3. My goodwife asks: Who this may be?
He called her out to the garden, to the valley of Talijány.
As he struck first, his hatchet was bright,
As he struck second, it was covered with blood.

4. Come, girls, come and help me,
Alas, I shall never again go to the spinning room with you!
They went and took her up, and placed her on the ground,
Her blood painted the earth red.

5. Girls, girls, take a lesson from my example,
Never make friends with a jealous lad!
If you go to the spinning room, do not take a distaff with you,
For if you take a distaff with you, you shall meet the same fate.

6. On Monday dawn your words will stop.
You will meet your death in the valley of Taliján
Write on my grave-post, on my grave-cross:
Every maid should take care of herself.

Lőrincfalva (Torontál county) = Kálmány 1891, 216.

If we compare these texts with the published one representing the widest-spread form of the song we can immediately state the differences as well as the agreements. The author had provided the possibility of a start, though he failed to make a perfect hit: he preceded the real incipit with an unnecessary commonplace borrowed from folksongs (*cf.* Love, love, Cursed grievance, Why did you not blossom on top of each tree? On top of each tree, On the leaf of the citrus-tree, So that every poor lad Should pick of it. Well, I have picked of it, But I have missed it, etc.) Omitting this image, the other singers found the best tone to start with: "It is evening, it is evening, the clock is striking six." Stanzas 2 and 3 proved fit for preparing the ballad's dense atmosphere, only slight alterations were needed in the fourth line of each. In other respects, the author does not relate the event—it can be hardly known from his texts what really took place—nor does he concentrate on lyrical reflections, rather he includes details that were unequivocally excluded from the later variants (for example, the reference to the well from which cattle are given to drink). Incidentally, the best man had a "literary" ambition not infrequent with his colleagues in recent times. Thus the example is the more revealing since in it we may trace the method of composition of "singers" on the one hand, and the subsequent alteration of the style according to folk-tastes. Stanzas 1, 4, 5, 6 and 8 have disappeared from the variants, replaced partly by known, partly by invented actions. Obviously, people tried to lend the story an air of real tragedy by introducing a conflict into it. For instance, the young man wished to lie with the girl who insisted on marriage before—a formula also borrowed from folksongs—; or the girl had another lover and the young man committed the murder out of jealousy, further, in some variants the girl is shown pregnant—in which case suicide would be reasonably involved—,and in this early text, Stanzas 3 and 6 retain the lines of Stanza 8 of the original: "I am not weeping, I am not weeping, etc.", putting them in the girl's mouth. Although none of the many attempts resulted in a real ballad, all leaving the story in the less convincing form of a simple account about a murder of the sweetheart, the procedure is clearly seen: there was an initial variant containing folk elements as well, which were suitable for further variation by subsequent inclusion of new elements. In this way the song was transformed, variegated in a search for a *real conflict*.

The next example, The Innkeeper's Family That Was Massacred **(96.)** must have originated from a broadside which is no longer extant. But we know the case that gave rise to the song (*Ethn.* 1918, 245, see notes to Type **96.**) The recent beginning formula (Alas, very broad, alas, very long is the way . . .) is missing in all the early texts, which invariably start the narrative by making reference to the place in the style of the market-singers (including the relatively late recording by *Bartók*). Here again we see that these broadside-based early texts, emphasizing the communicative character of the song, include many realistic details: the death of the night guest, the dialogue between the coachman and an incredulous neighbour who pretending to have been in the inn at eight o'clock previous night, asserts that nothing wrong was done there, and the like, which were omitted from subsequent variants. Here again the story took a turn towards some more generalized formulation. That it failed to develop into a true ballad is due to the fact that the

basic story of murder is devoid of all tragic nucleus. (See the variants published in the notes to Type **96.**)

The third example, The Murderer Who Gave Himself up **(126.)** has made a yet greater progress in this way.

(a) 1. The big bell of Pátfalva has been tolled,
It is tolled by three white turtle-doves.
It chimes out very sad verses
About Matyi Korom who did all this.

2. Alas, the pants of Matyi Korom are stained with blood,
He stained them with blood in the field of Bánom.
Wash, sweetheart, my shirt and pants white,
Tomorrow I must go to Court.

3. *Good day, sir judge, good day to you!*
Good day, Mátyás Korom, what is the matter with you?
Nothing the matter with me, sir judge,
But that I have killed my best friend.

4. Good day, sir judge, good day to you!
Good day, Mátyás Korom, what is the matter with you?
Nothing the matter with me, sir judge,
But that I have been enlisted, so have I been told.

5. True, young man, you have been enlisted,
You are bound to the fourth regiment.
You are enlisted, you shall be taken to the soldiers,
To serve the emperor for three years.

Pécska (Arad county) = *Kálmány* 1877, 38.

(b) *1.* Good evening, Panni Dávid, good evening.
May God grant us good luck, Matyi Korom!
Do not wish good luck, Panni Dávid,
At eight o'clock the long knife pierces your heart.

2. As Panni Dávid heard this,
He clasped his hands over his head:
Alas, My Dear, that such a thing should happen,
That an innocent man should be killed!

3. I shall plough the court of Panni Dávid,
And set a plant of marjoram in it.
In its four corners roses are blossoming,
In its middle Matyi Korom is weeping.

4. *Alas, the pants of Matyi Korom are stained with blood,*
He has stained them with blood in the house of Panni Dávid.
Wash, sweetheart, my shirt and pants white,
Tomorrow I shall be taken to stand before Kálmány Balta.

5. *Good day, Kálmány Balta, good day to you!*
Good day to you, Matyi Korom, what is the matter with you?
My least matter is greater than nothing,
I have killed Panni David for a thaler.

6. Please, sir Kálmány Balta, and this is my humble plea,
Do not be long in settling my case.
Come in, take a seat on the bench,
I finish your case by nine o'clock.

7. Please, sir Kálmány Balta, and this is my humble plea,
Do not enlarge my case very much!
Matyi Korom, dear son, it is impossible,
I have sent the letter to Nagyvárad.

8. I have sent word to my dear mother,
Asking if she regards me as her son after all this?
If she denise me as her son,
I shall not call her my mother either.

9. The big bell of Pátfalva has been sounded,
It is tolled by three white turtle-doves.
It chimes out the mournful verses:
Why have you to suffer all this, Matyi Korom?

10. They have set already the gallows-tree
On which Matyi Korom will be hanged.
Wind blows his white shirt and pants,
Wind beats together his boots with brass spurs.

Apátfalva (Csanád county) = *Kálmány* 1878, 73.

(c) 1. Alas, Viktor Farkas, your skirt is painted with blood,
It got painted with blood while you did that big robbery at Szenttamás.
Wash, Viktor, your skirt white,
Tomorrow we must go to stand before Rádaji!

2. *Good day, Count Rádaji, good day to you!*
Welcome, Viktor Farkas, what is the matter?
Nothing else but that grief and sorrow torment me,
Zákó Záró's heart is sad for me.

3. Take a seat, Viktor, in this chair beside me,
I shall finish with your case till night.
I humbly beg my Count Rádaji:
Do not let my case to night!
Do not let it, if there is one way, to night,
Finish with it, if there is a way, till noon!

(Torontál county) = *Kálmány* 1882, 180.

(d) 1. What happened in the main street of Halas:
The comrade of János Barna was killed.
Alas, the pants of János Barna are stained with blood:
They were painted with blood in the field of Halas.

2. *Wash, sweetheart, my shirt and pants white,*
Tomorrow I shall be taken before the sheriff!
Sir sheriff, may the Lord grant us a good day!
Welcome, János Barna, what is the matter?

3. *The matter is bigger than nothing,*
I have killed my comrade for his money!
Take a seat, János Barna, in this chair,
I finish with your case by night.

4. I shall send your letter to Szegvár,
János Barna, you may follow it, weeping.
János Barna sent word to his mother:
May she send him a pillow to lay his head on.

5. But his mother sent word to her son:
A piece of brick will be good enough to lay his head on.
The big bell of Szegvár has been tolled,
It is rung by three white turtle-doves.

All three have lost their mates,
As I have lost my own sweetheart.

6. Alas, the beam has been nicely carved
On which János Barna will be hanged tomorrow.
Wind blows his cotton shirt and pants,
Wind beats together his high-heeled boots.

Pádé (Torontál county) = *Kálmány* 1882, 175.

(e) 1. *Alas, the pants of János Pozsár are painted with blood,*
He has painted them in his own courtyard.
Wash, Kata, my shirt and pants white,
Tomorrow I shall go before mayor Bazsó.

2. *Good day, mayor Bazsó, good day to you!*
Good day to you, János Pozsár, what is the matter?
The matter is not bigger than nothing,
I stabbed my farmhand for a little thing.

3. János Pozsár, take a seat by me in this chair,
I shall write the letter to-night.
I shall write and send it to Zombor,
Kata Bogdán, you may follow it, weeping!

4. What thought occurred to Kata Bogdán?
She took a hundred florins in her hand,
She put them in the pocket of her little coat,
So she walked before the sheriff.

5. *May God grant you, sheriff, a good day!*
Same to you, Kata Bogdán, what is the matter?
The matter with me is one of grief and sorrow,
János Pozsár's heart is sad for me!

Szaján (Torontál county) = *Kálmány* 1882, 174.

(f) 1. Alas, the pants of János Balla are dirty,
He has painted it with blood in the field of Mágocs.
Wash, sweetheart, my shirt and pants white,
Tomorrow I shall go before Kálmán Beke.

2. *Good day, Kálmán Beke, good day to you!*
Same to you, János Balla, what is the matter?
The matter is not a big one indeed,
I have killed my travelling fellow.

3. I humbly ask my sir Kálmán Beke
Not to be long in settling my case.
Sit down, son, on this green bench,
I shall finish with your case by eight o'clock.

4. I humbly ask my sir Kálmán Beke,
Not to send my case to Court.
Dear brother, János Balla, it is impossible,
I have sent the letter to Kis-Szegvár.

5. What if I go to plead Kálmán Beke:
Might I redeem János Balla then?
Sweetest heart, little brown girl, it is impossible,
The sentence from Kis-Szegvár is for gallows.

6. János Balla is grilled by three gendarmes.
But he keeps talking of his sweetheart's place.
She lives there over, in the Rosemary Street,
Red roses are blossoming in her window.

7. The big bell of Mágócs has been tolled.
It is rung by three white turtle-doves.
They chime out very sad verses:
János Balla, I suffer all this.

8. Alas, very high is the new tower.
János Balla is taken to the place of execution.
They have set already the gallows-tree,
On which János Balla will be hanged.

(Csongrád county) = *MNGY* II, 64, 1882.

(g) 1. A lord had six beautiful black horses,
He also had a handsome brown coachman.
On Sunday he bibed good wine to his fill,
On Monday morning he was laid out beautifully.

2. *Alas, the clothes of Sándor Kis is painted with blood,*
He painted it with blood in the inn of Csorvás.
Wash, sweetheart, my shirt and pants white,
I am to go before the High Court.

3. *Sir mayor, may the Lord grant us a good day!*
Welcome, dear son, what is the matter?
Sir mayor, the matter is a serious one,
I have stabbed to death my dearest comrade.

4. Sit down son, here on this bench.
Ve shall settle your case by eight o'clock,
We shall settle your case by eight o'clock,
Sit down, son, here on this bench.

5. Alas, false is the major of Szeged,
He himself, instead of the jailor, hears the prisoner.
He frowns and so he inspects
How Sándor Kis is sentenced bv the Court.

6. Three little girls clad in white
Took white silken handkerchiefs in their hands.
They humbly asks the jailor of the county
Not to hang that outlaw.

7. There is a tree in the courtyard of Sándor Kis,
Three ribbons are hanging from its top.
His sweetheart mourns him bitterly,
For Sándor Kis is being taken to the soldiers today.

(Csongrád county) = *MNGY* II, 55, 1882.

The early recordings do not yet mention a rival. In fact, these verses are not variants of the ballad proper; they only contain certain portions of texts (set in *italics*) which came into being in connection with various events, other than the one discussed here, but incensed imagination to be incorporated later into stories with a real conflict, and the process is well exemplified by the later variants. Gradually the story took shape: as a love affair looms up in the background twice, and in two instances the victim is the hero's comrade *(f)*, this thread was seized and enriched with further details, including the beginning formula that has received a country-wide popularity since: *"Alas, very broad, alas, very long is the way..."*, so that eventually the ballad of the young man who stabs his rival to death and then surrenders himself to the authority was crystallized. More than that, the course of experimentation proceeded further in a very correct direction by involvement of the dramatic conflict, still more intense in effect, by force of which the girl asks her lover to do away with the mother who has been impeding the lovers' union.

In all three examples, more especially in the third one, the method of creation at folk level is clearly seen: ready-made elements are taken over from one text to another if found fitting in it. Standing formulas like "May my blood flow in one stream with yours...", mainly from **10.**, or "Alas, they have carved the beam beautifully..." (from **127.**) can be recognized in one or another variant. These were dropped after the ballad has worked out its final outlines, as misfitting and alien occasional elements. The raw material in the first example withstands the rules of ballad creation, although even in it the process of "gradual assemblage" can be fairly well followed. Eventually, in the third example the process resulted in what may be considered a well-shaped ballad which, though not equal to the mediaeval specimens, contains all necessary constituents. The social and stylistic revolution that used to bring about the ballad had been extinct centuries before the time the ballad of Jancsi Barna was born; old ballad tradition continued to live like a steamless engine driven by the force of inertia, and it is a marvel that a piece like this could develop at all in those years. One cannot expect that in an age of dissolution or gradual transformation of folk culture such sound compositions should spring forth as five hundred years ago. Yet, the creative procedure still follows the usual paths of oral tradition. Thus a recent song enables us to infer how its precedents functioned in earlier times.

Besides, we have a quite recent example to illustrate a similar functioning of "old tradition". The following "contamination" has been exposed from the tradition of an originally Transylvanian Székely group that had resettled first in Bukovina, then in Hertelendyfalva, where they still live isolated in the midst of Serbian and Romanian populations.

1. Benedek Hunyadi
Prepares his sister
To give her away in marriage
To a big lord.

2. Juditka speaks up:
Girls, girls,
Girls, girls,
Beautiful Hungarian girls.
Come on, let us go
To pick white cat's-foot.
To pick white cat's-foot,
To make a wreath of it.

3. Listen, they are coming, they are shooting
In the corn-field.
Certainly, certainly, I say,
To the peril of my head!

4. Mother, my dear mother
You are sending me away from this house,
And after a few years are gone,
You can hear only my fame.

5. You see, mother dear,
This is the sign of it:
Not being touched by a branch,
Not being touched by a branch,
Not being blown at by the wind,
Yet the silken skirt
Has been torn apart.

6. My daughter, my daughter,
My dear, beautiful daughter,
Shall I see the day
When you come home again?

7. You will see it, mother, you will see it,
But only when in front of your gate,
But only when in front of your gate
A market is held at which things are sold for nothing.

8. When corn
Is sold for a farthing,
And you must know, mother,
That it never will be!

"They took away Judit, but not to Pest, nor to Buda, but to the peak of a high cliff, into a forester's hut. The big lord kept Judit there. Judit gave birth to a beautiful little baby, and rocking her mournfully, sorrowfully, she was singing:"

9. Hush, hush, my little baby,
Sleep in quiet,
For you have no father,
To rock you!

10. You may call him your father
Who has sent you this cradle,
And these four golden pretzels
In the four corners of your cradle.

11. Hush, hush, my little baby,
Sleep in quiet,
For your father is not here
To rock you.

12. Even now he is away
Watching at the cross-road,
Watching at the cross-road,
To kill Armenian priest.

13. Alas, I have grown weary
At each beautiful dawn
To wash bloody clothes,
To beat them bewailing!

14. Anon, through the door
The forest captain spoke up:
Open your door,
Open your door,
Tender wife Judit!
Open your door,
Let in your husband!

15. Why are you weeping, why are you crying
Tender wife Judit?
I am not weeping, I am not weeping,
I am burning oak-wood,

16. I am burning oak-wood,
I am rocking my child,
The smoke of oak-wood
Has caused me to shed tears.

17. Anon, through the door
The forest captain spoke up:
Open your door,
You damned whore!
Stand out of my way,
You are not a wife for me!

18. My husband, my dear husband,
My dear, kind husband,
To every decent dead body
They toll three chimes.

19. To every decent dead body
They toll three chimes,
To my orphan head
The bell is not tolled once!

20. I wish I had
A scribe,
A scribe,
A trustworthy man!

21. I would have my scribe
To write a letter,
I would have my trustworthy man
To bring word to my brother.

22. She stood on the balcony
With a letter in her hand,
From a black cloud
A raven lighted right down to her.

23. The raven lighted right down to her,
It take away the letter
To the window of Benedek Hunyadi's
Beautiful castle.

24. Hold out your plate,
Take in the letter,
Read all the pains
Of your sad sister!

25. Coachman, my coachman,
My most faithful coachman,
Put to the coach
The six black steeds.

26. The six steeds belong to the dogs,
The coach to fire,
The coach to fire,
But the whip belongs to you!

27. Benedek reached
The forest captain.
Good day, good day to you,
Forest captain!

28. Good day, good day to you,
Forest captain!
Is she at home, is she at home,
Is tender wife Judit at home?
She is at home. Is she in?
She is in the sea.

29. Coachman, my coachman,
My most faithful coachman,
Everything belongs to you,
Take care of my nephew.

30. With this he went
To the shore of the sea:
You have died for me,
I shall die for you.
And in his deep sorrow
He jumped into the deep.

Hertelendyfalva = Vojlovica (Torontál county). Julia Kovács, 80 years old. *Lajos Kiss,* 1966.

As can be seen, this song is put together from numerous existing formulas, relating it to five or six different ballads, although really it cannot be hold for a variant of any other ballad. At the same time, we should not say it is a new type. At most, that it is on the way to become a new type. Maybe, this one would never reach

the stage of a mature ballad, like hundreds of other attempts. (For similar Moldavian example, see The Wife Kicked to Death, Type **39,** Notes.) But the same procedure can be discovered in this construction as are shown by the successfully assembled units in the classical types.

Nevertheless, this is not the only way of creating ballads. Somebody may have conceived a conflict possibility, which he then formulated in the form of a verse—at the level of The Spinning Girl Who Was Murdered—and if the nucleus of the plot essentially fell in line with the general taste, it received a wide currency, starting on the road of development towards the final form; that is, it absorbed the best fitting text portions later. Such ballad themes were invented after the models of other ballads as well. Conflict situations are apt to be varied. For instance, he who was once acquainted with the theme of The Test of Faithfulness **(43.)** may have hit upon the idea that not only a sweetheart could be put to test but also, say, a wicked rich lady, particularly so if he also knew the story of Jesus Seeking Lodging **(7.).** Test as a theme occurs in five songs in Hungarian balladry alone **(7., 22., 43., 69.** and **75.).** The rich wife throws into prison her own disguised mother, the mother of the two captives refuses to give them lodging—like the rich man refused to give to Jesus—, well, these are situations and plots wedged into each other, which are easy to conceive, the one can be shaped from the other with hardly more energy input than required by variation.

But if we start from the merely theoretical consideration that The Test of Love was the first European example of the test-ballads, then we have to accept that the ancient story of Alcestis had included the theme of test, implied though, and in that case it was only the new formulation with a novel accent that resulted in the prototype of the ballad; that is to say, the new ballad song was nothing else than variation of the theme which may have given rise to quite a series of similar themes to emerge.

But it is not very difficult to invent a new plot, such one, for example, as the story of Porcheronne: the husband goes to war, the mother-in-law kills her daughter-in-law by chore. Such themes used to be concomitant with the mode of life of extended families of the peasant as well as the aristocratic classes. The mother lorded it over the female members, she was the authority threatening all young wives; the main theme of bridal laments is precisely the fear of the new wife getting under the rule of the mother-in-law in her new situation. "Alas, what place are you going to, my dear daughter? What kind of house, what kind of family are you taken to? Alas, for I cannot know in advance into what kind of family you are going. My darling, my beautiful little daughter, my golden, beautiful flower; I would not let you to be blown at by the wind if I could protect you by my own body from it, my dear daughter. Now I give you under strange hands, strange people will take care of you. But how are they going to treat you, my obedient, dear, kind daughter?" (*MNT* III/A, No. 289; improvised Palots bridal lament.) Another strophic song reads like this (*ibid.* 264):

"Ágnes, Ágnes, Ágnes, Ágnes, you little Ágnes, If you walk on the way, if you walk on the way, look in front of you, For they lay for you, for they lay for you the silken bed, in which they will, in which they will rob you... Mother, mother, mother, mother, my dear mother, I wish you came into my flower garden... from

my kitchen, from my kitchen into my house, from my house, from my house into my chamber, I wish you looked at the iron nail above my bed, There you could see, there you could see the scourge. The one with which my red blood, my red blood is spurted out, The one with which my tender body, my tender body is tortured." Such songs are also sung at wedding feasts! No wonder if such common "problems" found expression in the ballad form as well. Only a poetic protest against cruelty was the new element the ballad added to the theme.

Sometimes a partial idea was invented, like that of the "sending astray", for a suitable action. What is more, we have seen in the variants of The Murderer Who Gave Himself Up that a partial idea may come forth without a suitable action as well. ("Wash, sweetheart, my shirt and pants white. . .") Such elements are apt to improve the construction of the story. How many ballads have include as a built-in element the scene in which the husband, knocking at the door, urges his wife: "Open the door, open the door, my wedded wife! . . ." with the woman trying to escape by false excuses. Similar is the case with the bloc of text: "Take out my heart. . ., etc.".

It can be sifted out from the new ballads that it is rather partial ideas, appropriate formulations of a situation, that call for a proper frame, or that give rise to the formation of a new plot, a new conflict. This is well brought out by the method with which the "original" is treated in secondary formations of old ballads: the details are placed in a new environment, in which a new conflict is built on them. The Hungarian parallel of Les Tristes Noces, The Girl Danced to Death **(26.)**, provides a good example in this respect. In the French version the father makes the son marry another girl. The son invites his sweetheart to the wedding feast, asking her to put on her best clothes so that she may be admired by all at the dance. While dancing, the lovers' hearts break, one falls this side, the other that side. If looked at only from the content side, there seems to be hardly any relationship between the French and the Hungarian songs. In the latter, the young man asks in vain the rich girl to marry him. He invites her to a ball, asking her to put on her finest dress, rings, etc. Then he dances her to death. Correlation prevails here in the formulation of details, which agree almost word for word. The details, however, suggested the idea of an entirely new conflict to the adaptor. Thus, one cannot call into doubt the possibility of assembling elements with the method of variation resulting in new ballads, for both the comparative study of old ballads and the traceable developmental course of new ballads support such a contingency.

The outlaw poetry offers further and even more convincing evidence. Especially the prisoners' songs indulge in the technique of re-arranging in a new pattern a multiplicity of motifs, by which method, under favourable conditions, a sound epic poem can be produced, or at least an impressive "lyrical low-life scenes" developed, with a strong emphasis on the tragic meaning. That they cannot be termed ballads in spite of the dialogues and ballad-like content which are presented in them is certainly due to the passive nature of the whole thematic sphere—passive in the true sense of the word, for the hero can hardly play an active role, not even in the preliminary events; something happens to him, and we rather witness his state of mind. Such themes may develop into ballads only in case the previous events are made known and some sort of social and psychic conflict can be realized in them.

Attempts have been made to this end: to link a prisoner's song to an outlaw ballad, starting out from the cause for which the hero was imprisoned. Obviously such experimentations are responsible for the basic idea of the best Hungarian outlaw ballads: glimpses of the glory of outlaw life and deeds followed by the inevitable fall which cannot be imprisonment any longer but death, in compliance with the requirement of the genre. Indeed, the turns of the prisoners' songs are not recognizable in them; but the spirit and the train of thought are identical. (Sometimes perhaps also the formulation: the farewell words of The Soldier Who Deserted from the Germans, **103.**, and the outlaw of What Though Six Counties Come on Me, **102.**, appear to reverberate in some way the prisoner's farewell speech beginning with the line "It would be a pity to. . .".)

Further examples of assemblage are found in The Baron's Daughter and the Shepherd **(121)** and The Baroness and the Cowherd **(122.)**, the former accentuating the social conflict by the execution of the hero, the latter cloaking the same in the dialogue between the baroness and her mother. The two songs closely related as they are, have distinct formula-like text portions, and are usually treated separately. Also their melodies are different. Still, owing to thematic affinity, now the one now the other borrows details from the sister ballad, occasionally the two fully merge. This would have been the natural course of development for the two ballads, had they got time enough to mature: the two stories each of which is characterized by a meagre plot and poor wording should have crystallized in a masterpiece of rich texture, for they really have a conflict and they really demonstrate the lesson in the form of a parable.

The course of assemblage in the examined recent examples, as a matter of course, cannot lead us to so mature specimens as are most of the mediaeval ballads. But we know the reason why not. They developed at a time when folk tradition began to dissolve. The peasantry no longer strived to look for answers to their problems in the traditional sphere of poetry. The outlaw ballads and songs show a last attempt to do so. But the period of their flourishing was followed by those of agrarian movements, emigration, morbid birth control, social elevation at any expense, that is: an increasing trend to negate that form of life and that folk culture in which ballads came into being asserted itself. (Parenthetically though we may add to this decisive cause another one of minor import: owing to popularized schooling and urbanization ever more talented individuals left the peasant communities; possibly they may have become otherwise competent compilers, if not poets, of folk ballads.) But what is important for us above all is that, the typical processes of collective creation can be traced even in this last and decading phase.

An ideal form inherent in fragments and rubbish that can assemble in a *Zielform* enjoys a general spread; therefore we are prone to regard it as *Urform*; consequently, we consider all surviving earlier forms, as generated new ones, "corrupted at the peasant level"; at the same time, all polished variants are attributed to individual poets;—these are the paths that led to the conception of *Gesunkenes Kulturgut* and to the theory that "the folk does not create, it reproduces only, mostly spoiling the material". Fortunately, all this belongs to the past. But the idea is still haunting that "people do not create, they only transform". In my opinion, however, the folk also creates in the manner outlined above, even though

the process of creation follows a different course from what was imagined when the theory of "communal creation" appeared first. In such periods when the people's imaginative power is not activated by forces of extensive social movements which should give rise to new attitudes, new behavioral patterns amidst the new problems, variation certainly prevails at the expense of new themes and styles. In active periods, conflicts are more readily on hand and new forms develop more readily into what can be regarded as definitive formulations.

Style above all controls the processes of formation in folklore products. It is given in models after which every new product is shaped by an innervated practice. There is no other way of propagation for folklore creation. As to the ballad, its essential and determining stylistic features are *conciseness* and *omission* of details (the latter may be interpreted as *productive oblivion*). The rule of omission is best seen at work in the case of the seventeenth-century song of István Kádár, composed in its original form by *Farkas Ködi* lamenting the fall of his master. At the time *Kodály* was collecting among the Hungarians in Bukovina the song was still circulated on broadside, and we have several recordings to show how much the reciters retained of the original wording: the court poet's customary commemoration of his master: farewell address to relatives and fellow soldiers, in first person, put into the mouth of the deceased hero: description of the enemy and scenes of battle. But while the memory of the written text had faded, almost regularly the first stanza, which is an exquisite hit, was preserved:

> Pannonia was getting prepared to face a vast destruction
> Whose waves were flooding like the waters of the sea.
> She was surrounded by floods of grieves and sorrow,
> For the day was to see the peril of one of the best Hungarians.

Also the peak of the narrative was remembered, owing to the fine lyricism:

> Kádár then looked up to the high sky,
> Saying: Come, Jesus Christ, my Lord, and help me!
> Come on, brave soldiers, let us fight with both of our arms!
> For I see no man speeding to help us.
>
> He gave orders to the standard-bearer in a loud voice:
> Take, my son, take the flag another road,
> So that our Lord's dear army may not perish to a man,
> For I shall die for Hungary today.
>
> I shall shed my blood for my own poor country,
> Anon I die for my poor nation.
> And I do not regret shedding my blood for her sake,
> Because I shall be rewarded by Christ."

So much remains of the long poem consisting of forty stanzas. The emotional peaks, the decisive scene of the narrative have been retained.

Is it a mere work of remembering? No, conscious selection is also at work. The less successful details were replaced by others, or omitted altogether. New

inventions were inserted. Oblivion alone cannot be made responsible for turning a ready composition into a folklore product. Ballads do not result from abridgement of a literary verse. A song like that of Kádár, which is fine but far from being a folklore product, let alone ballad, had to undergo a transformation in the spirit of folk-style. This example, and those of certain pieces of the courtly epic of the Faroe Islands surviving in oral tradition show clearly enough the untenability of the theory, according to which the people simply abridged the long narrative poems and so produced the ballad. Productive oblivion is only a precondition: it ensures that all redundant details should be dropped. This is the first step towards the creation of folklore products from epic songs: one should say, the first proposition of the folk. But what remains had to be shaped by the people; the successful formulation, the appropriate parable originate from the people. To this, however, a positive stand is also necessary, that of the *preserving memory,* and a *collective memory* at the same time. What the one reciter omits the other resumes. What is remembered by many will survive, and what is forgotten by many will sink into oblivion. And, of course, what is beautiful and successful will be remembered by many, exceeding in number those who forget, thus by a gradual process of accumulation, addition and omission the song gradually matures—even though it deteriorates sometimes—to a stage in which ripe variants, masterpieces of folklore assume a more or less fixed form. To boil down a piece to the most impressing components would go against the practice of the order of singers but is a common gift of folklore genres. Perhaps the heroic epic is an exception to some extent to this rule, since this genre soon met its specialists who produced variations in harmony with the folk spirit and tradition though—after all they shared the same cultural traditions as the other members of the community—yet subjected to the control of a minor community, that of fellow reciters, consequently their products were marked by a much higher degree of personal contribution, and what is essential, by stamps of more skilled and more refined technique of memorization. What we have here is the first stage of the poet's differentiation from the mass of creative community. At the time the ballad developed this process of differentiation had come to an end, and folk epic turned into courtly epic (romance). Thus the people left to its own resources had to restore the rule of earlier collective poetry, valid for the epic genre as well, and this is the reason why the ballad as a brief, concise, and mature type of song evolved.

Conciseness, however, does not explain all formal and essential elements of the ballad. The question remains how, in what way a new style of folklore came into being? At the level of folk tradition styles develop one from the other, mostly in a hardly perceptible process of autonomous growth and gradation, sometimes under the impact of social changes prompting new demands to emerge, sometimes through sudden transformation under influences of other cultures—mainly of more developed nations—or of literature in more recent times. In case of gradual development earlier results are always utilized by way of modification, transformation, and also in a way that poetic devices and ideas are reversed into the opposite sense. The beginnings of evolution are hidden in the misty past. Examples of the initial shift-over are seen, according to *Propp,* in Gilyak folk poetry, in which the peaceful representatives of personified natural forces—figuring in former myths

as "man of the forest", "man of the fields", "man of the river", and the like appear in the first "epic" as monster enemies whom the hero has to fight in order to be able to win a wife and found a family. Not even at the subsequent stages of epic development is the genre recreated by an individual singer; at most the reciter expands the limits by adding new formal devices and ideas to it; otherwise he acquires the style and skill of composition from his predecessors, just like an apprentice of a trade learns the tricks of craftsmanship from his master. In this way the epic song develops into the forms of extremely long constructions, interwoven with love themes, which are rightly associated with names of reciters, like *Fazil Juldash* in Kazakh and *Djambul* in Uzbek poetry. The latter are at a step distance from the Homeric epics. The ballad, however, stands somewhere at the end of the path of development, where written and traditional cultures are coordinated, or subordinated to each other. In that stage influences coming from above must have been responsible for sudden changes.

It seems therefore expedient to illustrate the process by some recent example, say, of Hungarian new-type folksongs, which are nearest to us and which are apt to offer reliable explanation for the question.

The Hungarian new-style folksong sprang forth in the second half of the nineteenth century so abruptly that collectors in the early twentieth century were able to witness the change of taste between two generations: *Bartók* as well as *Kodály* found that up to the First World War new-style folksongs had been exclusively sung by the young while the old, ignorant of these, adhered to old-style songs, and those of the middle age brackets preferred the so-called "urban popular songs" that came into vogue in the wake of popular stage works and through the intermediary of gypsy bands. Let me quote *Bartók* (1934, 9–11): "... in the years preceding the development of the new-style folk melodies, Hungarian folk music had been marked by a fairly strong—seemingly almost fatal—influence coming from outside (mainly from the North)... There are many signs to indicate that the Hungarian gentry (middle-class people) had had a major role in importing foreign musical elements... probably it is the gentry that was mainly responsible for the dissemination of these melodies of foreign origin... What has put an end to the invasion of foreign elements into the body of Hungarian folk music? The development of new-style folk melodies in the villages... During the last ten or twelve decades the new music of Hungarian villages evolved by an almost revolutionary suddenness, supplanting practically everywhere in Hungary the old, mainly pentatone tune material, and in general all earlier material." *Idem* (1924, XLV): "The new style has been adopted primarily, more precisely nearly exclusively, by the younger generation which has become, by and by, fully alienated to tunes of old style. This transformation of musical taste, most typical of the last decades, has been almost revolutionary in nature,...". (*Cf. Bartók, op. cit.* English edition. 1932, p. 51.)

As appears from the above, Hungarian folk music has incorporated foreign melodies in the course of centuries through the intermediary of art music, church and secular alike; new possibilities of melody formation arose; and the vogue of new-type songs flooded the whole country in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when the rural population showed an eager wish to imitate the

then current ways of the nobility. Of course, the accumulation of foreign influence cannot be regarded as a negative process in every respect; at the same time it was a manifestation of new demands asserting themselves in imitation of the manners and fashion of the upper classes. A more revealing example from a little earlier period in another branch of folk art can be mentioned: the rural people began to imitate the nobles' clothing in form, material and ornament. Prohibiting decrees had been passed in vain: by the early nineteenth century ornamented folk costume developed; similarly, the floral ornaments that are seen in the sample books of furriers at the end of the eighteenth century gradually lost their realistic forms, owing to dictates of folk tastes and technique, becoming stylized decorations as can be observed even today on the felt-coats, fur-coats and other attire pieces of the peasantry, reaching down as deep as shepherds' carvings. They are now regarded as typical "Hungarian motifs", in folklore terms, "decorative folk art". These are the immediate preliminaries and at the same time the social justification of the birth of the new-style folk music from the 'eighties on. That is to say, the people "worked up" the accumulation of influences coming from above; while retaining certain traits thereof and applying them to the old material, the peasants were able to bring about, as if by a sudden explosion, a new style fully complying with folk tradition, yet breathing a new spiritual content. Namely, the new style emanates a freer, more cheerful atmosphere, an exuberant air, which *Bartók* called "modern", and which *Kodály* ascribed to the "people of Kossuth" (1937–1969, Chapter III). Both of them felt in it an artistic projection of a new social attitude.

If now we wish to draw conclusions, we have to emphasize that under the combined effects of influences coming from above and the social claims for transformation, the boiling point referred to so frequently had been reached, at which a revolutionary change occurred, spreading forth a new style. Elements of earlier influences appear transformed as building material in the new style.

Are we entitled to apply this observation to the case of the ballad?

That ballads in the West had been connected with literary antecedents is well documented by the abundance of romance themes research has discovered in the topical fields. I think also the *chanson de toile* should be taken into consideration. This literary genre of the fourteenth century seems to have left more traces behind at the folklore than the literary level. It is not precluded that this genre drew inspiration from folklore; but in all appearance it is some transitional form of the French heroic song, the *chanson de gest*: tiny love scenes retaining strongly abridged turns of the former epic songs, reflecting invariably a courtly outlook, somewhat frivolous in nature. In point of fact it is indifferent for us whether a literary vogue or a gradually abridged variant of the *chanson de gest* is involved; let it suffice that this branch of poetry appeared *before* the ballad was born, and that ballad elements are to be found in it. For instance, the epithet "fair" of the heroine: Bele Aiglantine, Bele Yolant, etc. Further, it has direct relation with French, Danish and Hungarian ballads (see The Disgraced Girl, **10.**, notes on Bele Aiglantine). Like the romance, this genre, too, advocated the rights of love. Obviously, the conception fitted into the transformed popular mind. True, something different turned out of the *chanson de toile* and the romance transformed at folklore level. Compare the story of Bele Aiglantine and the Hungarian The Disgraced Girl!

It is likely that at the initial stage of the development, or immadiately before, such adopted and more or less recast literary pieces appeared, as can be seen from the example of The Disgraced Girl whose French model had long fallen out of memory. This is what usually happens to the earliest pieces. Certain variants of its beginning formula occurring in Danish ballads show a close affinity with the *Chanson de toile* (DgF 83 and 265). We may rightly suspect that certain Danish aristocratic circles had maintained direct connections with French literature, and that these had preserved also the *preliminary* products preceding the ballad, since their material consists, to a large extent, of pieces of literary origin.

After a number of curtailed romances and short *chansons de toile,* which had been recast in a consistent way, an "explosion" may have followed: the ballad style was realized, a few guiding examples developed, a quick spread ensued, and similar formations appeared. Thus the only role left to the song-reciters was to mediate themes to the people. Of course, not all the ballad themes. It is a deplorable misunderstanding of literary historians and scholars of folklore cherishing similar ideas (like *Coirault*) that once they can prove the literary origin of several folklore products they tend to believe that all such products are literary derivates, only the proofs are missing. As if folk poetry had been incapable of producing anything before literature separated from it. Still literary historians operating with exact data of names and chronology refuse to consider the ensemble of numberless elements accrued in folk tradition throughout ages and from various sources. They try to reduce everything that can be seen together in recent collections to one common date and one common source. Nevertheless, they maintain that a work of art belongs to him who lent it a new spiritual content. Who, then is the author of a Shakespeare play based on a Boccaccian short-story? Who is the author in case one adopts and recasts the other's work? Whether the first author is an inferior one and the second a superior—remember the Faust of Goethe, Toldi of Arany or Barbárok of Móricz—or a splendid author each—*Boccaccio* and Shakespeare, Plutarch and Shakespeare—in any case the adopted theme is worked up in the scope of a different genre.

Lately a literary historian in Hungary tried to prove that the ballad comes from poets of the learned, and in this attempt of his he called the ballad "popular exudate". Well, let be an exudate. Pearls are caused by a grain of sand getting into the shell of a pearl oyster. The exudate of the irritated body becomes a pearl. The grain of sand is the idea, the event, the theme, which is worked up in the form of a ballad. But all this becomes a piece of beauty, a pearl, in the process of being worked up in popular style. It is the pearl that we find beautiful. And it is beautiful because it shines in pearly hues and not because it has been released by a grain of sand. A ballad is valuable because of the stand the popular community takes in connection with the theme, the attitude toward the problem implied in the subject, the style of elaboration, and so on. The peasantry has been able to produce works of art out of themes taken over from mediocre and long-forgotten poets. And the nacreous lustre of such products never fail to impress us even today.

As a medley of fairly inferior melodies lived in Hungarian folk music before the new style evolved, which however gave a different trend to tradition, so a medley of literary elements may have lived in France before the ballad took shape. Yet, the

genre of ballad owes its existence to those literary elements, which, as far as we know them are by no means excelling in poetic value, and to popular demands, claims and aspirations together. Combining these, the people created the genre with its own skill and talent for composition and formulation.

Formulation, namely, undoubtedly belongs to the people. This can be clearly seen in cases when one and the same part of text occurs in two or more wordings in the variants. All of them may be correct and impressing, yet all stay within the confines of the style, being continuations of the stylistic development that resulted in the ballad. Let us recall one or two examples. The heroine of The Girl with the Gander **(81.)** tops her exactive demands by stating that all of them are meaningless to her, only the young man is important. She insists on marrying him. The one variant reaches this point in a way that it condenses the wishes in one single line which is the point upon a row of exaggerated demands, whose effect is enhanced by the repetition of the melodic section, too:

> And think, its gaudy, ash-grey tail! How much is it worth by itself!
> Marry me, mayor's son, I do not want other compensation!

In the other, the mayor—with a hidden smile—answers:

> Numberless are the wishes of Fair Ilona,
> Therefore the mayor's son deserves to be sent to the gallows.

Whereupon the girl replies:

> Go, then, mayor's son, and hang yourself,
> Hang yourself on the arms of Fair Ilona!
> Your gallows-tree shall be like a rose in blossom,
> Her two legs and her two arms shall be your gallows-tree!

Suppose that this nice story was written by a song composer one time. Even then only one of the variants can come from his pen, the other certainly is due to the reciter who made the new variant. Then the latter also is able to "compose", being not only a clever versificator but also one with refined sense of style, having the gift of creating the required air, and to prepare the point.

But let us see another example. The Rich Woman's Mother **(22.)** utters the curse into two different wordings, yet both spread the same passion:

> May dogs eat your cumin soup,
> May the strong wind blow away your linen shirt,
> May the fire burn your painted palace,
> May the rust eat your windowed coach,
> May the plague kill your six beautiful steeds,
> I do not want anything from you, I do not want you either,
> Stay by yourself, beautiful lady!

And the second variant which is yet more concise and dramatic, reads like this:

> May the wind of hell blow up your inner room!
> May the wind of hell throw up your first glass of wine!
> For I did not come to be treated by you,
> But because I heard news of what kind a woman you were!

And if we accept that the first variant, certainly the more complete Transdanubian one, of The Brigand's Wife **(20.)** was produced by a poet, even then we must admire the clever formulation of the Transylvanian variant which developed from the wife's complaint and found a new continuation. The same holds for The Wife Taken at Her Word **(21.)** that similarly developed two kinds of solution, and for The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death **(27.)**, whose introductory part, certainly missing from the "original" formulation, was gradually expanded, yet the wording of this variant impresses us with its clever turns and richness of ideas.

Shall we perhaps carry the literary stand so far as to suppose that all variants (or variations) are due to poets? Perhaps the better ones only, for the poorer variants may be safely left to the people? But in that case we are again in the field of folk poetry, since so many alterations in one work cannot be ascribed to one poet. Only the adaptor or plagiarist may come into account. The only difference between the two stands is that we attribute the rank of a poet to everyone who may have been involved in the course of variation. Anyway, gifted versificators are not infrequent in rural communities: this is well brought out by the examples of improvized nuptial verses, by easy-flowing, sometimes similarly improvised declamations in verse of best men, extemporized, cleverly pointed rhymes at dances, etc. In certain places a veritable rhyming competition takes place, and he who cannot improvise a verse on the spot is put to shame. After all, also this is a matter of practice, and tradition is nothing more than practice, accumulation of gifts.

As we do not believe in a preliminary interference of any poetic activity, not at least as regards the majority of the ballad themes, and as the style of the poets that may come in consideration in this respect is, as has been shown, quite different, let us take a look at the question from another aspect: to what extent does the ballad agree in spirit and style with other genres of folk poetry. What holds for the ballad holds also for the folksong. 1) It is impersonal: the "ego" cannot be placed in the foreground, not even in case the song speaks in singular first. The "ego" is an imaginary one, an "X" that allows substitution for anybody. 2) They have in common a "homo"-centred interest: nature figures as an indication to the scene only, as in the plays of Shakespeare, natural phenomena are sparingly referred to, only if necessary for the understanding, mainly as symbols, similes expressing human emotional contents. 3) Use of quasi-dialogues and gesture-like expressions. In their lyrical songs, people give free vent to personal feelings as if they were addressed to somebody, as if someone were answering them: this is why a quasi-epic narrative often evolves from a lyrical song, mainly in the form of a lyrical low-life scene. *Dal* (1967.) makes the following remark in note 72, page 288: "Transformation from the lyric to the epic is a characteristic process", and this he says in connection with the Jilted Maid which often appears in broadsides "with an attempt at action". This kind of stable presentation of emotion in a dialogue form needs only expansion of dimensions to produce a ballad. Finally, what has been stated earlier on the identical point of elevation of ballads and the more earnest lyrical songs speaks most eloquently about the sameness of the two styles.

Even more interesting observations can be gained by comparing the ballad to poems of outstanding poets, who made attempts at imitating the folk products

unearthed in recent times. Take for example the *Erlkönig*. *Goethe* is able to introduce all verbal magic power to raise atmosphere, conciseness, play of light and shadow what can be imagined and what can surpass any folklore product for *finesse* of wording; yet, his ballad remains, in spite of all his efforts at imitation, an individual, one should say, incidental case: a sick child dies by the time his father, with the child in his arms, reaches the house on horseback, meanwhile it is haunted by fearful visions. Similar is the cause with the ballads of *János Arany*. In his Ordeal of the Bier a girl hands over her dagger, out of mere fun, to her lover who has just let out his intention to commit suicide unless he has the girl; the young man stabs himself to death with the girl's dagger, and the girl goes mad. With the marvellous beauty of diction deducted, it appears at once that neither of these art-ballads is based on a real problem, a lesson of general validity, they are just chance occurrences. One would not expect such poetic feats of the people, of course. But what it affords in the style of balladry is always of general validity, that is, a lesson to all, appealing to all, because it is something the whole community is concerned with.

The Hungarian poet *Babits,* who held folk poetry in high esteem anyway, stated that it is restricted to a few narrowly delimited sphere of themes, pointing out by this commitment that a modern poet working in popular style and with popular forms is necessarily confined within tight bounds of expressible emotions. The observation, right as it is, raises a question: Why are the bounds of expressible emotions so narrow? Because looked at from a certain height of elevation, the manifold details and possibilities tend to evanesce, only the contours of large, comprehensive forms are visible, the big general themes. Every school of classicism is selective, that is, elevated, not capable of including everything. Folk poetry is classical nearly entirely, and the folk ballad is particularly so.

Things looked at from different points of elevation can be depicted with different techniques. Great poets are able to present a graphic picture of everything they wish to visualize with much greater skill, more refined artistic devices. Folk poetry, including folk ballads, resorts to much humbler means of expression. It works with lesser linguistic force, poorer technique of devising metaphors, associations, etc. But there is one thing which it never misses: the point of elevation from which it looks at the world. And in this, even the greatest poets fail to imitate it. They always fall short of hitting upon the standard of the general, the tone of and approach to the objective, impersonal that is valid for all, and that is so typical of folk ballad and every considerable product of folk poetry.

Let us take only one single example to illustrate the essential difference between the approach of a poet (individual) and that of folk poetry (collective) to an identical theme:

Sitting on top of a hill I am looking down
Like a stork from top of a hay-stack.
Down in the valley a slow brook is meandering aimlessly,
It is the picture of my weary life.

(Sándor Petőfi)

This is how the poet tries to imitate the tone of the folksong. And what has the people retained of his verse?

Sitting on top of a hill, I am looking down
Like a stork from top of a hay-stack.
Down in the valley a little brook is trickling,
This world does not favour my life.

(Folksong)

As can be seen, the latter eliminates the parallelism between the psychic state and the natural scene in order to get rid of the excessively individual, personal implication (the brook is meandering aimlessly—This is the picture of my weary life), replacing it by a sound contrast (The little brook is trickling—This world does not favour my life).

That is, a true parallelism in folksong is formulated like this:

The corn must ripe because many kind winds come to blow at it,
The heart must cleave because many sorrows come to touch it.

That is to say, the statement remains impersonal and generally valid.

Well, if not even the greatest poets succeeded in imitating the pattern they found on hand in folk poetry, how could one imagine that the one-time anonymous poets should have been able to create them. How could they have created the ballad? When their writings blended with ballads in collections can be readily discerned from the body of genuine folk ballads precisely on acconnt of their distinct stylistic properties, and the different manifestation of their world outlook. The same holds in the reverse as well: genuine folk products can be easily singled out from the sundry collections of half-popular verses, songs, melodies, etc. True, oral tradition has preserved many things from the music and poetry of past centuries: but art products always display some trait that discerns them from the genuine folk products. The standard of folksong style lies always in the proper ratio between the contribution of the individual and that of the community. The lower the ratio of individual contribution and the higher the number of those who had been involved in the process of variation, the more explicit the folk style will become. It is difficult to leave out an individual phrase which the creator thinks successful; only a third, a fourth, etc. person who cannot accept it for the expression of his own feeling is able to treat it indifferently. Sometimes a hundredth omission is necessary for the production of a genuine folksong.

This is what is missing in most of the Danish ballads passed down by written sources, and abounding in most of those coming from oral tradition in the Danish material. This is what is missing in literature, but what is found in folk poetry. This is the reason why we are able to delimit folk poetry from literature throughout the ages. This is why we are able to recognize the genuine folk tone in every nation. And this is why we are able do discern the false tone of the imitators. This is why folk poetry has a style of its own, unmistakably. If it holds that "style is the man", it holds still better that "style is the creator". A work belongs to the one who has formed it. The ballad is the creation of the people.

TEXTUAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF OLD HUNGARIAN BALLADS

Number	Title of type	1. Common theme, thematic relation	2. Common basic idea	3. Common text portions, motifs	4. Common formulas	5. Element of other ballads in certain variants	6.* Construction
1.	The unfaithful wife burnt to death	78		20, 21, 25, 28, 78			AB C+E D
2.	The walled-up wife			19, 23, 51	4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 16, 20, 21, 27, 39		AB C E+D
3.	The enticed wife	5, 30		5, 40, 41			AB C+E
4.	The heartless mother	5		5	2, 5, 19, 52, 69		AB CD
5.	The enticed wife forsaking her child	3, 4, 30		3, 30, 40, 41	2, 4		BC
6.	Three orphans		65	20, 25, 31, 57, (38)			(A)B CD
7.	Jesus seeking lodging		17, (22, 41, 43)				AB
8.	The girl taken to heaven			43, 79	17		(B)
9.	The two chapel flowers	48, (55?)		10, 19, 21, 28, 37, 38	2, 10, 11, 13, 16, 20, 21, 27, 39		AB CD
10.	The disgraced girl		(23)	9, 11, 12, 13, 23, 28, 37, 38	2, 9, 13, 16, 19, 21, 27, 28, 39	1, 23, 26, 27?	A(C) BC+E (D)
11.	The bride kicked to death		12, 13, 20	12, 13, 14, 15, 20	2, 9, 10, 13, 16, 21, 27, 39	26 9(+10, 28, 37, 38)	AB C(D)
12.	The bride found dead	13, 14, 15	11, 20	10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 28, 29, 31, 65, 79	14, 21, 31, (43), 49		AB C+E (D)
13.	The bride dying in the wedding procession	12, 14, 15, 16	11, 20	10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 29, 31, 65, 83	2, 9, 10, 16, 21, 27, 39	26	A B+C

Number	Title of type	1. Common theme, thematic relation	2. Common basic idea	3. Common text portions, motifs	4. Common formulas	5. Element of other ballads in certain variants	6.* Construction
14.	The bride given in marriage to Poland	12, 13 (11, 15)	20	12	12, 21, 31, (43), 49		A B+E B+C
15.	The bride and the rooster	12, 13	11, 14, 20	12, 13	10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 29, 31		
16.	The mothers's curse	13		13, 65, 83	2	10, 12, 26	A B+C (+E) D
17.	The two captives	50	7, 22, (41), 42, (43)	22, 33, 42, (18)	8		BC D
18.	The knight and the lady			(17)			A B C
19.	The girl who set out with the soldiers			2, 9, 53	4, 10, 12, 14, 21		A B C
20.	The brigand's wife	11, 12, 13, 14, 21	11	1, 2, 6, 21, 25, 31, 51, (54), 57, 78	2, 10, 39	1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 26, 28, 43	A+E B+E C+D Ā+Ē+ +C̄ D(B)
21.	The wife taken at her word	20		1, 20, 78	2, 9, 10, 12, 14, 28, 31, 38, (40, 43), 49		A+E BC D
22.	The rich woman's mother		(7), 17, (41), 42, (43, 69, 75)	17, 42, 46, 118	33	2	AB CD
23.	The unmarried mother who killed her child	24	(10)	51, 59			
24.	The unmarried mother who killed her three children	23	(10)		108		AB C+B D
25.	The girl who made love with the servant			1, 6, 20, 21, 31, 38, 57			AB C+E D

Number	Title of type	1. Common theme, thematic relation	2. Common basic idea	3. Common text portions, motifs	4. Common formulas	5. Element of other ballads in certain variants	6.* Construction
26.	The girl danced to death			10, (12, 13, 14), 16, (19, 26, 29, 49), 65		16, 19, 65, 129	(A)B CD
27.	The sister of the man condemned to death				2, 9, 10, 13, 16, 21, 27, 39		(A)B AB C+E D
28.	The cruel mother-in-law			1, 9, 10, 12, (37), 38	29	9, 66	AB C B+E
29.	The girl abducted by the Turks	(30)	12, 31	11, 12, 13, 15, 31	28, 30, 118		(B)C
30.	The girl escaped from the Turks	3, 5, (29)		5	29		B
31.	The girl kidnapped by soldiers	(29)		6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 25, 29, 31, (43), 49, 57		29, 65	BC
32.	The mountain shepherd murdered by robbers					20	(A)BC
33.	The young lords escaped from the emperor's prison			17, 22, 118	34, 39, 43		BC(D)
34.	The hero who fell in defence of his household				33		BC
35.	The prince's soldier						
36.	The banquet of the pasha of Várad						
37.	The king's son and a king's daughter			9, 10, 28, 38, (65)			ABC
38.	The pagan king's daughter			(6), 9, 10, 11, (20, 25), 28, 37, (57), 118			(B?)C D
39.	The wife kicked to death				2, 10, 13, 21, 33, 43		A+C B(D)
40.	The brother pursuing his sister's betrothed	(55?)		3, 5, 41, 55	10, 21, 28		BC

Number	Title of type	1. Common theme, thematic relation	2. Common basic idea	3. Common text portions, motifs	4. Common formulas	5. Element of other ballads in certain variants	6.* Construction
41.	The wife longing to go home		(7, 17, 22, 43)	3, 5, 11, 40, 60, 61, 62			AB (C)
42.	The mother kidnapped by the son		17, 22	17, 22			BC
43.	The test of faithfulness		(17, 22, 41, 69, 75)	8, 44	(12, 14, 21) 33, 39, (49)		A (B)
44.	The turtle-dove that lost her mate		(43, 45)	43			
45.	The little owl woman		(44)				
46.	The rich old husband	(125)		22, 83			
47.	The lover returning at his sweetheart's wedding			43, 59			AB C
48.	Lázár, the son of the Hungarian emperor	9		10, 68			
49.	Fair Ilona Langos	(11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 31)		14	11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 31, (43)		BC
50.	The two captive lasses	17					
51.	The young lord of Mezőbánd	52		20, 23	118		
52.	The little noble lad	51			4, 29, 69		
53.	The three young thieves	(19)		19, 20			
54.	The outcast			(20)			
55.	Emperor Fülöp	(40?)	(9? 73?)				
56.	Fairy Ilona			76			
57.	Take out my weary heart			6, 20, 25, 31, 38	68		
58.	Sitting by my new distaff						
59.	Farewell to the sweetheart			23, 47			(AB)
60.	János who was poisoned			61, 62, 41, 79			
61.	The murdered brother			60, 62, 41, 79			
62.	The bewitched son			60, 61, 41, 79			
63.	The bad wife		64				

Strophe-repetitive construction

Number	Title of type	1. Common theme, thematic relation	2. Common basic idea	3. Common text portions, motifs	4. Common formulas	5. Element of other ballads in certain variants	6.* Construction
64.	The incredulous husband		63				
65.	The speaking corpse		6	12, 16, 26, (37)		101	
66.	The haughty wife	67					
67.	The lazy wife	66					
68.	The marvellous corpse		70, 72, 73, 77	48, 57			
69.	The test of love		(22, 43, 75)		4, 52	65	
70.	Crying János	71	68, 72, 73, 77				
71.	The coward lover	70	77				
72.	The song of the ferryman	73	68, 70, 73, 77	73			
73.	The servant and my goodwife	72	68, 70, 73, 77	72			
74.	The two kinds of bride						
75.	The prince preparing to marry		(22, 43, 69)			74	
76.	The suitor of the faulty girl			56			
77.	Where have you slept last night, tomtit?	70, 71	68, 72, 73				
78.	The clever adulteress	1	1, 20, 21				
79.	The girl who solves riddles			8, 12			
80.	The soldier girl		(7, 17, 22, 41, 42, 43, 69)				AB CD
81.	The girl with the gander						(A)B (CD)
82.	The evening in the spinning house					68	
83.	The bride brought back			13, 16, 46			(A) B+(E) CD

Strophe-repetitive construction

* A = Predictive dialogue or monologue; B = Travel, arrival, change of scene; C = Dramatic conflict; D = Moral (curse); E = Evasive replies. The letters linked with + sign indicate combined elements.

THE AFTERLIFE OF THE GENRE

Have the ballads changed essentially from the Middle Ages? This question should be answered if we wish to obtain a reliable view of mediaeval ballads. As a matter of fact, knowledge of the genre began to accumulate from the nineteenth century on, and it is contestable if we know it now as it had been long ago. Can we speak at all about sameness of things after the lapse of five or six centuries? Can it be supposed that the genre still appears before us as it was created to meet the demands of mediaeval peasants?

These purely rhetorical questions can be answered by anyone with a little knowledge of folklore: folk tradition is capable of preserving remote antiquities: its development is characterized not so much by changing ancient elements but rather by adding new ones to them, coordinating the old and the new in a surprising combination. When a phenomenon becomes utterly outdated, it wears away from tradition. In Hungarian musical folklore, for example, we find that the lament with its patterns of melody was probably passed down to us as a prehistorical, paleo-European inheritance, and the *regös*-songs similarly with some paleo-European tune types relating to winter solstice customs; further, the old-style folksongs with their quintal shifts live together with songs of the new-style ones developed in the second part of the last century. Sometimes these all occur in the repertoire of one and the same informant. Why, then, could mediaeval ballads not have survived if so many folklore phenomena from before and after the time of their birth subsisted? As to the texts, the Hungarian folk tale about "The Little Lambs", unknown in other European language areas, shows surprisingly agreeing portions with a Central Asiatic legend of wandering in the underworld (*Vargyas* 1963 and 1966). If this survived, why deny the possibility of survival for the ballad which is closer in content to modern man's outlooks?

Well, but one might say that oral tradition lives in variation. In a constant state of variation a thing cannot remain the same. Yes, but if you know the rule of variation from a mass of variants, you will know that variation is not only departure from a form but also a constant reshaping of the form. The substance is usually unchanged; if not, then a new form branches off. But what is essential is that the form will remain in any case, and alterations will always reveal the same content. Further, if less talented reciters have corrupted it, gifted ones will come to improve it again. This consideration, together with the former ones, tends to support the possibility of an unchanged survival of folk tradition.

But are we able, after all, to bring forth an unappealable answer in the affirmative, an argument whose evidence cannot be doubted? With written documents left out of consideration for the time being (since they fall outside the scope of oral tradition because of their altering its character in many cases), arguments can be adduced from the domain of oral tradition proper: there are

numberless agreements to be found among ballads or parts of ballads in widely separated areas. Such ballads certainly derive from common sources, maintaining something similar in distant regions. There is every reason to surmise that what they have in common used to be their original property.

It has been often voiced in the literature that ballads used to be longer than they are now. True, ever more abridged variants tend to emerge in recent collections. Therefore it stands to reason that this recent trend be projected back into the past: in this way we may reach back to a stage in which ballads approximating the length of epic songs can be supposed. However, in spite of all differences in length the ballads of the diverse nations show by and large fairly stable dimensions not only as regards full songs but also details agreeing in widely distant regions. We may hardly infer a process in which they shorten in the same measure maintaining at the same time their textual identity, similarity of wording, etc. Particularly revelant are the standing formulas and formula-like portions frequently occurring in different language areas. Since these agree in *formulation,* they certainly derive from a "text" that used to be identical and common with the various nations. Are we not deceived by this theory of abridgement casting recent phenomena into the past, as we are deceived when looking at a vision of fata morgana: rays coming in the horizontal plane are broken by vapour and objects placed on the ground are seen to float in the sky?

The evidence of oral tradition is corroborated by that of written material. The earliest French as well as Dutch-German broadsides from the sixteenth century are essentially of the same length as the soundest pieces of nineteenth and twentieth-century collections, although it lies in the nature of broadsides to exceed oral tradition in verbosity. Even courtly manuscripts standing nearer in style to orally transmitted songs are often as long as an average European ballad. Only one should not think that what is longest is always the archetype and the fullest variant. *More* does not mean *more genuine* and *better* in every case, particularly not in the domain of art where the validity of the rule "lesser would have been more" holds true. This truth refers increasingly to the ballad.

In every indication, the average length of ballads in the period of its first flourishing, that is in the mediaeval times, ranged somewhere between twenty and a hundred and twenty lines. Deviations may have occurred from this average only in a slight degree according to the evidence of the best preserved songs of the collections. As to recent fragmentary and deficient variants, they are really *fragments,* exemplifying the process of decay of oral tradition. A process of *oblivion* and not of *abridgement*. Industrial revolution and the concomitant social transformation everywhere put an end to the traditional style of rural life which had been the vital medium of ballads. It is the outcome of this process that is reflected in ballad variants and by no means one of development of past centuries.

Parallel with abridgement, scholars propose a process of demythicizing resulting in a gradual displacement of supernatural elements and a consistent rationalization of the ballad. Again, the start is made from the Scandinavian and Scottish material, whose earliest-recorded songs are full of fairies, demons, magic elements. More recent texts, however, have preserved practically nothing of these superhuman elements either in the British-Scandinavian or the American areas.

Scholars overlook a fact in this case. Namely, that more recent ballads include such supernatural elements too. For example, in a few Hungarian texts *devil* has been involved as an auxiliary explanation: the bride catches a glimpse of his cloven hoof, finally she is dragged to death, fastened to horse tail, by the demon lover. However, the other variants speak of an outlandish or robber murderer; devil occurs only in one single recent variant. Besides, the Hungarian ballad in question is paralleled by the French "Anneaux de Marianson", in which the husband commits the act of cruelty. And this is a decisive evidence of priority. Thus no process of demythicizing took place but a subsequent change into the mythic world occurred in this instance.

An example of subsequent "mythicizing" has been found by *Suppan* among German population resettled from Hungary to Germany: in an Ulinger variant (D. Vlr. 41) of the Hungarian "The Enticed Wife" **(3.)**. Again, the collector hit upon a variant diluted into prose and merged with a tale: the knight wishing to understand the birds' language bathes in the blood of girls. An isolated and corrupt German variant against four or five hundred cannot reasonably be held for a representative of the "genuine" mythical content! Similarly, only four or five out of the four hundred Hungarian variants speak of the devil dancing the bride to death **(26.)**, whereas not only the Hungarian variants but also the archetype of them, the French "Tristes noces" bear evidence that in this type a very human business has been involved from the beginning, and that a subsequent mythicizing occurred in some sporadical recent variants, mainly under the ever present influence of tales. Could the same not take place in earlier days as well? Is it certain that a few demonized Scottish murderers of the sweetheart (*Child* 4, Hungarian **3.**) represent the original idea, and that all the mass of the British-American variants are recent developments because these know nothing of the demon lover? Are we not to accept in this case either the evidence offered by the great number of variants to indicate the original conception and the introduction of the "demon" as a subsequent and occasional interpretation? Like in the case of *Suppan's* German-Mokra variant? The whole European ballad area speaks for this! So does the Scandinavian, too, where if magic occurs, it comes not from the side of the enticer but the victim, for nothing else happens than that the scene of falling into sleep, common with many nations, is re-interpreted as a sleep caused by spell.

At this point again, I am convinced, it is the Danish manuscripts saturated with mythical elements that exert an influence on research. Nevertheless, we must consider that even in the Danish material, with the pieces copied from other genres omitted, as much is left of the magic element as can be readily accounted for precisely by the protracted life-time of the omitted mythic-epic stuff, whose long survival was promoted through the agency of manuscripts and broadsides. Many things have been transferred from these to ballads, without however fading the original generic feature of the latter. Further, if one starts from the thesis that instead of taking Scandinavian ballad for the most characteristic and best form one should consider the whole dissemination area to base one's conclusions on, then it will become clear that this fairy world is only a partial phenomenon which is not typical of the whole. Thus, the same refers to the process of "demythicization" as to that of abridgement: the change in this respect did not take place in reality but on

the plane of human thinking which tries to construe regularities and apparent unity in the sundry phenomena.

What may be safely stated about the relation of the extant stock to mediaeval is that many ballad songs have become extinct. Comparative study points out that ballads no longer extant must be supposed to connect variants that exist independently of one another. Also the Danish records include undoubtedly ballad-like texts which are not demonstrable from oral tradition. And so do the German and Dutch records. That is to say, popular memory did not preserve everything that used to exist in it, five or six hundred years ago. This circumstance, once again, has nothing to do with the "law of change". Rather the "law of oblivion" is responsible for it; gradual fading rather than gradual transformation of surviving songs.

Has then no change whatever occurred in ballads from mediaeval times? Have all of them continued as they had been formulated originally? For the most part, it seems, they have. But not all of them. Comparative analysis has proved that the original subject-matter has been reformulated in the case of a few Hungarian ballads. A clear evidence is offered by The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Child **(23.** and **24.)**, an earlier variant of which survives, in parts at least, in complete territorial separation from the new, developed during the last two hundred years. The earlier Moldavian and Bukovinian fragments have preserved the memory of a one-time extant song, and the new variant also includes many elements of the old. Without the former at hand, it would have been possible only by extensive comparative study to discover the relationship of the latter with the French parallel. The same refers to the recent transformed variant of The Speaking Corpse **(65.)** of which not even a fragment survives from old days. These new variants are always associated with new melodies inducing a lighter form of verse. Type **65.** differs only by its dance rhythm from the old ballad-tunes, but **24.** was conceived in the functional major melodic system being rather alien to Hungarian folk music; obviously it bears the stamp of most recent urban influences.

There are two classical Hungarian ballads which enjoy a remarkably lasting popularity: The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death **(27.)** and The Girl Danced to Death **(26.)**, having not only the largest numbers of variants but also showing a recent spread towards Transylvania and Moldavia where early collectors had not encountered them. Are they revivals of recent days? As to the former, such an idea is contradicted by the fact that it is a veritable representative of the old ballad style. It would prove a genuine old ballad even in the absence of foreign parallels. Only its beginning betrays a recent influence, that portion namely which follows the first stanza about the horse-theft. This part has been expanded in certain variants—seemingly of late—by adding ever new details to the scene of examination swollen occasionally to four or five stanzas. Undoubtedly, the hero condemned for horse-theft became increasingly popular in the period of outlaw ballads; it is the only ballad sung by shepherds—a layer of population that used to maintain closest connections with the outlaws—who preserve the outlaw poetry as their own. Therefore the part referring to horse-theft has been expanded, and therefore the ballad became widespread anew. At the end of the eighteenth century the ancient version may well have been extant exerting a strong appeal in the time of outlaws. So it spread all over the Great Hungarian Plain including the fringe areas, then

towards Transylvania, on the usual route of folk products. No similar reason for the dissemination of The Girl Danced to Death can be demonstrated. But its tune may have played a decisive role: a newer melody impressive on account of its rather strange dance rhythm, not quite a new-style tune but one heralding the advance of the new style. Later it assumed ever more elements of its fully developed successors both in construction and tonality.

Consequently, these ballads have not changed, or if they have, they changed in some of their variants only. Rather should we say that they have enjoyed a new vogue.

Examples of re-formulation can be found in some French types as well. The Test of Faithfulness has disseminated in all likelihood from France. Yet those traits that survive in the neighbouring countries can only partially be recognized in one "pastourelle" which obviously is no longer a representative of the one-time extant old French ballad but a transformation of it in a new spirit. Also The Soldat par chagrin (French 123) differs in tone from such old ballads as, for example, Porcheronne or Anneaux de Marianson, nevertheless it preserved an ancient nucleus of a ballad which occurs in five early Hungarian ballads, too. Recent transformation may be suspected in four variants of The Soldier Girl, of which a fragment survives from the ancient variant. Further transformations come up in large numbers in French texts. This is one of the reasons why research failed to recognize the central importance of the French ballad.

The question arises: are only cases of renewal and transformation possible? Or could ballads of the ancient, classical style develop in recent times, too? That is ballads shaped in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century after the old model, which the modern reader would consider fully mediaeval creations? (As *Fowler* would have it, starting from the dates of notations?) Notably, it is clear on the basis of late-fifteenth-century French records and the evidence of the Hungarian material that although the ballad flourished in the fourteenth century, new types developed even in the fifteenth. The same may be safely hold valid for the sixteenth century, at least the first part of it. The only question is if new types continued to emerge in subsequent times, too, or only ancient ones subsisted?

It is more difficult to find an adequate answer to this question than to the former ones. Lacking proper points of orientation, we resort to speculation. In principle, such Hungarian ballads which do not include any element to denote a French antecedent, nor portions of earlier epic to refer to the first stage of balladry, may have developed at a later stage as well. At the same time it would be hard to suppose that during the first period autonomously developed pieces did not come into existence under the impact of earlier models precisely in Hungary. All those Hungarian ballads which in theme and wording are closely interwoven with the first classical ballads of French origin or transformed from Hungarian epic poems should be derived from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We may only suspect a later development in the case of certain ballads of a lighter style and an air of tale like The Prince Preparing to Marry **(75.)** and The Two Kinds of Bride **(74.)**. Since however neither in theme nor in strophic construction do these deviate from ancient ballads, and since justice is done in them to the poor in the same manner as in the latter, the vague difference of formulation provides a slippery ground for any

definite inference concerning their later origin. As to ballads of other nations, such conclusions can be drawn only in case some reference to date allows us to link the classical ballad to some event or point of time. As such is regarded the Lady Hamilton (*Child* 173) whose action falls to the early eighteenth century—if the song really deals with that event. A story of an unmarried court maid giving birth to a child whom she does away with and is therefore executed is so typical a ballad theme as requires no assotiation with some actual event in order to come into being. It is more likely that a name is subsequently introduced into the song, maybe under the impact of a later event. This doubt is further corroborated by the fact that the "names" in the ballad can be connected to two different incidents: the mentioning of four Maries may link it to a case of infant murder that occurred in the court of Mary Stuart, further, the name Mary Hamilton and certain surprising agreements of the text to the case of a Lady Hamilton executed in St. Peterburgh in the eighteenth century. Anyway, with either of the two dates accepted and the possibility of a later actualization precluded, we should see one of the most beautiful English and Scottish ballads coming into existence in a relatively late period, in the afterlife of the classical types. Similarly beautiful though not based on a typical ballad theme is the Gipsy Laddie (*Child* 200), the song about the lady that eloped with a Gipsy lover. Had the case been one of popular imagination roused by executions of Gipsies so frequent in the seventeenth century in a measure that even the name of a notorious thief was included in the text, then again a song in the best ballad tone would have been born in a later time. The rub is, however, that very few threads connect the song with the rather dubious event; the name being a fairly frequent Gipsy name in England does not prove anything. Perhaps *Child* 208 could be suspected of having developed, by combining the ballad style with the name of an eighteenth-century character, from ancient ballad commonplaces (the hero on reading the summons from the king first smiles, then sheds tears and bequeathes to his family); but the story has more individual details than being capable of carrying a human content of general validity which is essential for a ballad.

Songs of demonstrably later origin equal to the classical ballads do not seem to exist. In principle, it is possible that what we think old is subsequent development; but certain proofs lacking, we should rather think that the masterpieces of the genre were not made in the period of afterlife but in that of the flourishing of the style.

It is in the sixteenth century that these exquisite products, together with their less successful companions, began to be written down. What may have been the reason? We know that they had existed in earlier times as well. Those who ascribe them to poets or order of singers derive them from yet earlier centuries. But if they had been produced much earlier, why were they not noted down by aristocratic young ladies in their songbooks. Is it because there was no interest in them among people from whose circles they allegedly derive? Courtly origin does not at all explain the degree of interest aristocrats took in ballads from the sixteenth century onward.

A more readily acceptable account can be given if the genre is regarded as a folklore product towards which interest was manifested in higher circles. Analogous developments can be supported by historical data. Namely, sixteenth-

century aristocrats did take an interest in folk dance. A much-quoted reference to this "popular fashion" is found in the description of the court festival of Catherine de Medici in the time of her French regentship (1560–1563). A clearing was cut in the forest, lampions hung round the trees, feasting guests served by men clad as satyrs and maids dressed as nymphs and naiads, then peasant groups from all part of the country presented their dances to their own tunes. "Pendant le repas, des troupes de danseurs et de danseuses des Provinces voisines, qui étoient venus à Bayonne au bruit de la fête, y danserent à la maniere de leur pays: les Poitevins, avec la cornemuse; les Provençaux, au son d'un tambourin que le Ménétrier bat de la main droite, et de la gauche s'en sert pour jouer du flageolet; les Bourguignons et les Champenois, avec le petit hautbois et le tambourin; les Bretons y danserent les Passepieds et les branles gais, au son du violon; et les Biscayens, à la Moresque, avec le tambour de basque. Toutes ces nations firent un spectacle assez divertissant pendant une partie du repas." *Bonnet,* 124–125. (By courtesy of Ernő Pesovár.) Following this, the nobles performed their own dances. The peasants of so distant regions as Brittany, the Gulf of Biscay and Provence did not gather together at Bayonne by themselves, their shipment had to be arranged for well in advance. The occasion may have been the first "folklore festival" ever known in history.

That the event was not an isolated phenomenon is shown by another famous datum from a distance of 2000 kilometres toward the East, referring to Count Bálint Balassi, the renowned poet and soldier, who performed a shepherd dance at the Pozsony diet preparatory to the crowning in 1572, in the presence of Rudolph Hapsburg and his court.

Hoerburger complements the picture with Italian and German data: "... it seems to me important to state that *everywhere in music as well as in dance there is in the sixteenth century a general interest in folklore.*" "From Northern Italy, for instance, we hear that noblemen were not ashamed to dance together with peasants. Or, while in the fifteenth century, jumping dances were danced only among the basic strata of society, now in the sixteenth they are danced by courtiers as well. The so-called *bassa danza,* being characteristic for the whole fifteenth century, now disappears in favour of the more popular *alta danza.* And among those "high dances" there is the favourite *Gaillarde,* which changed from a popular sturdiness and roughness to the shocking *Volta,* danced even by the Queen of England. Further, in the year 1565 Catherine of Medici arranged a festival in Bayonne with folk dance groups from every region of France. And again, at the German courts foreign dances were danced, a fact which can be traced in the famous music collections for the lute."

The vogue lasted into the seventeenth century as well. Palatine Thurzó sent a mission to Wittenberg in 1615 to honour the university magistrate of his son studying in that city; the members of the retinue performed the heyducks' dance at the feast (*Réthei* 132). Palatine Pál Esterházy boasts of the following in 1647: "Then I was asked to perform the heyducks' dance with two "naked" swords, of which I was a skilled master." (*Réthei* 134.) A record of 1688 states in connection with István Thököly: "My sire the Count ate supper in private, but then he danced the young ladies, who were dressed in peasant attire, soundly, calling down my sire András Keczer, too." (*Réthei* 64.) As can be seen, the vogue had been shared not

only by "folk ensembles" but also by aristocratic amateurs who dressed in like amateurs will in our day.

These data readily lend themselves as parallels to ballad notations from the song-book of Antwerp to the Danish aristocratic ladies' manuscripts and Vedel's printed texts, that is from the mid-sixteenth to the late seventeenth century. If sometimes their dances failed to meet the authentic popular style, we should not wonder that the ballads circulating in the same media were sometimes recast according to a somewhat aristocratic taste. What is more, they often mingled with pieces of court poetry in the note-books of the young ladies, just like the aristocrats at Bayonne first entertained themselves by looking at the peasants' dances, then began to perform their own dances. As Catherine de Medici wished to amuse herself with the peasants' dance performance, also the Danish ladies put to paper everything they took pleasure in, so the ballads, for they took an interest in them, fortunately, under the impact of a general European popular trend.

It seems that by the end of the seventeenth century the fans of folk art had died out. From that time on, ballads tend to appear rather in broadsides; interest in them began to revive in the higher classes at the turn of the eighteenth century, with a growing impetus lasting to date.

A new flourish developed in Hungarian balladry in the nineteenth century during the fairly well delimitable time span of the outlaw poetry. This period had been a summarization of a long social process. The roots of the outlaw life also reach back to the years following the defeat of Rákóczi's war of liberation (1703–1711). In his excellent book, *Ferenc Szabó* brings forth data from 1717 about a certain Ferkó Vas "living on robbery" until he was hanged. Count Sándor Károlyi having come in possession of Hódmező-Vásárhely ordered the judges to "erect a good gallows-tree with a view to curbing the wicked ones", which clearly reflects the general conditions prevailing in that time. Jankó Vékony, for instance, practised his trade of outlaw there until he was caught and executed at Szerencs in 1731. In the environment of Makó there lived two highwaymen, called János Kopocsán and Péter Barna (identical with the ballad hero of **105,** Péter Barna?) who were hanged in 1736. In county Csanád an organization had to be inaugurated in 1740 on order by the Council of Governor-General. In 1744 the general meeting of County Békés decreed that "an officer of the county, escorted by pandours and in case of emergency also by soldiers, should survey the fields every two months in order to arrest all the thieves, suspect persons and especially *deserters*". In 1782 the magistrate of Békés County issued a decree prohibiting all shepherds from keeping more saddle-horses than needed and any kind of weapon over and above a shepherd's staff, and further decrees in 1782 against shepherds being finger and thumb with the outlaws. At the end of the eighteenth century the counties Békés, Csanád, Csongrád and Arad organized a hunt in common to clear the region from outlaws, deserters and tramps. We can not always discern in these data an ordinary robber from outlaws continuing Kuruts traditions, or those who turned outlaws from deserters and resisting peasants; nevertheless, the general view is fully identical with that of the "mature" outlaw period. Individual cases coincide with the decades of massive riots, sometimes revolts of the peasants. (*Cf.* the resistance of 1750 mentioned in the notes to the ballad of Vidrócki **102.)** In 1753 peasant

movements started in the region of Hódmezővásárhely and Mezőtur, and the "disaster of Mádéfalva" occurred in 1764. Documents in verse on this long-protracted process began to appear at the turn of the eighteenth century. Initially they were broadsides—like one of the oldest outlaw songs, that of Marci Zöld—or the undoubtedly unfolkloristic composition about Bandi Angyal **(104.)**, which however obtained a wide popularity on account of its successful popular tone and form. These outlaws were active in the first decades of the nineteenth century, their particular data (birth, feats, law-suits and execution) can be traced from step to step, thus also the development of the outlaw poetry, yielding valuable information about the development of folk poetry and ballad. Of course, not all are known from court records. Thus, the hero of the earliest outlaw song **(105.)**, that about Péter Barna, has not been identified to this date (therefore we cannot omit the possibility that he was identical with an outlaw of the same name who was hanged in 1736.) It is beyond doubt that in the earliest broadsides—so in the Vác sheets printed, according to *Péter Pogány* between 1810 and 1820—we meet with the formulation of the still extant popular variants, which means that by that time a mature folklore material embraced his name. Therefore we have to date the beginnings of the outlaw poetry to the late eighteenth century.

If now we establish the chronological order of the individual pieces of this particular folksong type, it will be found that tragedy and ballad tone are best represented by those ones which developed in all likelihood between 1862 and 1873: Imre Bogár **(101.)**, Vidrócki **(102.)**, Pista Fábián **(103.)**. Though the song about Péter Barna sounds undoubtedly popular, and events of outlaw life shine through the loose texture of motifs, ballad construction is lacking in it. Marci Zöld **(106.)** is entirely broadside with hardly a few variants taken down from the mouths of the people. The earliest one about Bandi Angyal **(104.)** originating from 1801 had enjoyed popularity for a time, but since it was also lacking in a real dramatic conflict, it survives only in traces in folk tradition. Even the figure of this outlaw is a rather dubious "moral example" looked at with the people's eyes: a horse-thief who was originally a member of the nobility, a much more rejectable enemy of shepherds than an attractive mounted outlaw defying the county.

In folk imagination the true outlaw figure is represented by three classical ballads, all three throwing a glance on the jaunty highwayman's bold defiance and revolt against oppressive force in the face of death. And all three show the inevitable fate: fall and gallows-tree, and even remorse. The latter is most explicit in the case of Imre Bogár. With a marvellous sense of tragedy, people see a sinner as well whom it extolled a few stanzas before as a prince decorated with gold and silver. People were well aware that what the outlaw committed was sin which must be paid for, but they knew at the same time that sin was partly due to the society against which the outlaw offered resistance. Resistance, in turn, was a moral virtue. An outstanding personality coming in conflict with the society becomes a sinner and falls. Indeed, the katharsis of Greek tragedies is present in these less ostentatious examples. They reflect the same poetic experience as the best of the classical ballads. Also the method of composition is the same: condensing into realistic pictures by way of stylizing what is typical. A common—surprising, though inevitable—feature of these three songs is that they do not render the events in a matter-of-fact way. They

do not care for incidental, factual details. Imre Bogár was not caught as narrated by the song. His love affair with Marcsa Duli, as well as his attempt at bribing the county, certainly had nothing to do with reality. Neither was Vidrócki shot by the crowd of prosecutors surrounding the inn, but he was slain by one of his fellows who was afraid of the outcome of a bold adventurous plan Vidrócki wanted to carry out together with him. Of this the people had knowledge, as appears from other songs. Hardly a few data are available about Pista Fábián, neither does his song include a hint to some clear-cut event: the whole of his ballad is mere abstraction, a formula-like presentation of the life of outlaws. People were well aware of what *Attila József* said: "Tell what is true and not what is real!", that is the intrinsic essence instead of incidental reality.

But do these poems speak about truth indeed? Are they typical of at least the most significant outlaws whom people regarded as their heroes? Let us review the poetic elements used by them. One cannot doubt for a moment that every renowned outlaw and his "gang" shared a good portion of courage with which they challenged overwhelming force. In this respect only the apposite, condensed wording may surprise the reader. It was clear to people that final destruction was in store for each outlaw; instances of this occurred by the hundred in the decades after 1850, and particularly during the Ráday-period noted for its cruel terror. But let us consider minor details as well. Imre Bogár set out to steal a horse at a fair. "Raiding the fair" was customary with the sixteenth-century warriors of border fortresses; ever since it has been among the feats of outlaws. Imre Bogár too had an adventure of this kind. But why did he steal a horse? Because he was about to marry, and to buy a cradle. Here we may catch a glimpse of a tragic moment of the outlaws' life: the outlaw would like to return to normal life. Does this trait hold valid for the outlaws? How many times the greatest outlaw Sándor Rózsa tried to avail himself of this possibility appears from the book of *István Békés*. Right before his appearing on the scene as a leader of a guerilla band in the War of Independence of 1848–49 he appealed for pardon to the king, unsuccessfully of course. And when in 1848 the whole of the society started on the way he had been forced to follow, that of the revolution, fight against the prevailing social order, he hurried to take up arms. He was pardoned. But things are not easy even with a country in revolution behind him: the landlords hated him, and his guerilla band dissolved. The chief returned to civilian life. In 1849 victorious reactionaries turned against him anew, this time grudging his activity as a guerilla chief, too, and Sándor Rózsa, now a man living peacefully at a farmstead with his wife, is approached stealthily. He had a narrow escape at the expense of the life of two gendarmes whom he shot dead. He turned again an outlaw. Later he was caught—he was knocked down by the ones who gave him shelter—he was pardoned in 1867 under an amnesty, and refused again when offering his help to do away with the brigands (while an outlaw he had executed a man who committed robbery in his name). Ráday trapped Rózsa subsequently, pretending he would grant him a letter of designation, and locked him in the prison of Szamosújvár in which he died in 1878. Belated death in prison—not on the gallows—may account for the curious fact that no ballad was made to remember the name of the greatest outlaw. Only lyrical folksongs and occasional substitutions of names have preserved his memory in folk poetry. It should be noted that every

successful outlaw ballad sprang forth after the *execution* of the outlaw. Imre Bogár too made attempts at returning to peaceful life after he had spent a year in prison, cast in iron, sentenced on account of his youthful blunder (cattle raid). He lived as a tramp for a while, as he did not dare to meet the county, still having in mind the cattle raid; not without good reason, for as he rode to the Csongrád fair, he was arrested and deprived of his horse. He asked for a hearing by the commissar who promised him free leave, provided he could produce the horse licence. So he did, confident of his case—otherwise he might have escaped in the meanwhile,—to find himself eventually in prison, from where he fled with iron on his feet. He beat off the fetters in a cemetery. Then he tried to find an employment. He served Count Szapáry as a coachman in the Bánát. Hearing news of prosecutors tracing him, after a month of service he ran home to Bugac. Thereby the path of a free life was barred for him for ever (*Békés* 205–6). During the great change in 1848 many an outlaw had a gleaming hope for return to society and fight with people for freedom. Jóska Geszten, an outlaw in the Nyírség, got free and fought bravely, too (*Dömötör* 1930, 23) to be cast into prison again in 1849, just like Sándor Rózsa, and shot while in flight in 1850. The same fate was shared by many minor outlaws. *Ferenc Szabó* (pp. 78–79) mentions data he found written beside the name of a prisoner at Szegvár: "Enlisted soldier, 8 March 849—returned 5 Nov. 849." From the prison of Makó sixteen captives—obviously outlaws—joined the revolutionary army. To conclude, the "true" outlaws, other than notorious criminals, tried to return to normal life. This is well brought out by a few stanzas of the ballad about Imre Bogár.

Let us turn now to the question of bribery ("I invite the county for a drink so that I shall not be a prisoner"; "The stolen colt is there harnessed to his coach", etc.). Was it practised really, or was it a mere imputation? Notably, the peasants seem to testify to the former alternative not only in ballads but also in many folksongs ("I could have stolen fifty, sixty and even seventy (horses), Had I passed only one of them to the gentlemen", says Pista Kormos when examined in a case of horse-theft. A further attempt at bribery "I humbly beg the gentlemen To overlook this slight fault of mine! I shall drive horses, and I shall drive sheep to you, If you are willing to let me free... I shall drive a grey steed for you, The match of which cannot be looked up by seven county!"). Are there data to support these commonplaces? *Ferenc Szabó* writes: "Gendarmery commissar Antal Zsembery and four of his pandours were sued because they, each of them, pocketed a hundred florens offered them by a shepherd in whose possession they recognized three stolen oxen. So they kept silent on the stealth." (p. 40.) The same author quotes from a circular of Ráday (p. 124): "... for no matter how extensive connections may be discovered," the thieves must be taken by all means. Further, upon liquidation of the government commissionary, he wrote the following commitment in his summary report (p. 127–8): "... during my activity I was firmly convinced... that corruption is mainly due to indolent attitudes of those in charge of public security, defaults committed by them, connivance and even coven on their part." The case of the common pandour who fraternized with Vidrócki shows the lowermost grade of connivance. But often the outlaws "treated" the county forcibly. In August 1850 a gang of outlaws compelled gendarmery commissar János Faragó of Makó to

participate in their drinking bout at the inn of Lele. They disarmed the pandours speeding to the aid of the commissar. Eventually, he was rescued by soldiers. Nevertheless, the outlaws carried away all the arms of the pandours. (*Szabó* 87.) This act of bravery was admonition to a tyrannizing official despised by the whole of the population. Against him, people sided with the outlaws. János Faragó himself mentions in his report that the innkeeper did not want to help him, pretending not to understand the signs he showed, and that the assessors of Lele let the outlaws run away, and that the gardeners provided them with victuals. The latter had every reason to do so, for they had been protected by the outlaws. In 1851 the manager of the Pallavicini estate, called Palásthy, wanted to emit the tobacco-growers because tobacco as a commercial plant did not bring profit after monopoly was introduced. The gardeners gathered together in the "Field of the Holy Virgin" and decided to murder Palásthy. The plan was carried out by thirty outlaws. The perpetrator was never detected. (*Szabó* 99.)

And what about the inns? Why do ballads localize Vidrócki's fall, and that of Imre Bogár at an inn? Neither of them had been taken at an inn. Well, all the great adventures and most cases of final fall are attached in a way or other to some inn in the countryside, because these used to be their hiding places, momentary resting places, and also scenes of their entertainments. It was not by chance that when a scheme of systematic prosecution was drafted in 1852, the authorities ordered some thirty-six inns to be pulled down in three counties of the Southern Great Plain (Békés, Csanád and Csongrád), in spite of protest on the part of landlords who drew considerable income from the tenants of those inns. (*Szabó* 104.) Several inns were built on county borders which in a period of autonomy of county administration could not be crossed even by the pandours, to the benefit of the outlaws, who often escaped owing to this restriction.

Lastly, the most important circumstance: Pista Fábián became an outlaw because he did not want to be the "German's" soldier. This is no false pretence, nor work of overheated imagination. Marci Zöld and his comrade Palatinszki were deserters; and there were many young men who fled to find refuge in the mode of life of outlaws and so to escape forcible enlistment before 1848. Others deserted from a twelve-year enlistment. The number of outlaws grew enormously after the defeat of the 1848–49 War of Independence when common soldiers were taken to military service in Italy. Deserters by the thousand were roaming all over the county, and the outlaw business reached its peak in the years 1849 to 1853. In this period outlaws and deserters were prosecuted exclusively by an *oppressive foreign power*, governed by political considerations cloaked in safety measures of an administrative nature. Police-raids against outlaws were always linked with search for deserters. The results of a major razzia covering the areas of three countries, Csanád, Csongrád and Békés between 22 and 31 May 1850 are as follows: forty-two men were arrested, including twenty-four deserters, five persons who made themselves suspect by running away, five tramps, two men suspected of theft, four thieves and two receivers of stolen goods; confiscated were: three guns with bayonets, fifty-two hunters' guns, six rifles, thirty-eight revolvers, ten swords, three bayonets, ten spears, and Kossuth banknotes to a value of 2027 florens. (*Szabó* 86.) In those years assaults by outlaws were often committed by men clad as Hungarian

soldiers in the War of Independence. It can be stated in general that the ever-present ideological content of the outlaw ways was fully understood by the whole of the society of the time, and certainly so by the peasantry. Essentially, it was features by traits of anti-feudal struggle in the form of individual revolt against the social order; as an isolated venture, of course, such revolt could only be carried on by a constant prejudice to private property, that is in a criminal manner. At the same time, it was expressive of a communal sentence on the tyrannical state power. Also the statistical peak of the outlaws was reached in this period. Although *Ferenc Szabó* puts forward revealing data to prove that in a period of drought or economic crises the number of criminal acts went up by leaps and bounds, yet he states that "It was after the surrender of Világos that the outlaw business assumed dimensions never seen before" (31). It received an enhanced impetus from the aftermath of the frustrated War of Independence. ". . . the War of Independence had lent a more explicit antifeudal character to the ways of outlaws". (pp. 43–44.) In my mind, these circumstances are explanation enough for the appearance of outlaw ballads in the wake of folklore tradition of mainly lyrical outlaw songs. The ballads were most appropriate to manifest Communal opinion. The idea had ripened by that time amidst the peasantry, and it also met with the proper formulation.

For it is not the outlaws that shaped the ballads relating to them. They "shaped" by their lives, by what they have undertaken. It is the whole body of the population that expressed the justice underlying their tragic fate. Whenever an outlaw relates the story of his life, an account like that of András Juhász **(107.)** results: a biographical sketch, burdened with trivial "details", real incidents, which may be very instructive but never a parable of tragic intensity. *Reality* indeed, but no *truth*. Truth is expressed in lines like "What though six counties come on me, Twelve should come here"; "I want to treat the county So that I may not be made its prisoner"; "I shall not be the Germans' soldier, Rather I shall be an outlaw of my own country". Social tensions of half a century, then a country-wide eruption in 1848, followed by a yet more repulsive foreign oppression had been needed in order to make things clear enough to thicken the atmosphere in which perfect expression of the communal sense could take place.

The period discussed has already been open to folklore investigation. Inquisitive eyes have penetrated ethnographical depths already. One can no longer speak about some "caste of singers", about some individual poets passing over their compositions to the people to alter and so to preserve them. No minor or major poet-singers are involved. Those producing "poetic stuff" for the people are authors of broadsides, late successors of the one-time class of singing-poets, and offer incredibly miserable patchworks that people could not use in any way in shaping the ballads. The few stanzas I included in the notes of the Chapter on Imre Bogár **(101.)** are enough to convince anyone concerning the merit of this broadside poetry. No more of it is worthy of attention, since all such products are dull to the utmost and uninteresting in spirit.

And when editors—mainly printers—seek to make their publications more attractive for the buyer, including folk-texts, then the two types of styles show a difference of fire and water.

Once more, for the last time, a common social experience arose, a great, intense communal sensation that shook the mind of people and matured a kind of aspiration for beauty similar to that in the late mediaeval times. And again some of the more successful folklore products display a similar tragic spirit, a similar method of thinking and similar poetic devices: by means of omission (elipsis), dialogues, poetic diction, and by coordinating tersely described scenes, concentrated for the most part on the episode of final decay, new parables were born in the style of condensed realism.

We cannot state the same for other ballad types that came into being parallel with the outlaw poetry. Most of these are linked to some local event, an accident like that of The Girl Who Fell into the Threshing Machine **(128.)**; others depict low-life scenes, lyrical rather than dramatic in representation, without being able to round off a real story. I have to note that I leave out of consideration the so-called "local ballads" (*cf. Erdész* 1966), whose number is unlimited so that a discussion of them would disrupt the confines of the present book. "Local ballads" that have obtained a nation-wide dissemination: The Spinning Girl Who Was Murdered **(123.)** or The Girl Who Fell into the Threshing Machine **(128.)** well exemplify this kind of ballad, in which there is no real conflict, and in which the lack of a truly ballad theme prevents the story from becoming a ballad even though the presence of certain lyrical devices cannot be denied to them. We have to accept *Wilgus*'s opinion (1968) that local songs are most important for a village community. But we know at the same time that the impression they exert on the community is due to interest people take in known events and characters. Such connection will by no means indicate the deepest possible impression: even of the new pieces, people favour best those in which some common problem finds a capturing formulation (The Baroness and the Shepherd **(121–122.)**, speaking about love breaking up social barriers and therefore resulting in a tragedy). Similarly, the hanged shepherd with his pants blown by the wind cannot be regarded a *local* concern, such a thing could not occur anywhere; yet, "si non è vero, è ben trovato", and therefore it has a general appeal to the public.

Nevertheless, such examples are not prevailing and are not to be compared to mediaeval masterpieces of the genre. The style of broadside stories increasingly decline to the level of thrill-stories, and what is more important, there are no more themes of communal interest to shape a ballad style in modern times. The same can be said of the ballads of other nations. The latest fascicles of the German Comprehensive Edition include several "thrill-stories" (D. Vlr. 85, 86, 87, 106) whose tone, far from having anything common with that of the classical ballads, reminds us of modern broadsides, even though they are more folklorized than their more recent Hungarian analogues (*cf.* **98.** and **99.**). The level of the ballad style is rarely attained by the American local ballads and outlaw stories. Perhaps the English working-class ballads and some other ballads of recent development in Great Britain (*cf. Lloyd,* Chapters IV and V) best approach the archaic style. Also the Scandinavian "efterklangs" may include some examples interesting in this respect, although we have to consider that not everything that sounds new and that is not included in the *Grundtvig* collection is "efterklang". In many instances international ballads are hiding in the background.

In fact, people do not create new ballads nowadays. What they create are wider and wider apart from the old style. Yet they have preserved the old, even though they do not use it in their everyday life as they did in former times. In Hungarian villages ballads still come up. Not in communal singing, though, but rather as individual performances forced to the surface of the informant's memories by the collector. Nevertheless, data of prolonged pseudo-life may be characteristic of the near past when ballads were a constant feature of quotidian musical life. Remarkably enough, even in the 'fifties' an aged drunk man was found in a village inn of the most backward region of Hungary (Szatmár county) who sang at the top of his voice the ballad of The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death **(27.)**.

Four surveys are worth mentioning in connection with surviving Hungarian ballads.

Faragó and *Ráduly* investigated three old-type and three new-type ballads in a village of Transylvania, extending the inquiry to 1210 inhabitants of the total population of 2500. The old-types were known by 0.1–1.2 per cent, the new types by 1.6–13.8 per cent. The proportion of those who did not know about old-style ballads ranged between 68.6 to 95.5 per cent. Even the exquisite variant of The Wife Burnt to Death **(1.)**, whose only sung performance had been recorded in the same village, was known by the son of the one-time informant who memorized it for good during the recording. At the same time, there is an increasing number of those who learn ballads from books. Revival is replacing tradition. Oral heritage is gradually "transforming" into national culture.

The examination, carried out in a village not particularly rich in tradition, compared with other Transylvanian localities, fails to provide information about the total number of ballads known by the villagers. But I have relevant data from elsewhere to clarify the question. My field collection in the village of Áj (1940–41) brought up fifteen ballads without any effort on my part to search for ballads. (*Vargyas* 1941). The total of recorded tunes was around 1200, half folk, half urban melodies. The village situated at the border-line of Slovak and Hungarian language areas preserved the following ballads. The Girl Danced to Death **(26.)**, recorded from one informant. The Speaking Corpse **(65.)**, sung to one tune by the whole of the youth, and by four aged ones to another. The Prince Preparing to Marry **(75.)** known by a single family. The Girl and the Gander **(81.)**, sung by all the young people. Four outlaw ballads **(101.)**, known to many, **114.**, similarly popular, **115.**, recorded from two persons, and a local ballad from one. There were five prisoners songs taken down from one old man, two local ballads, and known by one was the ballad of The Girl Who Fell into the Threshing Machine **(134.)**. The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Three of Her Children **(24.)** was known by many. I have to mention that many beautiful variants of The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death **(27.)** came up from the immediate vicinity of the village, and that the village surveyed did not, therefore, represent the richest traditional place of the region.

In 1968 I made investigation for ballads exclusively in three villages in county Szabolcs (the Nyírség) and bagged the following results. The Disgraced Girl **(10.)**, two variants. The Bride Found Dead **(12.)**, one variant. The Mother's Curse **(16.)**, two variants. The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Three of Her Children **(24.)**, two variants. The Girl Danced to Death **(26.)**, three variants. The Sister of the Man

Condemned to Death **(27.)**, six variants. The Speaking Corpse **(65.)**, five variants. The Marvellous Corpse **(68.)**, one prosaic, tuneless variant. The Girl and the Gander **(81.)**, four variants. Imre Bogár **(101.)**, one variant. What if Six Counties Come on Me **(102.)**, three variants. His Steed Stumbled **(108.)**, two variants. I Will Not Step out Nor Shall I Surrender **(114.)**, three variants. My Bell-Wether Does Not Want to Graze **(116.)**, two variants. Two local outlaw songs and a prisoners' song (2, 1, 1 variants). The Baron's Daughter and the Shepherd **(121.)**, two variants. The Baroness and the Cowherd **(122.)**, four variants. The Murderer Who Gave Himself up **(126.)**, one variant. The Girl Who Fell into the Threshing Machine **(128.)**, four variants. Come Sweetheart, Redeem Me **(134.)**, one variant. Broadside types: The Count and the Nun **(97.)**, one variant. The Man Who Killed His Mistress and Committed Suicide **(98.)**, one variant. The Forsaken Mistress Who Committed Suicide **(99.)**, one variant. Two local ballads with one variant each. The variants are sometimes fragments. A total of 27 types, 55 variants.

Recently *Ferenc Tóth* of the Institute for Hungarology, Novi Sad (Újvidék) has searched for ballads in six neighbouring villages among Hungarians in Yugoslavia with the following result: The Sister of the Man Condemned to death, one variant. The Disgraced Girl, three variants. The Girl Danced to Death, six variants. The Mother's Curse, one variant. The Test of Love, one variant. The Bad Wife, one variant. The Speaking Corpse, seven variants. Three Orphans, nine variants. (Ancient ballads: 8 types, 30 variants.) What Though Six Counties Come on Me!, two variants. Imre Bogár, ten variants. The Outlaw's Passport, three variants. His Steed Stumbled, seven variants, I Will Neither Step out Nor Shall I Surrender, five variants. My Bell-Wether Does Not Want to Graze, seven variants. I Am a Famous Outlaw, one variant. Prisoner's song, two variants. (Outlaw ballads and prisoners' songs: 9 types, 47 variants.) The Baron's Daughter and the Shepherd, nine variants. The Baroness and the Cowherd, six variants. The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Three Children, five variants. The Girl Who Fell into the Threshing Machine, nine variants. A Fight Is Bound to Come, five variants. The Beguiled Husband, one variant. The Burnt Sheep-pen one variant. (New ballads: 8 types, 39 variants.) The Innkeeper's Family That Was Massacred, three variants. The Man Who Killed His Mistress and Committed Suicide, five variants. The Forsaken Mistress Who Committed Suicide, three variants. (Broadside ballads: 3 types, 11 variants.) A total of 28 types, 126 variants turned up in 1972 in six villages where Kálmány made his collection: Szaján, Padé, Csóka, Tiszaszentmiklós, Józova and Egyházaskér (all in Torontál county).

The above surveys show that the genre of ballad is on the verge of final extinction, even though collectors are sometimes faced with surprising facts. For instance, The Marvellous Corpse appeared quite unexpectedly in the Nyírség, another variant of the same ballad in Nyitra country, Slovakia. These two variants are the only ones that occurred outside the boundaries of Transylvania, the traditional region of the mentioned song. Many more things might be retrieved from the informants' memory, but took me an hour's labour to have the singer recall a variant of The Disgraced Girl before it could be recorded.

Nevertheless, the state is one before immediate extinction. Ballads can be only revived from printed sources by schools and mass media and so made part and parcel of national culture.

BALLAD AREAS AND BALLAD STYLES

Identity of essence does not mean that the ballad poetry in the various nations, and even within one nation, is marked by fully identical style, character, intensity of dissemination and tenacity to survive. Differences in these respects are important in themselves, but they can also provide a basis for further conclusions. In any case, they deserve to be specially considered.

First of all we have to examine the differences appearing in the Hungarian language area. Differences of dissemination are fairly conspicuous, therefore it will be instructive to survey the material from the point of view of provenience: in which region have been ballads collected in largest numbers? The question is also challenging because it is generally accepted that the best Hungarian ballads originate from Transylvania,—a habitually repeated commonplace that often baffles even expert researchers.

Let us begin our survey in the easternmost parts, distinguishing Moldavia from Transylvania, since some of the Hungarian ballads are exclusively known from the former-mentioned area.

Only in Moldavia: **14.** The Bride Given in Marriage to Poland; **31.** The Girl Kidnapped by Soldiers; **47.** The Lover Returning at His Sweetheart's Wedding; **48.** Lázár, the Son of the Hungarian Emperor; **49.** Fair Ilona Langos; **56.** Fairy Ilona; **59.** Farewell to the Sweetheart; **67.** The Lazy Wife; **79.** The Girl Who Solves Riddles; **80.** The Soldier Girl; **84.** The Wife Who was Sold Away; **86.** The Dead Brother; **88.** King István of Hungary. This list includes only two classical ballads: **79** and **80.** The rest are fragments, individual divergences of some generally spread ballads or adaptations of non-typical Romanian ballad songs.

Transylvania and Moldavia (IV–V.): **4.** The Heartless Mother; **8.** The Girl Taken to Heaven; **9.** The Two Chapel Flowers; **32.** The Mountain Shepherd Murdered by Robbers; **43.** The Test of Faithfulness; **44.** The Turtle-Dove that Lost Her Mate; **78.** The Clever Adulteress; **82.** The Evening in the Spinning House.

Only in Transylvania (IV.): **1.** The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death; **17.** The Two Captives; **18.** The Knight and the Lady; **19.** The Girl Who Set out with the Soldiers; **22.** The Rich Woman's Mother; **25.** The Girl Who Made Love with the Servant; **33.** The Young Lords Escaped from the Emperor's Prison; **37.** The King's Son and a King's Daughter; **38.** The Pagan King's Daughter; **40.** The Brother Pursuing His Sister's Betrothed; **50.** The two Captive Lasses, **51.** The Young Lord of Mezőbánd; **52.** The Little Noble Lad; **53.** The Three Young Thieves; **54.** The Outcast; **55.** Emperor Fülöp; **60.** János Who was Poisoned; **83.** The Bride Brought Back; **87.** The Girl and the Rider; **90.** The Holy Virgin Searching for Her Son; **94.** The Three Girls Picking Berries. The three groups represent, indeed, a large portion of Hungarian ballads, comprising many classical types, fragments and also a few borderline cases, But let us make a try in reverse: what pieces are *absent* in these

three groups though known from other regions? (To avoid misunderstanding, we consider here the pre-1919 Hungary, and the "historical" Transylvania within it to contrast the two major areas. And for our points, Hungary so defined includes Hungarian minorities of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, too.)

Only in Hungary (I–III.): **5.** The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child; **7.** Jesus Seeking Lodging; **11.** The Bride Dragged to Death; **13.** The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession; **15.** The Bride and the Rooster; **16.** The Mother's Curse; **29.** The Girl Abducted by the Turks; **30.** The Girl Escaped from the Turks; **35.** The Prince's Soldier; **36.** The Banquet of the Pasha of Várad; **41.** The Wife Longing to Go Home; **42.** The Mother Kidnapped by the Son; **46.,** The Rich Old Husband; **57.** Take Out My Weary Heart; **61.** The Murdered Brother; **62.** The Bewitched Son; **64.** The Incredulous Husband; **72.** The Song of the Ferryman; **73.** The Servant and My Goodwife; **74.** The Two Kinds of Bride; **81.** The Girl with the Gander; **85.** The Dead Bridegroom; **95.** The Girl Who Shirks Going to Church; further, a number of new ballads which, however, are disregarded at this time. Classical ballads can be found in large numbers in I–III, as well as solitary ramifications thereof, several archaic fragments and a few borderline cases.

This survey is complemented with the following lists of ballads collected from all three parts, that is, Hungary, Transylvania and Moldavia.

In Hungary and Transylvania (I–IV.): **10.** The Disgraced Girl (with Hungary as point of gravity); **12.** The Bride Found Dead; **21.** The Wife Taken at Her Word; **26.** The Girld Danced to Death; **27.** The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death (with Hungary as point of gravity); **34.** The Hero Who Fell in Defence of His Household; **65.** The Speaking Corpse; **70.** Crying János (with Hungary as point of gravity); **71.** The Coward Lover; **74.** The Two Kinds of Bride (with Hungary as point of gravity); **89.** The Rivalry of Flowers; **93.** The Girl with the Peacock; **97.** The Count and the Nun; **129.** The Beguiled Husband (with Hungary as point of gravity). A variant of **21.** has recently come up from the Slovak-Soviet frontiers.

In Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia (I–V.): **2.** The Walled-up Wife (II, IV–V); **3.** The Enticed Wife; **6.** Three Orphans; **20.** The Brigand's Wife (I, IV–V); **63.** The Bad Wife; **66.** The Haughty Wife; **68.** The Marvellous Corpse (III–V); **76.** The Suitor of the Faulty Girl; **91.** The Cricket's Wedding; **92.** Lamenting ballads. Further, **28.** The Cruel Mother-in-Law, known, apart from two fragments from Hungary, only from Moldavia (I–II, V.), and **23.** The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Child, with one variant from Hungary and a large number of variants from Bukovina and Moldavia, the latter being more complete (III–V). Of the ballads listed above one single complete Transdanubian variant of Type **20** (together with four fragments) stands against the numerous Transylvanian and Moldavian recordings, but this one solely has preserved the full story. Type **6** is fairly widespread in Hungary proper, although most of its variants come from eastern parts. Types **26** and **27** have Hungary as their main dissemination area, having reached the Transylvanian territories sporadically, at a rather late stage. The other types show a fairly uniform spread between the individual regions.

It appears from the survey that there is no considerable difference between Hungary and Transylvania as regards dissemination. At most the more closed Transylvanian tradition has preserved more of the archaic state than Hungary with

its more variable condition. Moldavia, however, includes a detached ethnic group of the Hungarians, which may be likened to Gottschee in German and Ak-Dag in Greek relations, and in certain respect to Canada in relation of the French. Strong foreign influence, many autonomous developments and eroded traditional pieces can be witnessed there, side by side with valuable archaic songs. In such isolated areas new phenomena intrude relatively late and survive comparatively longer. Recent history well reflects this regularity: new types have penetrated Transylvania, proceeding from the Great Plain first toward Kalotaszeg, then to the Mezőség on the Szamos riverine, and so forth to Moldavia. The process is best observable in connection with outlaw ballads and certain more recent broadsides (**96., 98., 99.,** and **100.,** for example). But we might refer to some ancient types as well, which, while enjoying a wide spread in Hungary to the latest days, had been unknown in Transylvania at the beginning stage of systematic collection (disseminating there and in Moldavia before our eyes, so to say, in the period of systematic ethnographical collection). Such are The Disgraced Girl (**10.**), The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Three Children (**24.**), The Girl Danced to Death (**26.**), The Sister of the Man Who Was Condemned to Death (**27.**), The Speaking Corpse (**65.**), and Where Have You Slept Last Night, Tomtit? (**77.**). Of these only **10.** occurred in a fragmentary variant in early collections, but lately more complete ones also come up, mainly from Kalotaszeg where tradition is quickest to change. Therefore, richer tradition in Transylvania *preserves* more and different songs from the same *common* heritage. Anyway, it is just lately that prosaic and fragmentary, sometimes complete, variants of certain ballads have come up in parts other than Transylvanian which had so far been known exclusively from earlier Transylvanian and Moldavian collections. For instance, The Walled-up Wife (**2.**), The Wife Caught at Her Word (**21.**), The Cruel Mother-in-Law (**28.**), The Hero Who Died in Defence of His Household (**34.**), The Marvellous Corpse (**68.**), and formulas of the lamenting ballads (Type **92**). These songs have been exposed by the extensive research of collectors digging ever deeper into the tradition; at the same time, the fact that Hungarian public mind is taking ever deeper interest in preserving folklore tradition also has played a role in bringing them to the surface.

How much territorial dissemination is influenced by chance occurrences is shown by the example of French borrowings, some of which survive in Hungary, others in Transylvania, and The Soldier Girl exclusively in Moldavia (the latter having been adopted by a sixteenth-century poet of Northwestern Hungary).

Therefore, we may state, it is only the chronological grouping that can reveal important differences of Hungarian ballad tradition: the development of styles and the generation of different layers. As against this, the geographical groups are resultants of incidental survival, and the trend of dissemination in the case of new ballads can be examined in the differences of types. Otherwise, in spite of apparent divergences, they speak for a uniformly prevailing Hungarian tradition.

Within this uniformity, however, differences can be observed in the intensity of survival. Ancient ballads have been least preserved in the Great Hungarian Plain. True, exceptions are seen: the dissemination area of Szeged, for example. Hungarians concentrated in this town from the environment during the Turkish occupation repopulated the surrounding deserted areas after the occupation was

over. These settlers have preserved highly valuable mediaeval ballads. Collected by *Lajos Kálmány*, the excellent field-worker of the turn of the last century, these songs have enriched our knowledge of mediaeval Hungarian ballads with significant traits. The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child (**5.**) and The Girl Kidnapped by the Turks (**29.**), together with several other ballads (**13.,17., 42.**) turned up in many variants in the Szeged region—and these belong to the rarest types—let alone the most archaic details of Type **6.** In general, it is the Great Plain area and the adjoining Transdanubian and Northern parts that held the lead in the course of development. Modern trends gained ground first of all in these areas. (Let us recall what has been said about the generation of outlaw and other kinds of modern ballads, or the generation and quick spread of the new-style Hungarian folk tunes.) Recent transformation of culture has displaced old ballads in the central parts, while the fringe areas and the more closed Transylvanian territories have preserved more of the ancient tradition. But the same process took place even there; in the Székely regions where *Bartók* and *Kodály* had recorded many beautiful ballads, and earlier text collectors noted down the best variants, one can hardly find something of these today; on the other hand, one can find large numbers of songs spreading from Hungary, including such old specimens as The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death, which in those times had hardly been extant in the Hungarian-inhabited Transylvanian areas.

The fact that Transylvania has preserved a common Hungarian tradition, only with a greater tenacity than the other parts, is brought out by certain surprising agreements linking Transylvania to the Zobor region, an isolated Hungarian-inhabited spot situated in Nyitra county, Slovakia, that is an opposite point of the language area. The Hungarians living there used to know The Walled-Up Wife (**2.**), The Marvellous Corpse (**68.**), which occur in high numbers in Transylvanian and Moldavian collections. The connection is further supported not only by some other very rare ballads, such as The Enticed Wife (**3.**), The Little Owl Woman (**45.**), The Song of the Ferrymen (**72.**), Take out My Weary Heart (**57.**), The Rivalry of Flowers (**89.**), but also by full agreements of four or five rare tunes recorded, apart from Transylvania, exclusively from the Zobor region. Further agreements are seen in several places of the northern stretches of the language area, for instance in the border region of Trans-Carpathian Ukraine where the only non-Transylvanian variant of The Wife Taken at Her Word (**21.**) was found. (One of the extant six variants!) The Palots population of this fringe area living within the borders of present-day Hungary also preserves many precious variants of the living ballad stock, as well as other folklore traditions, including the practice of lamenting. Similar traditional areas are found in southern and western Transdanubia (counties Somogy, Zala and Tolna): The Bride Dragged to Death (**11.**) has been recorded almost exclusively from there, further several variants of The Enticed Wife (**3.**), Crying János (**69.**), The Coward Lover (**70.**), four fragments and a complete variant of The Brigand's Wife (**20.**) and the story of The Cruel Mother-in-Law contaminated with prose (**28.**). (Another fragment, outside Moldavia, occurred in the Palots region.) Southern Transdanubian ballads are paralleled by archaic folklore phenomena, e.g. ancient tunes (*cf. MNT* VI, Types **1–8**), elementary form of men's dance and the girls' mediaeval roundel danced to a tune performed by the dancers.

But in any case Transylvania is the richest and most significant ballad-preserving area. Not only some of the most valuable types have been found exclusively there, but also the most beautiful texts, regarded as masterpieces of the ballad style and folk poetry in general: The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death **(1.)**, The Heartless Mother **(4.)**, The Walled-up Wife **(2.)**, The Girl Taken to Heaven **(8.)**, without which our knowledge of Hungarian, and even of European, balladry would be sorely deficient. It is not by chance that Transylvania has preserved the most attractive and maturest forms in other branches of folk art, too (the young men's dance of Kalotaszeg and the Mezőség, together with other exquisite dances of other parts, and a wonderful heritage of folk costumes, architecture and decorative art). The entire body of traditional culture attained and preserved its fully developed state in Transylvania.

On the whole, tradition best survives in the poorest, least fertile and most backward regions. For instance, in the Transylvanian mountains or southern Transdanubia where farm-hands had been living for centuries on the large feudal estates. In addition to isolation in fringe areas, poverty accounts for tradition living longer in the mentioned parts: their population has been unable to keep abreast of the general educational standards and has stuck therefore to its folklore tradition. Furthermore, Transylvania was no part of the Turkish empire, and was brought under Habsburg domination at a relatively late date, after one hundred and fifty years of existence of an independent Hungarian princedom. Thus Hungarian traditions had had more chance to survive there both in the peasant and the urban populations. It is perhaps to this that the mature beauty of the folk ballads collected in Transylvania can be ascribed.

Moldavia with its extremely fertile soil is open for a different consideration. Its Hungarian population had always stayed outside the countries' borders, and although it received continous supply from the Székely emigrants, who left their land for reasons of overpopulation, feudal oppression, and so on, yet lived in isolated blocks in which twelfth- and thirteenth-century linguistic and social conditions prevail to this day. Surrounded by Romanian populations and partly assimilated by them—although adhering to their Roman Catholic faith—the Moldavian Csángós have absorbed a great amount of Romanian influence in their folklore. Otherwise they took over the ballads from the Székely people and have preserved them in fragmentary and sometimes in fairly complete state. A great difference is, however, that some Csángó singers seem to know nothing about the ballad style, performing their songs with a particular verbosity, joining in them superfluous details, marring thereby not only the ballad character but also the poetic beauty of their performance. They may swell a story to seventy or eighty stanzas as well (*cf.* **67.**), especially those ones which are not controlled by the formal discipline of a Székely original song. But sometimes the Székely ballads meet the same fate with them. Reaching the point of the story, they improvize some eleven more stanzas to clarify the point (*cf.* the Moldavian variant of The Test of Love in *Rajeczky's Hungarian Folk Music,* disc I/A, 1.). Other singers, too, do the same, and all this at such a level of artistic presentation of the melody which precludes any suggestion of some personal predilection coming into play in the performance. As this kind of extemporization is usual in the most archaic Csángó villages, we have to

suppose that the reason is to be looked for in their having never been really acquainted with the ballad style. They are still living in a stage preceding the revolution of the ballad style. They are unable to feel the formal requirements, and do their improvisations in a different spirit. To sum up, peculiar antiquities survive in Moldavia, contaminated with Romanian elements; a diluted style of performance characterize some of their ballads, their singers' method of improvisation is different from that of other Hungarian performers: it is a distinct territory of Hungarian balladry; although their stock preserves much archaic beauty, we have to single out of it all traits that go contrary to true ballad tradition.

The same does not hold for the Székelys of Bukovina. They had emigrated in the eighteenth century, after the Disaster of Mádéfalva. In 1764, groups of rebellious Székelys who offered resistance to their being forcibly organized into bodies of border guards and who therefore were massacred by canon fire on order of an imperial general left the country by the thousand first for Moldavia then for Bukovina, where they founded five villages: Istensegits, Fogadjisten, Hadikfalva, Józseffalva and Andrásfalva. Most of the inhabitants of these villages resettled to Hungary after World War II, finding ultimately living quarters in Transdanubia. They have been cautiously maintaining their relations with their compatriots. They also were acquainted with all-Hungarian traditions while serving in the army of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Many Csángó families had moved to Hungary (Transdanubia) from Moldavia, too. Hungarian field-workers collected enthusiastically the ballads of the Bukovinian Székelys in the period of tape-recording. At the same time, the folklore of the Hungarians in Romania was also collected with a similar zeal. Hence the overabundance of the material exposed from Areas IV and V. Here should be mentioned that part of the Bukovinian Székelys had been resettled in southern Hungary (for example at Hertelendyfalva, the Bánság) before World War I, belonging from 1919 to Yugoslavia. Hungarian collectors began to note down their ballads first in Yugoslavia, then under Hungarian regime during World War II when part of the southern territories were reannexed to the country, and finally in Transdanubia, the actual residence of this ethnic group. Apart from some new acquisitions, their ballads represent the old Székely stock, in spite of the roundabouts covering long courses of migration from the Székely land, through Bukovina, Yugoslavia, to Transdanubia.

Having surveyed the territorial differences, let us now turn to what is common for the whole of the Hungarian balladry. Since such graphic descriptions are often subject to personal predilections, here as well as in other European ballad areas I try to keep, as far as possible, to factual data instead of summary valuation.

What kinds of themes are worked up in Hungarian balladry? Omitting the new developments **(101–140.)**, the incompletely folklorized ones **(93–100.)**, further fragments and obscure texts **(41., 49., 55–59.,** and **88.)** and those which are not explicitly ballads **(89.** and **92.)**, I propose to consider some eighty themes of ancient Hungarian ballads.

Love affairs of spouses and unmarried persons occur in 28 songs: **1., 3., 9., 10., 21., 23–26., 30?, 33., 37., 38., 44–45?, 47., 48., 68., 70–73., 77., 78., 81–83.,** and **87.** Domestic problems in 13: **4–6., 17., 22., 28., 39., 51., 52., 63., 64., 67.,** and **69.** Here belongs the theme of unconscious cruelty to relatives: **42.,** which draws from

another sphere of ballad topic, too: separated relatives recognize each other. Conflicts arising from forced marriage, denial and resistance on the part of the family head: **11–16., 20., 40., 46?** Here belongs the problem of separated lovers, that is **9., 37., 38., 47., 48.** of the previous group, and also certain variants of **82.** The theme of test, whether of love or faithfulness, or of kindheartedness occurs rather frequenthy: **7., 22., 43., 69.,** and **75.** In the final issue here belongs the case when inhumanity is expressed by cruelty to some unrecognized relative, essentially this being also test: **17.** Murder by poison or otherwise of a member of the family as a gradation of the former: **28., 39., 60–62.** Test of the girl in male dress: **80.**

Antagonisms between the poor and the rich, detest of avarice, wealth as cause of inhumanity, poetic avenge of the poor upon the rich represent a very important group of themes in Hungarian ballads: **2.** (the master-mason sacrificing his wife against the pay he receives for the building operation), **4., 7., 9., 17., 20., 22., 26., 38., 46., 66., 74., 75.**

Raping, enticing, abduction of girls, suicide committed in defence of virginity: **19., 29., 30?, 31.** Transmission of violence, abuse of administrative authority: **27.** Victim to robbery and murder: **32., 18.,** and **19.** Legend elements occur in **6., 7.** and form the whole of the content in **8.,** the former-mentioned two carrying social meaning under the cloak of a legend. Also **8.** has human sentiment, motherly attachment as theme, culminating in the mother's farewell speech to her daughter taken to Heaven.

Fight as a more or less significant part of the plot occurs in three types of text: **34–36.** In **33.** it is only a result of the escape which is the essence of the plot together with the duel; in **17.** it is a resultant of elopement and a condition to the wounding of the brother of the girl. In these the description of fight is restricted to a few, rather formula-like lines. In **35.** fight appears from the words of the fallen hero, the main thing being death, and judged from the last lines of the fragment, the lot of the wife waiting in vain for the husband to return. A similar theme occurs in **36.,** which however may never have been sung by peasants. Only **34.** has fight as main theme, representing the hero falling in defence of his household.

No such theme is found in **53.,** and **54.,** nor even is a real plot found in them, the emphasis being laid on some lyrical-narrative complaint about the fate of outcasts.

A domestic problem comes up in an unusual from in **84:** The Wife Who was Sold Away; this however diverges from the spirit of both the Hungarian and the Western ballads; recorded from Moldavian Csángós, the ballad may be reflective of Balkan conditions during the Turkish occupation, when such things were feasible. Romanian mediation is likely. Two other ballads belong to the sphere of märchen-supernatural themes. The Dead Brother **(85.)** whom earth refuses to take in until he brings back his sister he had forced to marry to a strange land, has never been a common Hungarian ballad. Stemming from some Balkan nation, it has been mediated by Romanians. The Dead Bridegroom **(86.)** has had a wider spread, though rather in the form of a prose legend including some lines in verse. In all appearance it reached the Hungarians in this form.

At this point the question can be raised: what theme is missing in Hungarian ballads? It seems, namely, that the supernatural element is almost fully absent. The

two last-mentioned types might represent it, but the one is not a typical ballad and the other is an isolated borrowing. Only **62.** is based on a genuine magic-witch theme. (The very fact would suggest some Southern Slav origin were it not for other considerations.) It goes without saying that the presence of Christian motifs (miracle, celestial being) do not mean supernatural elements, for such things fitted well into the demythicized, realistic world-outlook of mediaeval Christianity. The more so that such elements always found expression in the framework of some symbolical story carrying human, and even social problems. The rich man sends away the disguised Salvator, the orphans receive help from the Holy Virgin, and the peak of the literarily inspired story of The Girl Taken to Heaven **(8.)** is a scene expressing motherly emotions. Also the story of The Walled-up Wife based on a superstition connected with building sacrifice represents a domestic tragedy. The same story could have been shaped even if the community that created the ballad had not been incredulous in such beliefs. To avoid misunderstanding: I do not want to state that people did not believe in the necessity of building sacrifice at the time the ballad came into being; what I want to emphasize is that this belief did not induce them to bring about a superstitious story but that it resulted in a deeply human psychological plot in Hungary. In consideration of the treatment of other themes in Hungarian balladry I even venture to risk the statement that the gist of the ballad is precisely protest, by reference to a human tragedy, against the cruel custom! Similarly, the corpse speaking up from the grave, the chapel flowers, the miraculous mill, tower, and the like are symbols, stylized elements of paraphernalia of the world of ballad real in a sense of poetic realism, and by no means constituents of a supernatural world-outlook (in which, for instance, the hero puts on a bird's feathered skin and so flies to the nether world). Such world-outlook has magic, fairy, elf, troll, and so on as tale-generating elements. But such things are not to be found in Hungarian balladry.

Similarly, graphical description of fight as essential element of ballads are wanting in the Hungarian stock. In vain would one look for presentations of feudal warfar, sieges, and the like. The only song depicting a war scene **(34.)** is not of a feudal concern either; even though a "concrete" enemy is mentioned, the main thing is the fall of the hero. As it is, it occupies a peripheral place in the field of Hungarian ballads, being essentially different from those English and Scottish songs which have feudal wars as their main themes.

A certain degree of polarization in the most popular ballad themes prevails: shaking tragedies representing the one, farce-like caricature the other extreme **(1., 70., 63., 71.,** etc.**).** This propensity to polarization can be well exemplified by the stories built on the theme of "pregnant girl". Types **10., 23.,** and **24.** represent tragic conflicts, **83.** merciless satire. The plots of **1.–41., 47., 49., 51–54., 60–62.** and **65.** end in tragedy, even the fragments suggest such endings. There are only some 19 types **(64., 66–83.)** to represent gay ballads including those ridiculing certain foolish characters. Idyllic stories, as The Soldier Girl **(80.),** The Marvellous Corpse **(68.)** or The Girl with the Gander **(81.)** are exceptional occurrences. Even ballads with a happy ending, such as The Test of Love **(69.)** or The Two Kinds of Bride **(74.)** display elements of serious conflicts, and the tragic feeling prevails in such humorous types as The Girl Who Solves Riddles **(79.),** in some of whose variants

the girl chooses death instead of the king. Summing up, many stern parables, a few light stories, and a good number of satirical ones feature the overall view of Hungarian ballads.

The trend of transformation also reveals a good deal about the spirit of folk poetry. Unfortunately, there are only a few Hungarian ballads the origin of which is known and whose original content has been considerably altered by the Hungarians; such are **3., 19., 68.,** The great change in The Enticed Wife—namely that the part of the girl is played by a wife and mother—lent a psychological significance to the plot inasmuch as the terrible love-adventure's motive has been contrasted with one of peaceful matrimonial scene and reunion of the spouses. The erosion of the story also indicates that the Hungarian borrowers' intention was this: the scene of the murdered victims is reduced gradually, and after a brief description of the woman's escape from the enticer there remains the return to the husband and child as central scene. (This circumstance is by no means contradicting the psychological solutions, though it corresponds to the practice of adaptation: the original nucleus is abridged while the addition is enlarged.) A similar psychological character has been given by the Hungarians to the story of "The Girl Who Set Out with the Heyducks": the point was that the girl should not fall victim to a chance encounter but she should face life-danger because of love. The combination of the theme of The Marvellous Corpse with that of the Petit Tambour resulted, with the triple preparation of the point, in a lyrical, unrealistically stylized poem turning enticement into an idyllic love story, already implied in the theme. As seen, the trend of transformations manifests the same spirit as the selection of the themes.

Let us now turn to the questions of style, first of all to that of length which is most open to objective investigations. The average extent of Hungarian ballads is between **10** and **20** stanzas, that is 40 and 80 lines, stanzas being for the most part composed of four verses. This maximum extent, however, is rather typical when lines of 6–8 syllabic patterns are involved, for in the case of 12-syllabic constructions much fewer stanzas will suffice. (Of course, we disregard here the "improvised" Moldavian variants, but considered such Moldavian texts which follow the traditional style.)

Dialogue is a characteristic feature of Hungarian ballads (so is monologue). Their ratio to the narrative parts is sometimes surprising. In the case of The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death **(1.),** 11 epic lines stand against 45 dramatic lines in one variant, in two others (variants *2* and *3*) the ratios being 8/24, and 7/27, respectively. Sometimes the epic beginning formula of The Walled-up Wife **(2.)** is replaced by a dramatic one: "Where are you going, where are you going, twelve masons? We are going, we are going to find work. Come, then, I shall engage you. . ." and so on (variant *6*). The same ratio is 13/59 in the longest variant of The Mother of the Rich Wife **(22.),** and in one of its variants two lines are in singular third while 34 in dialogue form. As to dramatic portrayal, the Transdanubian text of The Brigand's Wife **(20.)** surpasses all other ballads since it has no verse at all in third person. From the psychologically motivated announcements of the characters we learn everything: preliminaries, the stages of returning home, and finally the wife's order to have her husband punished (the reverse of what we have in **1.**). This is a veritable masterpiece of a dialogue construction!

There is nothing particular in the observation that ballads of the incremental repetitive kind include no narrative lines at all. (The Coward Lover, **71.,** and The Bad Wife, **63.**) Even in the case of the very long text—long among Hungarian ballads—of The Girl Who Set Out with the Soldiers **(19.)** 48 of a total of 98 lines are dialogues, in spite of formulas like "She spoke up with words" inherited from former epic songs weigh the balance toward the epic side. (Another variant of the same ballad has 49 dialogue lines against 31 narrative ones.)

Incremental repetition occurring in large numbers in Hungarian ballads may be also connected with a tendency to dramatic solution. Some 18 out of 80 ancient Hungarian ballads use this form of construction, and that with a remarkable consistency. And the ideal form of this pattern came to prevail in all of them. Characteristically enough, even in case the original was not belonging to this type, the Hungarians produced a repetitive construction by merging two French songs; see the instance The Marvellous Corpse **(68.).** The same device has been applied in the case of The Speaking Corpse **(65.),** although its French original was different.

In addition to dramatic construction, a high degree of abstraction—stylization—is also typical of this form. Stylization must have exerted a strong appeal to Hungarian peasantry anyway, for it characterizes Hungarian ballads of other forms as well. A revealing example is seen in the method with which manifestations of love are worded, or rather expressed unworded (except for comic ones), by innuendoes, hints, implications, reflective suggestions, and the like. In The Girl Who Set Out with the Soldiers **(19.)** the act of deprivation is denoted by a few words telling about the heyducks having a rest under a briar and their remark: "Your money is ours, and you yourself are ours, too." None of the Hungarian ballads about disgraced girls presents a description of how love was made. The fact comes to light subsequently, from the state of the girl. What is more, even the girl when forced to speak plainly to her mother hardly lets out more than "I have been carrying a burden of his for seven months" and it is in one single case that she imparts more to the parent, saying: "I had laid green bed for Miklós Király Kis", referring to love-making in the garden, still in a rather abstract manner. This is the more conspicuous since in its other genres, e.g. dance-songs, wedding tunes, swineherds' songs, the Hungarian peasantry is rather outspoken, sometimes even bawdy of talk. Obviously, the difference observed in this respect between convivial entertainments and a case of ballad recital, is due to the different levels of poetic elevation. Endeavour to stylize must be also responsible for the device of triple gradation finding application in many Hungarian ballad songs, which is not a trait of real life but a requirement inherent in human thinking. The Bride Dragged to Death **(11.)** and The Girl Danced to Death **(26.),** with their triple entreaties, not only prepare the climax by way of retardation and gradation but also make the public realize the advance of agony according to the requirement of the triple gradation. Since in one of the French originals of these songs show no signs of such a device, it must be considered a finesse introduced by Hungarian singers. Most of the Hungarian incremental-repetitive strophe constructions relate the event in three, slightly altered forms, even though sometimes the round number of three is increased. Let us consider the triple construction of The Speaking Corpse **(8.),** known exclusively in the Hungarian variants, of The Soldier Girl **(80.),** with its

original, in which the three tests are also encountered; some variants of The Mother's Curse **(16.)**, The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession **(13.)**, The Unmarried Mother Who Killed Her Three Children **(24.)** (absent in the French origin); further, the questioning formula sounded three times by The Walled-up Wife **(2.)**, "Is it a joke or is it in earnest?"—and we shall have no more doubt as to the appraisal of this phenomenon: a certain definite taste for this effective stylistic device is seen at work in all these examples. The same propensity to stylization appears from many other ballad formulas, partly borrowed partly invented by the peasants of Hungary. Nevertheless, not all European formal devices have found a home in Hungary. For instance, refrains are rarely applied. At the same time, all sorts of repetition are represented in high numbers.

Summarily, the following traits characterize the Hungarian ballad: endeavour to raise an intense dramatic atmosphere mainly in the tragic, rarely in the comic line, with an explicit social implication and psychological gift to create parables. A highly condensed style, an abundance of dialogues, a taste for dramatic performance, and stylized, symbolic presentation which sets the lower limit beyond which details of trivial meaning are not taken into consideration. Perhaps it will not be regarded as a mere imputation if I state that all these are typical, inherent requirements of the genre, and that, consequently, the Hungarian ballad meets to a great extent the generic claims of European balladry.

The next task would be to survey the most important ballad areas of Europe in order to measure up the characteristic features of their crop, too. But owing to linguistic difficulties, as well as to want of summary editions, almost unsurmountable obstacles face any single scholar attempting a stylistic comparison of several nations' songs. Lacking the summary editions, it is impossible for one to orientate oneself in the kaleidoscopically changing fields of themes, old and new, extinct and extant here and there, following rules of transformation of their own; a knowledge of foreign languages equalling that of those who have them as their mother tongue would be needed to appraise the stylistic finesses apparent in the choice of words and phrases of various capacities for expressing moods, shades of thought and feeling. All this is a work to be done by collective efforts of scholars, each digging deep in his own language area. What we can attempt at present is to provide a sketchy picture of some more important areas, on the basis of the most obvious characteristic features of the ballads found in them, and for the rest, a summary view of extensive correlations.

We have a fairly reliable knowledge of the Danish ballad from the big summary edition commenced by *Grundtvig,* and of the English stock collected by *Child* and then by *Bronson*. The Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien has so far covered half the number of German ballads, but on the one hand their earlier selections of *Erk* and *Böhme* make good the deficiency in many respects, and on the other, hardly a few internationally important types are missing in the German survey. Orientation is facilitated by *Amzulescu*'s excellent work of the Romanian material, with its ample exemplary and catalogue of types. Finally, since no summary publication is available in any form for the French ballad (the work interrupted by the death of *Doncieux* cannot be considered here), I myself had to make detailed investigations into the French material in connection with the

Hungarian studies I have conducted in order to reveal French—Hungarian relations, so that I might be able to prepare a more or less complete inventory of the French stock, too. So, although an outsider, I feel entitled to pass opinion on it without risking rough errors.

Let me, therefore, start with the French field of foreign ballad poetry. Problems of love also here constitute the principal sphere of themes: 38 (and 40, if also those inferred types are considered whose traces can be discovered in French tradition). These are the following: 1., 4., 13., 17., 22., 24., 26., 34., 37., 39–41., 47., 54., 56–57., 60–61., 64., 66–67., 82–84., 89., 94., 98., 100., 109., 113., 121–124., 134–136., 138. Marriage problems are involved in eight types (4., 31., 62., 73–74., 77., 114–115.), forced or impeded marriage four/five (31., 41., 113.,˙126., 144.), symbolic-figurative love scene eleven (19., 36., 55., 67., 78–79., 83., 101., 104., 117., 128.), elopement eleven (7., 27., 29., 33., 44., 48., 70–71., 87–88., 120.). Abduction, with the girl resisting: eleven (10–11., 25., 32., 42., 48., 50., 53., 68–69., 129.), and without resistance three (5., 70?, 99.). The lover kills the sweetheart: six (13., 20., 23., 57., 82., 109.). The contrary theme, the lover or spouse dies after his beloved one: 2., 20. (here both problems are present), 71. (only as a possibility), 98., 113., 118., 122., 126. Domestic conflicts: six (seven) (16., 18?, 21., 80., 103., 131.—140.). Murder in the family: eight (6., 9., 49., 54., 73., 76., 95., 106.). Moral test of the brother (sister): one (30.) and love between brother and sister: one (57.). Domestic problems taken together: 16 (17). Explicit social antagonism occurs in 10, namely 2., 21., 54., 60., 65., 67., 116?, 126–127., 138: tragedy caused by supreme tyranny: four (8., 63., 76., 107.). Robbers' attack: three (35., 68., 8.), captivity three (14., 134., 135.), escape from captivity three (38., 51., 108.). Unjust sentence 24., 142. Mocking at type-figures six (eight), together with other jocular themes nine (12., 22., 45., 72., 86., 93., 133., 140–141.). Legends are often involved also here, although their elaboration is not always ballad-like: nine (65., 85., 92., 96–97., 102., 119., 127., 131.). Really supernatural elements occur in three songs: 6., 39., 53., and in the disputable 91., in which the dead child betrays the truth. Husband and lover killed at war offer themes for three ballads: 75., 89., 105. These may be taken for ballad subjects, but 105. is burdened with an epic heritage. Mention should be made of the theme of the girl dressed as a soldier, occuring in five stories (34., 43., 47., 52., 110.). Other themes are worked up in eight ballads (15., 46., 58–59., 91., 110., 125., 130.).

Domestic and love problems resulting in murder and love idyll represented in symbolic forms occur in a remarkably high number. And the great variety of themes of complicated love affairs and violence is balanced, at the same time, by stories about maidens who die in defence of their virginity or offer resistance in some other way. Matrimonial fidelity and attachment were also glorified by the French in the story of Roi Renaud (118). With the other ballad themes of fidelity: 41, 62, 98 and the inferred 137 (which exists in a recent form anyway), the conclusion is on hand that the French ballad is capable of expressing both the bright and the shadowy paths of love and life.

The French, too, do not usually refer to the act of love in an outspoken way; like the Hungarians, they apply fruit-symbols, nut, for example, in 44 and quite distinctly in 83. In 68—the model of "The Girl Who Set Out with the Soldiers"—the act of violence is indicated symbolically by the girl being buried "in the shadow of

violets", and also by the previously worded replies to the girl's entreaties: the murderers will keep her ring as well as "her false heart". By mentioning gardens—apple-orchard, father's garden—the French refer to the scene where love was made, while in Hungarian balladry the "little garden", that is, flower-garden of the girl plays the same role.

The French use the strophe-repetitive form less frequently: still 12, 52, 55, 72, 74 present examples of it, as well as the formally different 79, 118 and 136, in which repetition of ideas proceeds from stanza to stanza; triple-gradation, which is also less frequent with them, clearly appears in 55, 67, 72, 100, and the inferred 144.

Elements of the fairy world are absolutely absent, epic heritage can be detected only in vague traces; but the sphere of domestic and love themes comes the more explicitly into the forefront. For a summary characterization, I resort here to *Jones* again who, having been influenced neither by considerations of French—Hungarian connection, nor by French nationalistic feelings, must have relied on impartial facts. In his opinion the French ballad "... seems to be more concise, and hence more dramatic in its use of dialogue and its choice of incidents. 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 offstage." (pp. 34–35). Then also he states what can be seen in our tabulation: "Another notable difference is the almost utter lack in French folk-songs 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 formal devices of the French ballad are a matter of common knowledge: refrains spread from them towards the English, Germans and Scandinavians, their repetitive forms have been mentioned before,—also these had been handed over by them to the Hungarians as well. All these characteristic features would probably find a still more accentuated recognition, had the numerous extinct ballads known to us in their original forms, instead of their modernized versions open to recent research in the various collections.

The Danish ballad presents quite a different picture, which would not display ballad features at all if we were to assess it on the basis of the full material published. Therefore, if we do not wish to keep it in complete separation from the balladry of other nations, we have to disregard those poems of the collections which, on account of either their themes or their style of presentation, cannot be regarded as belonging to the genre. (Alien features of theme and style are usually found together.) Thus, we take into account those 203 types which can be ranged, with more or less justification, along with popular ballads. Since this material, unlike the French or Hungarian, is not accessible either in text-publications or in abstracts to the readers of this book, we have to give a more detailed survey of the Danish ballad themes. Altogether seventeen types speak about unmarried mothers, detection of pregnancy, murder of children or suicide (37, 215, 265, 274–6, 278–281, 294, 304,

357, 441–2, 529–530). The disgraced girl, forsaken and even derided after her fall is dealt with in eleven types (200, 256, 260, 306, 308, 365, 368, 370–71, 411, 526). A special group (six types) introduce the figure of the haughty or picksome girl put to shame by violence and then forsaken (365, 367–9, 371–2). Love-making is followed by marriage in four types (282, 313, 365, 527), and the lover disguised as a girl and so approaching his sweetheart appears in 20 and 431. A large group speaks about the fate of the lover prosecuted after the elopement by the girl's father, brothers, or other enemies: fourteen types (82–83, 303, 305, 347, 410, 415–6, 418, 422–3, 426, 433—ending with reconciliation—and 473). Elopement, anyway, playes a markedly significant role in Danish ballads: the theme with different solutions come up in other five text-types (270–3, 404, 409). Elopement of the bride forced to marry against her will is a favourite subject (the bride sends word to her true lover who kidnaps her from the wedding): 124, 140, 397. This plot often comes up in the omitted types as well. A peculiar solution is found in 217, in which the bridegroom is compelled by armed brothers of his former sweetheart to marry their forsaken sister. Conflicts between spouses and a third party provide themes for eight types: 94, 121, 178, 348–9, 359, 427 (a merry fable) and 466. Tension and quarrel between bride and maitresse represent a special type of Danish themes: five types (209–11, 255, 258). (The number would be even higher if also the non-ballad-like types were considered.)

The lover kills his sweetheart in 213–4, 346–7, 354–6, 358 that is, in seven ballads. Women commit murder in vengeance for sweetheart or sons in seven ballads (195, 208, 215, 296, 337, 347, 415). The girl defending her maidenhood kills her assaulting partner in 196–197, and in one ballad (198) she commits suicide for the same reason. With the Danes, too, a large group deals with the common European themes of spouses (lovers) dying for each other: 47, 301, 320, 443–6, 448, 450, 458–9 (eleven types). Vengeance by rejected suitor or lover is worked up in four ballads (311, 365, 368, 371) and a fairly large number (10) have incest as subject-matter: 107, 109, 197, 294, 435–9, 524 (this last-mentioned type speaks of love between mother and son, while the rest between sisters and brothers). Awkward and shy lovers are mocked in seven texts (231, 277, 358, 391, 527/I, III, IV); the girl outwitting her enticing lover come up in seven stories (81, 224, 226, 229, 232, 234, 523), rivals quarrel in four (320–21, 333–4), and other love affairs are dealt with in 13, 47, 108–9, 111, 183, 237–8, 249, 263, 312, 369, and 522. Test of faithfulness and love belongs to the favourite themes also with the Danes, worked up in six ballads (250, 252–4, 381, 486). Lover or husband killed in action figure in two ballads (117, 144), domestic antagonism in eight (58, 89, 146, 239, 328, 337, 343, 490), murder within the family in fourteen (3, 95, 110, 130, 310—unidentifiable—338–345, 354).

In Danish ballads the motif of vengeance for murder of a member of the family (193, 303, 415) or slighted female relative (143, 200, 219, 308) receives a special significance. (Particularly so in the non-ballad-like texts.) Sometimes, if sons are missing, daughters take vengeance for parents by arms. Brothers often fight their sister's lover not because of a love affair but to take vengeance for a member of their family formerly killed by the lover. Under the surface of feudal conditions, "clan relations" survive in these stories. (Sometimes the mother scolds her child for not having fulfilled his duty in respect of his murdered father.) On the other hand,

real feudal conditions underlie such ballads in which the conflict arises in consequence of tyranny of a monarch (123, 125, 149, 247, 281, 421, including the parallel of The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death, **27.**, in which the wife of a "prince" sacrifices her honour in order to rescue her husband imprisoned by the king). And finally, although by no means in an accentuated way, some ballads deal with social antagonism, conflict between the poor and the rich (211, 217, 283, 370, 372, 539, and partly also 243 belongs here, in which the king marries the dairymaid because she can sing so beautifully).

In what respect does this picture differ from that of the formerly discussed ballad area? One of the conspicuous traits of Danish ballads is the placing of love scenes in the centre of the narrative. These are not only treated as starting or central scenes but also described in a realistic manner. For instance, the girl hiding under the gown of a knight in a crowded dancing hall "gives away her maidenhood"; the lover getting into the bower of his sweetheart, the latter asks: "Do you want first to eat and drink and then to lie in bed with me", and receives the answer: "Let us lie in bed first and have a meal later". Deprivation as a vengeance on a haughty girl also belongs in this sphere. Even more revealing are those numerous stories of identical formulation about the pregnant bride complaining to her bridegroom about her having been raped and made pregnant, telling details in the meanwhile from which it appears that the culprit had been the bridegroom himself. Such failure to recognize the offender is hardly imaginable even in the stylized world of balladry, so in particular when the so-called "morning present" was a commonplace attribute of the stories: "What has he given in exchange for your maidenhood?", being a customary question followed by the girl's account of the objects she has received. Occasionally the girl demands the "morning present" after the night spent in bed with the young man. If it seems to be less than what the girl values herself, they enter into bargening; all this refer to an established social custom that prevailed in the time when ballads were flourishing. Add to this the custom of keeping concubines, also an accepted practice in ballads, and we see clearly the picture of love discerning Danish balladry from those of the French and the Hungarians.

The heroines are also different, being more warlike then elsewhere. French and Hungarian girls, as has been seen, defend themselves by entreaty, escape in hide or suicide, while the Danish ones kill the enticer with sword in two instances and commit suicide only in one case. (Anyway, resistance of the girl in this way—three occasions among two hundred and one—is insignificant in face of the numerous descriptions of love-making with a different issue; especially in three out of eighty ancient Hungarian, and eight out of 134 French ancient ballads. Warlike attitudes are manifest in other respects as well. The heroine of several ballads stabs her lover to death not only while he is sleeping in bed but also when they say farewell to each other. They also revenge their family members in a similar way, by use of weapons.

Another feature distinguishing Danish ballads from French and Hungarian is that the tragic dénouement in the former is often relieved in a scene of reconciliation. Let me refer to a few typical examples. In the story of the girl who is deer in the day-time and a girl in the night-time (58) the heroine bagged by her brother had been spelled by her mother-in-law, who in addition had to assume the shapes of scissors, sword and hare under the spell; as she is taken by her brother, she

imparts to him all this, and also that she could be redeemed by drinking a drop of his blood. So the brother cuts his finger, the bewitched girl sucks his blood and turns into a real girl again. She concludes a happy marriage and the cruel stepmother meets her end in a barrel studded with nails. Another (94): the dissected body of the lover, offered as a dish to the woman, is restored to life by the latter with the aid of water of life, then the woman cuts down her cruel husband and marries her lover. Another one (226): The young man asks in vain for admission, but since he loves the girl dearly, he asks the father for the hand of the girl. In 247, a parallel of The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death, the king throws a prince into prison because he has fallen in love with the prince's wife. The wife asks her husband—as in the Italian counterpart—for leave for one single night, which he grants her, furiously though. As "dawn present" the woman receives two estates over and above her husband. In another variant, a bride asks pardon for her bridegroom, and the king takes pity on the weeping young lady, lets free her bridegroom without insisting on lying with her; thus the story ends with a happy marriage. In 24, which is paralleled by French 25 (the girl kidnapped by sailors jumps into the sea) and Hungarian **29.** (The Girl Kidnapped by the Turks) the heroine plunges into the sea, too, but swimming ashore reaches the paternal house. The story of 292, in which a brother condemned to the gallows begs his sister to redeem him by offering her son in place of him as she may have another son but no more a brother, would imply a psychological plot, but the dilemma is solved in a way that although she surrenders her son, the latter enchants the king by his harp-playing, and both son and brother are granted mercy. As can be seen, in Danish ballads more emphasis is laid on points of adventurous stories than on those of psychology of characters; instead of parables we have thrilling adventures. The true dénouement of the problem of pregnant girls is circumvented, as mentioned before, by bringing it to light that the heroine had been put in the family way precisely by her bridegroom without either of them recognizing each other during the act of love. (274–280.) In 217 a young man is forced by his parents to marry a girl richer than his fiancée. The brother of the forsaken sweetheart appears at the wedding and compels by the sword the bridegroom to marry his sister. So far the plot is running in the right track. But then the brother marries the forsaken bride—and by this solution the ballad situation is changed over into one of romance. In 281 the new husband discovers that the princess he married is with child. He reproaches to the king who in turn threatens him with menaces and finally calms him down by granting him landed estates, whereupon the young man, now acquiesced that "the princess was virgin", hurries home—to marry another girl. A courtly solution of the problem clearly transpires here, as well as in other stories: in face of the folk-variants with a tragic ending, the manuscripts of the aristocratic circles come round the conflict by solving it with a happy ending. For example, in 415 the abducting lover cut all but one of the girl's brother pursuing them. The courtly variant ends the story with the reconciled enemies returning home to celebrate the wedding, while the folk-variants claim that the youngest brother trapped the knight: on starting home together he stabs him to death, takes his head and presents it to his sister, who in turn invites him to a feast at which she kills him, then she does away with herself, too, and the story ends with the symbols of chapel-flowers from the graves of the true lovers. In 421 the king,

envious of the splendid boat of one of his knights, sends men to capture him. The knight in the courtly manuscripts cuts the king's men, runs to the king, who makes him his first knight; in the folk-variants, however, the knight draws sword to menace the king who promises his daughter's hand to him which the knight refuses since he has a sweetheart at home. Also in these examples the folk-variants are more ballad-like in style than the courtly ones. (The manuscript texts of 378, for instance, relate a long preliminary story, go into details of the event, while the traditional variants are concise, beginning the narration *in medias res*.)

The above differences will be increasingly manifest if the unballad-like texts, mainly manuscript, omitted from our tabulation are taken into account. That is to say, they are due to influences of courtly poet-singers whose practice left its imprint on not only the manuscript-variants but—through the channels of broadsides—also the oral tradition. We cannot repress a feeling of surprise at seeing how in the face of so strong a courtly influence the differences between the two styles remain so distinct, in spite of the numerous transitional forms.

Considering all what has been set forward so far it will be found natural that conflict between the poor and the rich comes up less frequently in this material. Six text-types against 203 represent a low ratio if compared with the 13 against 80 of the Hungarian stock, and the difference will be yet greater if looked at from the side of the content. Although difference of rank and wealth prevails between the lovers in 211, inasmuch as the girl abducted from a nunnery to become concubine to the young man declares emphatically: "Although I am not a princess, I love you, but if you cheat me it will cost your life". Nevertheless, the young man soon gets bore of the "concubine-bed", looks for a bride and is poisoned by his maitress. So far a social conflict might be suspected, were it not for the maitress's commitment reproaching her lover: "You have not carried me away from the side of oxen and cows but from a convent, promising eternal fidelity and respect to me!" The story of 217 mentioned above contains elements of social antagonisms in so far as the bride is not considered rich enough by the bridegroom's relatives, yet both families belong to the same social class, which is brought out by the brother's marrying the forsaken bride. In 283 a rich merchant and a poor young knight are rivals in love. Eventually, the girl lies with the knight in a grove of roses. Upon her words demanding the dawn-present, the latter gives the following nice answer: "I offer you joy and peace as long as I am alive, further clothes and food from day to day." This would amount to a praise of poverty, if not a sharp conflict of social character. In 372 the girl mocks her dancing partner for his filthy clothes. When he proposes marriage, she makes a laughing stock of him. In the meanwhile she learns that the man she is mocking is the English king. She at once changes her attitude, inviting the young man to a tête-à-tête underthe lime-tree in her father's garden, but it is now ~~the young man to a tête-à-tête under the lime-tree in her father's garden, but it is now~~ Preparing to Marry (Hungarian **75.**) without "taking a stand", however, in the conflict of the rich and the poor. Rather a haughty girl is put to shame. But there is DgF 317 with a more serious dramatic nucleus, which is a variant published in the sixteenth century by Vedel. A nobleman rides to the Ting (meeting of the nobles) demanding tithes from the peasants who surround the meeting and slay the nobleman. Although the narrative makes use here and there of commonplaces

typical of ballads, it fails to reach the conciseness of a parable. Essentially it remains an account of an incident. A real plot of social character occurs in 270. A young nobleman loves the daughter of a nobleman. A peasant lad in the guise of the young nobleman visits the girl at night and sleeps with her. When it comes to offering the dawn-present, the girl discovers the mistake. "Had I known who you were you would not have slept alive in my arms!"—says the raging girl, while the young man escapes through the window, leaving his shoes in the girl's room. "No matter, for shoes I can buy at the fair, but maidenhood you cannot!"—says the lad. Explicit denunciation of riches is found solely in 539: the poor man asks in vain for the help of his rich brother; God descends to test them; the rich one refuses to admit Him, but the poor man offers Him to have a rest on straw; in the morning he finds the stable covered with gold and silver; in addition, he goes to Heaven while the rich brother to Hell. It is not to be wondered at that the two last-mentioned stories have been preserved in oral folk-tradition (along with 283), the rest also by manuscripts, while the story of the "concubine" speaking derogatively of the peasantry (211) survives exclusively in manuscripts. Obviously, one cannot expect from courtly manuscripts to indulge in reflecting to social antagonisms in the form of conflicts of the poor and the rich. What one wonders is why peasant tradition has preserved so little of this conflict, and why even that little in such a subdued tone. Were not there social tensions in Danish peasant life at a time when peasant revolts burst out of the feudal antagonisms in the central part of the continent? Did Danish peasantry develop under a lesser oppression than the peasant societies of the southern countries? If so, the better for them as regards their welfare, and the worse for their poetry. Namely, poetry is raised by tensions.

It has to be mentioned in this context that the presence of the numerous incest-themes is not due to courtly influence, for they mostly originate from oral tradition (107, 109, 435, 439, 524), or in manuscript—broadside—oral sources (294, 438), against which only one has come from exclusively manuscript source (197). In one instance the manuscript-variants begin the story with the motif of incest while the traditional variants without it (437); this dialogue of contesting lovers is known from the French Métamorphoses, which in the manuscripts is headed by an introduction about love between brother and sister. This may well exemplify the course of transformation Danish ballads had followed in courtly transmission, but is no argument in itself against incest being a folk-theme. Its remarkable rate of frequency suggests a traditional character distinguishing Danish ballads from Hungarian ones. (It is involved only in certain variants of one single Hungarian ballad type, and even in them without having been lent any particular significance to the theme.)

Anyway, the incest-theme implying possibilities of tragic domestic conflicts well fits into the world of ballads, occurring in every language area, with various rates of frequency, which on the other hand is characteristic of the various areas. The French have it in one of their ballads, the English in several, and the Southern Slavs in many of their songs. Only the ratio of frequency is characteristic of the different national stocks.

A preponderance of märchen elements is typical of the whole Scandinavian balladry, well brought out by the few examples we have referred to above when

examining the ways of solving tragic tensions. Also the editors of the German summary volumes were aware of the secondary nature of this feature, as betrayed by their note to 48: "...beides wohl märchenhafte Aus- und Umgestaltungen des Zuges, wie sie im Nordischen sich gern einstellen." (D. Vlr. II, 211.)

Realism of presentation is another distinguishing feature of Danish ballads. They provide very detailed descriptions of mediaeval conditions, first of all of aristocratic classes. Their less-stylized formulation enables minor details of life to be included, like rules of etiquette—think of formulas "ther axler hand skaarlagen skind" (on entering the room) "svöber (sig) sit hoved i skind" applied in order to address a relative or a lover; further of commonplaces from which the reader gets acquainted with courtly ceremonies and customs, extending to scenes of wedding feasts, landing boats whose passengers set foot on silvery silken carpets spread before them, fashions of dancing and singing, typical features of domestic and love-life (for example, the problem of "slegfred"), the social significance of communal meetings, down to the role of playing at cards. All this, as a matter of course, is more emphatically present in the manuscript material, and less frequently in oral tradition. Elements of this kind occur in the latter rather as formulas.

The same refers to style as to themes. The bulk of traditional variants show a closer affinity to the general European ballad style than the manuscript ones, although an interaction between the two kinds of songs cannot be called into doubt. Clearly discernible is the presence of ballad poetry in literary composition as well. Nevertheless, we are more interested in how turns of courtly songs ("det vil ieg for sandigen sige"; "svöber sig i skind") survive in peasant variants, sporadically though as compared to manuscript and un-ballad-like types. Not even Holzapfel (1969, I) did examine the Danish formulas from this point of view, although a study on the standing formulas of courtly manuscripts and oral variants would be a paying undertaking.

By way of summarization we may state that Danish balladry is characterized by the following traits. There are märchen and magic-superhuman elements abounding in it; details of graphically described war-scenes and episodes of feudal life occur in large numbers, too; in general, the formulation is more realistic and detailed, consequently, the songs are fairly long; courtly outlooks prevent social points from coming into play.

In any case, it will become absolutely clear that what difference can be established between the bulk of Hungarian ballads known exclusively from oral tradition, and the entire body of Danish balladry passed down by manuscript sources and old publications for the overwhelming part, that is two diametrically opposed poles,—the same difference can be established, although in a lesser measure, between the *traditional* and the *manuscript* variants of the Danish stock of ballads, or even more explicitly between the ballad-like Danish types and those have been left out of our tabulation.

Let us now survey the Child material omitting the pieces, this time again, which obviously belong to some other genre (18–19, 29–40, 42?, 48, 59–61, 89, 103, 106–9, 111, 113, 115–154, 158–164, 166–167, 172, 174–182, 184–192, 195–6, 198, 202–3, 205, 207, 211, 213, 243, 248, 251, 255, 259, 265, 267–8, 270–3, 275–6, 278,

282–3, 288, 296, 300, 304–5). Thus 182 types remain, that is hardly fewer than what we have retained from the Danish ballads.

Favourite international themes predominate also in the British ballad. Stories of pregnant girls constitute one of the largest group: twelve (20–21, 24, 63, 65, 99–101, 173, 240, 257 and 264 with an unexpected happy ending). A further three deal with the troubles of the pregnant bride. The act of love also here is presented as the central or starting scene of several ballads: 50, 52, 67, 71, 217, 241 and 299, in which the young man forsakes the girl, but 217 ends with marriage. Types 249, 254, 294, 298, also end with marriage. Total: twelve. Enticement four, 4, 9, 98, 241—the girl rejecting her lover: 246. Elopement—as with the Danes and elsewhere—is frequent: 15, 24, 25, 41, 96–7, 101–2, 200, 294, from wedding: 221. Total: eleven. Revengeful father or brothers pursuing the girl and lover or otherwise opposed to the latter appear in a fairly large number of ballads: 7–8, 67, 70–72, 254 (total seven). Abduction five: 222–225, 296. Lover or spouse appearing at the sweetheart's wedding: 17, 53, 253. Supposed or real adultery: 81–83, 156, 204, 266, 274 (seven), conflict between spouses five: 80, 83, 229, 231, 235. The man desirous to substitute a new maitresse for the old one shows an agreement with the Danish counterpart who wants to exchange his maitresse with a "legal bride": 62–3, 68, 74, 212, 218, 257 (seven). Here, too, the themes of "lover killing sweetheart, wife her husband" constitute a populous group: 68, 80, 86, 88, 90, 194, 242, 260 (eight), and so does the story about the man offering cruel treatment to his sweetheart: 63, 84, 260, 292, 295 (five).

The widest-spread international ballad theme—lovers dying for each other—plays a more prominent role here than even with the Danes: sixteen cases, well-nigh a tenth of all themes taken together: 70, 84–5, 87, 92, 214–5, 256, 262, 292, i.e. 73–77, 239. The motif of incest shows a lower frequency, although it is still considerable: 14,—in which no incest takes place, but the hero kills two of his sisters who resist his violence, though not the third, owing to recognition: 16, 50–52. The outwitted lover occurs twice as theme (43, 112), the test of faithfulness or love three times (95, 105, 263). Sexual violence in 110, 290, 104?, quarrel of rivals in 66, 262, lover or husband dies in 26?, 193, 210, 214, other love themes in: 44, 67, 247, 293, 297–8, 303.

Murder of family members and other acts of cruelty in the family—frequent anyway in ballads—come up in twelve cases: 10–14, 49, 51, 66, 83—murder of unrecognized relative—87, 261, 291. Other domestic conflicts: 6, 216 (poems representing border-line cases in ballads). Tyrannic monarch plays hardly any role: 58, 94, legends are frequent, although not in typical ballads: 22–3, 54–6, 57?

Plots based on murder by robbers or other murderous incidents, still belonging to the ballad sphere, occur in 73, 114, 155, 181, 230; songs of heroes under the gallows in 171, 208–209. Stories of battle, pursuit, and descriptions of war scenes, connected with the ballad genre by the manner of presentation rather than by their thematic character, are found in fifteen types (157, 165, 168–9, 178, 183, 193, 197, 199, 214, 250, 284–7). Solving of riddles as ballad theme is indigenous to every nations' balladry; ballad-like poems based on such themes or similar kinds of verbal contests are not unknown in the English language area either, see, for example, 2–3, 45–6, 219.

Antagonisms between the rich and the poor, that is, social differences causing conflict in marriage and love are important subjects of the British ballad as well: fifteen text-types have such conflicts as principal themes: 73, 95, 226–8, 232 (in this poem it appears eventually that the steward is the king), 233 (semi-folklore product), 236–8, 252, 269, 277, 280 (finally the lover first thought to be poor proves to be rich, thus the problem is dissolved, just as in the next type), 294 (ten ballads are based on themes of this kind).

English balladry—with the heterogeneous elements omitted—bears closer resemblance to the Hungarian and French ballad, as well as to the traditional concept of the ballad character, than does Danish balladry as a whole. It is only the themes of feuds of nobles and clans that should be excluded as survivals of a former genre, that of courtly epic, popularized by broadsides and market singers. Similarly, the influence of Scottish tradition is strongly felt in the märchen and fairy tales which—as in the Scandinavian folk poetry—left their indelible imprint on the British ballad, too. Miraculous stories assumed the concise form of ballads, thus colouring the insular material, and the process may perhaps be still better explained by surmising that the Scottish fairy elements so deeply rooted in Northern imagination have coloured and transformed to suit the national tastes the Scottish ballads of English origin. Instructive is in this respect what *Greig-Keith* states of 84 (= *Child* 243, The Demon Lover): "There is no better example than this ballad of the essential difference between Scottish and English popular lore. The story had a wide broadsheet circulation in England a century and a half before the Scots traditional version appeared in print (Scott's Border Minstrelsy, 1812). The English form, as we have it in... *Child* IV, 360, is simply a plain statement of a rather mysterious occurrence, whereas the Scottish versions employ all the machinery of the occult to create an eerie atmosphere." (p. 196). The *Child* numbers discarded from the first section of this list mainly originate from the Scottish "eerie atmosphere". Had we considered these, too, we should have to reckon with a much higher ratio of supernatural elements in the English ballad.

At this point, however, we have to ask the question of what extent our method of selection and omission is justified. More recent collections show that our procedure has been correct: in general, it appears from the large-scale collection of folk tradition that such ballads are represented by largest numbers which are based on real ballad themes, or whose formulation agrees with the ballad style, while the "mysterious" märchen themes, more particularly the texts reaching back to the courtly epic and romance poetry, that is, poems of the "post-heroic" trend, occur only very sporadically and in strongly reshuffled forms in it. Those very few versions which are burdened with Scottish stories of fairies, witches and bewitched heroines do not alter the general picture. Their presence may well be attributed to the influence of broadsides, and partly to that of Scots who migrated to the United States of America. Let us take a closer look at the English material also from this point of view, on the basis of *Bronson's* monumental publication, and mainly of the work of *Coffin* (1963); these two works supply numeric information about the tradition. Further, I took into consideration the compilations by *Hyman* and *Hodgart*. The following conclusions can be drawn (the numbers in bold type are not regarded as real ballads):

I. Most popular types: 4, 10–13, 20, 26, 46, 53, 54, 65, 68, 73–75, 79, 81, 84–85, 93, 95, 105, 155, 170, 200, 209, **243,** 250, 274, 277, **278,** 281, **283,** 286, 289, 295. Total 34 + **3.** Of the three unballad-like pieces 278 is a folk text, but not ballad, while 243 is a repulsive broadside story about the return of the dead lover. In the latter case, we cannot speak of survival of a former ballad but of the extensive influence of recent broadside (as in the case of Hungarian **98.** "The Man Who Murdered His Mistress and Committed Suicide"), and 283. is a versified anecdote. On the other hand, most of the best ballads appear in the above list: almost all of the international themes, and all but one of those which are paralleled by Hungarian types.

II. Based more or less on tradition: 1–3, 7–8, 14, 17, **43,** 44–45, 49, 51, 56, 76–78, 99–100, 110, 112, 114, 173, **188,** 201, 204, 210, 236, 245, **248, 251, 272, 275,** 280, 287, 293, 299. Total 30 + 6.

Also here the 6 disputable poems call for explanation. Number 43 is a magic presentation of a ballad theme: the heroine spells the young man into sleep and so she remains a virgin even after the night they spent together. In point of fact, this ballad belongs to the circle of the "Occasion manquée", thus not altogether alien to balladry. Number 248 is of folklore origin, although the poem is, in my opinion, a Scottish transformation of the dawn song (aubade) rather than a ballad (in spite of all contrary opinions, cf. *Coffin,* 140, recently demonstrated in detail by *Shields*); and 275 is an anecdote in verse. Numbers 188 and 272 owe their popularity, in all likelihood, to recent broadsides, at least their theme and intonation point to it, while 251 is a parody in continuation of Scottish heroic epic traditions.

III. With sparse tradition: 5, **6,** 9, **18–19,** 22, 24–25, 27, **32–33, 37–39,** 52, 58, 62–64, 83, 87–88, 90, 96, 101–102, **126, 139–140,** 156–157, **203?,** 208, 214–219, 221, 225–226, 228, 233, 237–238, 240, 246–247, 252–253, **255,** 266, 269, **273, 276, 282?,** 285, 293–294. Total 43 + 16. The questionable items—considered not belonging to ballads—include some fairy stories whose traces survive sporadically in Scottish tradition: 6, 19 (one single fragment of a few lines about Orpheus from the Shetland Isle), 32–33 (solitary pieces), 38 (a variant also from America), 39 (a variant also from America), 18 is a radically abridged, realistic survival of an old miraculous-fantastic romance, 139–140 are texts of the best Robin Hood adventures collected in America, where they had been spread by broadsides. 203 is a later story on the periphery of the ballad style; 255 is an aubade; 273 and 276 are broadside stories; 282 is a Robin Hood theme on the verge of balladry.

IV. With no tradition at all: 15–16, 21, **23,** 28, **29–31, 34–36, 40–42, 47–48,** 50, **55?,** 57, **59–61, 66–67,** 69–72, 80, 82, 86, **89,** 91–92, 94, 97–98, **103–104, 106–109, 111, 113, 115–125, 127–138, 141–154, 158–164,** 165, **166–167,** 168–169, 171, **172, 174–177,** 178, **179–180,** 181, **182,** 183, **184–187, 189–192,** 193–194, **195–196,** 197, **198,** 199, **202, 205,** 206, **207,** 211, 212, **213,** 220, 222–224, 227, 229–232, 234–235, 239, 241–242, 244, 249, 254, 256–258, **259,** 260–262, 263?, 264, **265, 267–268, 270–271, 273, 279,** 284, **288,** 290–292, **296,** 297–298, **300,** 301–303, **304–305.** Total 68 + 107.

Revivals have been excluded from the list, that is all such pieces which are considered such by experts. Anyway, the numerical proportions speak for themselves: what I have excluded has been also excluded from the people's memory (in which perhaps they never existed). Only three of these have gained real

popularity. And as popularity decreases—that is the amount of variants collected from living tradition—in a like ratio the un-ballad-like pieces grow in number. Finally, their number suddenly rises in the group of fully untraditional ballads.

I have to note here that not all the ballads retained in the group of traditional ones are typical representatives of the genre. It is on the basis of unequivocal criteria that we may state that one or another song is not a ballad: when traits of a different genre prevail in it. That is, when homogeneity is most conspicuous. There are many songs, especially among the higher-numbered *Child* pieces, which can be neither safely excluded nor safely included in the class of traditional ballads. Also tradition relegated most of these to oblivion. And it goes without saying that a large number of true ballads have been forgotten since the time of their first recording. It is therefore the *ratio* that counts. Ratios will inform us about the significance of the two kinds of material. Especially the two extreme groups are decisive: what are most and what are least popular? These coincide with what we regard as typical and least typical ballads, respectively.

Here again we witness that un-ballad-like epic poems incorporated ballad features (165, 168, and 169), further, that these have exerted influence on genuine ballads. Thus many stories speaking about feudal fights, vengeance, etc., assumed a ballad formulation. On the whole, English and Scottish ballads maintain close connections with the Scandinavian material, although still having more in common with international ballad properties than with the Danish stock.

The method followed so far should be applied in respect of the German tradition, too: pieces presented in collections should be checked against oral tradition, since also the Germans included many late mediaeval songs surviving in late-sixteenth-century written records in their ballad stock, although the same does not always mean a folk ballad. Similarly, we have to disregard those types which the German scholars inferred from Dutch or Danish survivals, further the Gottschee songs which certainly derive from Slav antecedents and never intruded the central German areas. Thus we have to omit 1, 2, 5, 10, 12–15, 19, 26, 27, (28 Dutch?), 32, 39, 52, 64, 66, 70, 71, 76 and 77 (a single Transylvanian variant borrowed from Romanians), 80–84, 97, 100, E–B 125?, 107, 108, 110, 117, and 121.

Looked at from the angle of themes, most of the international ballad spheres are represented in the central area, although in a wider range of dispersion than with other nations: there are a great number of themes occurring each in a lower number of variants. The topic of the disgraced girl come up comparatively frequently: 55, 67, 68, 73, E–B 56, 96, 122, 212, and 213; but further conflicts of love figure, as a rule, in two or three songs. Forsaking after an illegitimate love affair: 55, 56. Enticement: E–B 71, followed by forsaking: E–B 118; frustrated enticement (ending in marriage) 74, E–B 117. Abduction: 41, E–B 113, 114, 116, and 120. At the same time, the theme of the bride abducted from the wedding, so favourite with the Scandinavians, is missing. Rarely occurs the theme of the girl and enticer pursued by the former's brothers, common in Danish and British ballads; 44 and 88? The father opposing his daughter's lover: 62, 65 and E–B 128. Kidnapping of wife: 35, 45, 46, 59 and E–B 3. Violence against a woman: E–B 131. Suspected or real adultery (attempt of this): 33, E–B 900. New wife instead of an old sweetheart ("slegfred" of the Danes) solely in 74. Lover killing his sweetheart: 79?, E–B 48.

Another common European theme is represented by high numbers again: lovers or spouses die for each other: 53, 55–58, 91, E–B 47, 95, 852. Ballad-like texts speaking about bemourned lover or husband are rather frequent: 36, 61, E–B 10, 93, 96, 199, and 201. The test of faithfulness: E–B 67. Unfaithfulness: 103, E–B 49, 211. Other love-themes: 34, E–B 11, 98, and 460.

The motif of cruelty within the family finds application in several ballads: 68, 86, 116, E–B 78, and 910. Murder of the member of the family (mainly spouses): 69 and 75 (unaware), 78, and 79? In connection with adultery: 30, 60, 87, and E–B 55. Revenge for murdered relative: 28, and 29, the latter resembling those Danish ballads in which brothers murder their sister's lover in revenge of their father, only in the German version the girl assists them. Sacrifice for a member of the family, redeeming a relative: 22, (23), and 21 (in the latter the wife is engaged in a duel in order to release her husband, that is the theme resembles that of warlike Danish girls). Finding a lost relative: 72, 74, 75. Incest (only as an avoided possibility): 72. Girl dying in defence of her chastity: 46. More frequent is the theme of a bride dying before wedding takes place: 47–50, and 54. Releasing prisoners: 21, E–B 63 (65?). Fight between rivals: 43. Test to achieve impossible tasks occurs in many forms: E–B 1063, 1064, 1090–94.

Outstanding is the sphere of sharp social antagonism represented in many ways: 23, 24, 31, 45, 60?, 65, E–B 43, and 213? Here belong unjust sentences: 23, 24, (25?). Social difference of lovers: E–B 89, 90, and 141, in which the conflict is settled by the parents agreeing to the marriage of the princess and the stable-boy. Here belongs further: E–B 70, the poor lover being preferred to the rich. Obviously, fierce social tensions must have been backing these ballads if the German peasantry looked for so manifold expressions of these themes; anyway the peasant wars prove the same.

Even distribution is manifest also in the fact that the German area is connected with every important other ballad area through one or another theme, even though none of the themes is represented in so high numbers of variants as in the other areas. Lower numbers are not to be considered final, of course; certain groups may increase when the summary edition is completed. Nevertheless, the picture will not be essentially modified.

In respect of thematic distribution, the overall view of German ballads corresponds to the generic features. German scholars often complain about the present state of their ballads (cf. *Meier* 1951. 30), which, they think, have been sorely affected by historical development. Envious of more lucky nations, they miss certain themes, like those relating to the fairy world and feudal conditions in the Danish ballad, and therefore try to infer lost German songs from vague, remote analogies. But a survey of themes proves that oblivion in their area did not cause a greater shift in their proportions than in other countries. Only they should not search for themes alien to the nature of the ballad. Supernatural elements missing almost entirely from German balladry is by no means a sign of deterioration but rather one of an original state, as in the case of French or Hungarian ballad. The famous theme of "Lenore", the dead lover (E–B 197), discussed so extensively in the literature, is more of an exceptional phenomenon than relic of some richer ancient tradition. On the other hand, the figure of the devil coming in display may have

nothing to do with some old superstition (E–B 11, 211, and 212), but rather with the belated influence of broadside. Therefore, German ballads are perfectly in line with the general ballad tradition—as regards themes.

As to the formulation, the complaints are more justified. Possibilities for a tragic dénouement are often ignored or distorted in the direction of sentimental or thrilling ends (for instance, in Grausiges Mahl, D. Vlr. 17). A broadside air hangs over a row of real ballad themes, which is responsible, among others, for the deformation of the chapel-flower motif, to be discussed later. It seems that German ballads had been exposed earlier and to a greater extent to the work of the process that impaired many of the French ballads too: modern "revival" took place in the broadside spirit, at the expense of the ancient, genuine folklore tone. Is it that a taste of the petit-bourgeois layers has inundated the German areas, bringing about at a higher level of literature the "Meistersang", with broadside as its average crop influencing and suppressing folk poetry to such a great extent? As for recent days, it is not even an *influence* of broadside but a general prevalence of broadside that we are witnesses of. The latest number of D. Vlr. brings forth broadsides in the pious or thrilling varieties, which whether accepted or rejected by people, have been included in the body of folk ballads, irrespective of their style. (For instance, 104, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 122, and 123.) These pieces are apt to mar still more the overall picture of German ballads, as regards their style.

Yet a few deficiencies are conspicuous in the themes as well: there are no merry ballads ridiculing certain characters, which is the more surprising since the French—Hungarian jocular songs on The Coward Lover **(70.)** and Crying János **(71.)** show German affinities. But the former's meaning has been obscured in the German parallel (telling about a step-by-step approach to the sweetheart), and the latter's ballad character is blurred in the few extant texts. Certain characteristic formulas, like "She was sitting in the window..." are also absent; another is distorted (with the scene of the chapel-flowers, in which a lily bears an inscription to testify that the hero or heroine was innocent). The German summary edition reflects on this deficiency in connection with the text of a Gottschee ballad: "Will man annehmen, dass das erwähnte Motiv nicht dem ursprünglich zugrunde liegenden Tristanlied angehört habe, so muss man an seine Entlehnung aus dem Südslavischen... denken, da es im Deutschen ausserhalb der Tristansage in gleicher Art nicht vorkommt, auch in den verschiedenen deutschen Tristandichtungen anders geformt..." (D. Vlr. No. 9. I. 84). This change may be ascribed to broadside influence while others not: in cases the genuine content is lost in the changed form or in a new framework. For instance, the original nucleus can still be recognized in the extant variants of the Herr und Schieldknecht (34) which, like the Hungarian The Song of the Ferrymen **(72.)**, through alternating promises and refusals reached the point: the man wanted to have the woman or her daughter. This in the German area has been embedded in a frame-story about the master who, having suffered some accident is asked by his servant to pay him his dues; the dying master offers him some of his things, but the servant insists in the end on having the master's wife. It appears from the variants, however, that the solution was not felt satisfactory, therefore either the wife's infidelity was made subject of the song or the honesty of the servant who refused to accept the wife offered to him, or else went to

Heaven together with his master. Similarly, the original point is lost in the songs about the theme of forced marriage (48–50, and perhaps also 47), according to which the girl given away in marriage to a strange land dies of sorrow. By omission of this point, the German texts' plot turned unstable. The same happened to the story of The Coward Lover, mentioned before, in which details remain while the comic quality required by the method of type-creation has vanished. That is to say, the general practice of the borrowing people insisting more on the details than on the original gist of the story prevails in so extreme a measure that eventually no new meaning is given to the details. It seems sometimes as if we were faced with an extreme pole of behaviour; it is conspicuous, namely, how incidental-realistic particulars are systematically suppressing typical-stylized presentation. Anyway, this feature, common in British and Scandinavian ballads, too, is characteristic of the late-Gothic and Renaissance representative art in Germany and the Netherlands. Is it a manifestation of some national taste? Is it that scenes condensed in typical and stylized forms do not satisfy the requirements of a realistic trend which prefers to express the whole in details?

Of course, all this is speculation. What can be stated is no more than that the method of formulation shows a high degree of modernization while the themes themselves fairly correspond to the generic features in German ballads.

Let us cast now a cursory glimpse at the ballads of other language areas too. Of the Southern Latin nations, Italian ballads stand nearest to the French not only because of the great number of borrowings but also as regards similarity of presentation, the spirit of the songs and the affinity of the sphere of problems. As against this, the Iberian peoples' songs represent a more archaic tradition, mainly apparent in style: the narrative side and the tendency to accumulate are more pronounced in them. These traits may well be ascribed to the circumstance that parallel surviving epic songs had exerted a very strong influence on the development of the Spanish ballad.

The Slavs are divided into two great blocs: the Southern and Eastern one including the Serbs, the Bulgarians and the Russians, and the Western one consisting of the Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks, the Polish, Slovenes, and Croats. The former has maintained epic traditions while the latter followed the usual course of western development, so that they do not possess epic genres other than the folk ballad. According to *Horálek* (1963, 101) "The northeastern territory of the Southern Slav area (Slovenia and Croatia) does not belong to the folklore bloc of the Balkans. Southern Slav epic songs are not represented in it. ...The ballads of the Slovene land show a strong affinity with those of the neighbouring non-Slav nations, therefore they represent a transitional area." Epic songs survive side by side with ballads among the Serbs, Bulgarians and Russians, the latter being, due to the influence of the former, more epic in nature regarding themes and formulation, and also more fragmentary and eroded sometimes. The ballads these nations borrowed from others bear signs of a different style. "A high degree of differentiation can be seen in the Russian and the Ukrainian folklore"—writes Horálek (1963, 101)—"and even within the Eastern Slav area.", that is, in relation of East and West Ukraine, on the one hand, and East and West Belorussia, on the

other. These differences have obviously resulted from stronger and weaker contacts with the ballad areas of Central and West Europe.

Romanian folklorists listed all their epic songs as ballads. The number of these exceeds 350, but few of them answer the requirements of the genre in the West-European sense; such ones mainly occur in Group V of the Amzulescu catalogue (domestic ballads, Types 235–323, some 89 types), and sporadically in some other groups, too. In general, they are mythological or epic stories, characterized by a lyrical-elegiac tone and a detailed-descriptive style of representation instead of dramatic conflicts. (*Cf. Kriza* 1969.) As regards the dissemination of the various types, decisive differentiations can be observed. While the fantastic-heroic songs (about warriors and heyducks) are rare in the Cis-Carpathian parts, they are the more abundant in the Trans-Carpathian areas. This kind of song penetrated occasionally the two extreme regions of the language area in the territory of Hungary before World War I, namely the Banate in the South and Máramaros toward the North. The presence of songs about warriors in the Banate may be due to the influence of Serb populations mixed with Romanians there; particularly so in cases when the song occurs in one single type exclusively among Romanians living in Serbia proper and the Banate. In the inner parts of Transylvania, warriors' songs are sporadically represented according to Amzulescu, in the region of Brassó. The white spot in the Bihar region is conspicuous. The ratio is altogether different in the group of domestic themes, with the Transylvanian variants coming suddenly into preponderance. Some of these have been exclusively recorded from those parts of the Carpathian Basin which belonged to Hungary before World War I. Hungarian-paralleled types are important in this respect: *Amzulescu* 249 = Hungarian **69.**; 246 = **48.**; 247 = **12.**; 248 = **13.**; 249 = **69.**; 266 = **68.** (286 = **18.**, being known in both areas); 288 sub-type II. = **3.**; 290 = **47.**; 291 = **1.** + **135.**; 294 = **20.**; 305 = **9.**; 306 = **28.**; 320 = **40.**

Similar territorial differentiation is shown by the variants of the two most popular ballads: the Miorica (= The Mountain Shepherd Who Was Murdered) and Manole (= The Walled-Up Wife). Outside the Carpathian Basin these songs are always performed by the *lăutari* (Gipsy singers) who sing their instrumentally accompanied songs in the style of detailed epic lays—this being the generally known Romanian ballad—while within the Carpathian Basin both types occur in the *colinda* form (a short greeting song traditionally performed by peasants in the winter solstice period). Differences of content as well as style of performance are clearly obvious. (*Cf.* the maps in *Fochi* 2 and *Vrabie* 2.) The same divergence is seen in Type 239 too; two of the three sub-types of this ballad are known outside the Carpathian Basin while the third, in which the story is based on social conflict, one of the main motifs of European ballads, has an exclusive spread among Romanians in the territory of pre-1919 Hungary. The overall difference between the two areas is that whereas the stories are generally shorter in the Cis-Carpathian regions (where also the strophe-repetitive construction of the Hungarian or Western parallels is retained to a greater extent), the length of songs in the Trans-Carpathian territories reaches sometimes three or four hundred lines, the balance being changed in favour of the epic style of performance.

As to the Albanians, they borrowed ballad themes from the Greek and the Serbs, which they perform in a more or less ballad-like style in company with their epic songs. The same contamination of styles is characteristic of the Greeks, although they preserve more of the ballad traits. With them, too, many pieces of the Digenis cycle survive, parallel with ballads of mainly French origin, influenced here and there by the former. (Examples of contamination are the miraculous-fantastic elements and the feast-scene in the story about The Cruel Mother-in-law.)

In general, the ballad had mingled with the earlier epic songs, and mostly also survives parallel with them, in the fringe areas of Europe in the Scandinavian nations with survivals of various stages from the mythic songs to late-feudal epic lays, and in the instance of the Finnish, with the mythic Kalevala, too. Similar is the situation with the Scots. In Spain, epic romance survives parallel with the ballad. Co-existing epic songs and ballads characterize a wide range of the dissemination area stretching from Northeastern to Southeastern Europe (Russian, Estonian, Romanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Albanian and Greek territories). In all these language areas the ballad assumes to a greater or lesser extent the characteristic features of the other genre. In any case, the Danish is most consequential of all these areas for the theory and history of the ballad genre. At the same time, it is certain that the generic features occur in their purest forms in those areas where the ballad succeeded in displacing the earlier epic song in the tradition: partly in England, then in France, Germany, Northern Italy, Western Slav countries, and the Hungarian-inhabited territories. That is to say, in the central part of Europe.

FRENCH BALLAD TYPES

1. *Amant assassin* The lover rides with the sweetheart to a forest where he stabs her and throws her body into the water. A shepherdess witnesses the murder, shows the place to the girl's mother and brothers. The youngest brother jumps into the water. An angel descends. Smith X, 198 = *Child* 86.
2. *L'amante du Dauphin* The girl sews a shirt for her lover. A knight abducts her, asking her not to be afraid of him. In the forest the girl's godfather meets with them. The girl entreats him to rescue her, but the man refuses to do so for "it would cost a lot to him". They arrive at a fire and the knight burns the girl to death. (A: the prince apperas and commits suicide. The king is sorry: "Had I foreseen this, my son would be still walking in my palace!") *Millien,* 147–9. A–B = D. Vlr. 8.
3. *L'amour ne se rend pas comme de l'argent prêté* The young man takes the girl into the forest. As they return, the girl bursts in tears. "What are you weeping for?"—"For my love that you have robbed me of."—"I give it back to you."—"It's impossible. . .", and so on. *Decombe* XXXVI + many variants.
4. *Anneaux de Marianson* The wooer prepared copies of the lady's rings to make her husband jealous. The husband comes home, throws his newborn son down to the ground, ties his wife to the tail of a horse. Truth comes to light, but too late. *Doncieux* 15 (10 var.), *Haupt,* 99, *Gagnon,* 158 = *D'Harcourt* N. 4, *Weckerlin* 1887, 303, *Millien,* 183, *Legrand* XIII, *Decombe* 91, *Beaurepaire,* 167–8, *Arbaud* II, 82, *Barbeau* 1962, 133 = *Nigra* 6 + DgF 311 + *The Bride Dragged to Death.*
5. *Bateau de blé* Women go aboard a ship to buy wheat. The ship leaves, the sailors detain the girl. She is not very sorry. *Doncieux* 43 (13 var.), *Champfleury,* 156, *Tarbé* II, 230, *Canteloube* III, 200, IV, 305, *Rolland I.* 142ab, *Barbeau-Sapir* 123, *Puymaigre* 1874, 99, *Smith* Romania VII, 67 = *Nigra* 44.
6. *Blanche biche* Roe in day-time, girl in the night-time. Her brother is hunting for her, in vain does she warn him by words of her mother. They flay the bag: they can see her bosom. Her body is served at feast. She reproaches her brother. *Doncieux* 16 (11 var.), *Haupt,* 19, *Pineau,* 391 II, *D'Harcourt* No. 1 (in Canada 16 var.), *Millien,* 86 (father), *Weckerlin* 1887, 54 = *Beaurepaire, Canteloube* III, 355, *Legrand* XIV, *Decombe* No. 94–95, *Beaurepaire,* 171–2, *Ampère,* 234, *Barbeau* 1962, 141 = DgF 58 + Bulgarian (the beginning of *Child* 114?).
7. *Capitaine et fille prisonnière* Returning from the war, the captain asks for the hand of the general's daughter. She is no match to him, therefore she is kept in prison. "I take her by war!" The father throws her into the water, the young man rescues her. They take to flight. He puts one dress on her in the one city, another in the next. Marriage in the end. *Puymaigre* 1865, 44, *Rolland* I 138 and II 138, *Nerval,* 129, *Legrand* XI, *Decombe* 100, *Delzangles* 128, *Barbeau* 1962, 181, 183, 185.
8. *Captivité du maréchal Biron* He is falsely accused as if he were contriving a plot against the king's family in order to be a king. The marshall enters, inviting the king to a game. The king sends him to the queen where he is taken, after the queen had him put aside his arms. The ballad ends with the complaints of Biron in prison. *Ampère,* 245, *Barbeau* 1962, 347, 349, 351, 353, 355.
9. *Catherine d'amour* She is courted by three men who boast of having had her love already. Her husband hears of this and beats her: on one side a rib of hers breaks, on the other, her little daughter's head is broken. She makes a will: her husband should be hanged, her mother burnt, her own ashes should be thrown in the wind from the beautiful bridge of Lyon. *Bladé* 1881–1882 II, 51, *Delzangles* 71 = *Nigra* 25 + *The Wife Kicked to Death.*
10. *Celle qui se jette dans la mer pour sauver son honneur* English' invaders kidnap the girl and take her aboard. The captain comforts her. "How many people will you give me to?" "To the captain, his page and 100 sailors." The girl prays to the fish to eat her, then plunges into the sea. The waves carry her corpse to her father's place on the shore. (Breton), *Rolland* III No. 186 *Canteloube* IV, 383, 391 = *The Girl Abducted by Turks* + East-European versions.
11. *Celle qui fait la mort pour sauver son honneur* Three captains kidnap a girl. Hostess asks if she joined them on her own or by force. As they approach her, she pretends to be dead. They take her back to be buried at her father's place, where she comes to. *Doncieux* 21, *Canteloube* I, 43, III, 234, *Champfleury,* 95, *Bujeaud* II, 180, *D'Harcourt* No. 6, *Nerval,* 133, *Rolland* III 175a–d, *Rossat* 10a–e, *Millien,* 222–8 A–D + 16 var. *Beauquier,* 59, *Puymaigre* 1865, 88 and 90, *Barbeau-Sapir* 42, *Legrand* VI, *Smith* Romania IV, 114–5, *Decombe LI, Arbaud* I, 143, *Barbeau* 1962, 231 = *Nigra* 32 (half), *Nigra* 53.
12. *Celui qui demande d'entrer* (a) Le beau paysan, Carême-entrant, etc. Crying man, laughing friend, carneval, etc. In each stanza, the man asks leave to move inner and inner. After supper he cuddles the woman. *Rossat* II 15 A–D, *Rolland* I 70ab, II 70c, *Beauquier,* 266 = E–B 460 + 668 + Crying János, which see for Iberian and East-European versions. (b) A passenger asks for admittance, but he does not feel well, being afraid of something at each spot. Finally the housewife invites him to her bed. *Lambert I,* 371 = *The Coward Lover* + East European versions + E–B 460a, Horae belgicae II, 154, + Spanish.
13. *Chasseur tueur de sa mie* The French prince is on hunt in the forest. He does not bag pheasants, hares but shoots skylark: his sweetheart. His mother shouts from the window: "What have you done? You will be hanged!" The skylark sings the same in a sad tone. The prince says: "I go abroad, to Spain. Give me a dry skirt to change. Ferryman, bring me over the water anon!" People call out loudly: "Ferryman, hold back the prisoner!" "I will not, for he has paid me well!" *Bladé* 1881–1882, III, 364–5.
14. *Le Condamné* He is waiting for the post in the prison. Tiding comes: he will be beheaded. He is not sorry to die, but he worries about his children and the shame he leaves to his wife. *Millien* 241–242 A–B.
15. *Courte paille* They cast lots on board. He who draws the shortest straw will be eaten. The lot falls on the captain. The steward climbs the mast, sees the shore and the captain's daughter whom he marries. *Doncieux* 17, *Millien,* 221 + 2 variants, *Rolland* 144a–c, *Barbeau-Sapir* 129, *Bladé* 1881–82 No. III (elements), *Weckerlin* 1903 II, 178, *Decome* Nos 101–2–3, *Arbaud* I, 127, *Barbeau* 1937, 27, *Barbeau* 1962, 435 (reconstruction) = Iberian.
16. *Dame lombarde* The woman wants to poison her husband on her lover's, or a bird's advice. The infant speaks up, warning the father. He makes the wife drink the drug in spite of her excuses. "What a bad advice my lover (or my gossip) gave me!" *Doncieux* 11, *Barbeau* 1935, 56 (7 variants), *D'Harcourt* No. 8, *Rolland* II 179a, *Millien* 94–97 A–C, *Barbeau* 1962, 125 (reconstruction). *Barbeau* 1937, 97 = *Nigra* 1 + D. Vlr. 78 + DgF 345 + Polish, compare D. Vlr. 78.
17. *Damnée, La* The farrier is shoeing the knight's mule. At the first shoe, the mule calls the knight its father. "What are you and how dare you call me your father?" "I am your daughter whom you buried yesterday." "Who has spelled you?" "The parson who tempted me as a shepherdess. Don't let my sister see the priest, or wear my dresses less you should be damned, too! Burn all my things and throw the ashes in the wind!" *Bladé* 1881–82, II, 142–143. = *Nigra* 11.
18. *Danseuse noyée* The girl asks her parents in vain to let her to the dance. Her brother arrives by a ship and takes her to dance. The bridge breaks and both of them drown in the water. "Stubborn children!" *Doncieux* 35 (24 variants), *Champfleury,* 120, *D'Harcourt* No. 21, *Rolland* I–II 143, (3 variants), *Millien,* 146–7 (4 variants), *Beauquier,* 80, *Canteloube* IV, 186, *Puymaigre* 1865, 60, *Legrand* II, *Simon, 32, Barbeau* 1962, 209.
19. *Dans les haubans* Girls have a boat built. The crew consists of 15-year-old girls. The young man offers them his services. He sees his sweetheart sleep under the rigging. He recognizes her by her ribbon, face and smile, advances her: "Be my sweetheart!" *Barbeau* 1937, 43.
20. *Délaissée tue son amant* The enticed and forsaken girl kills the lover and commits suicide. Moral. *Rossat* 7a–g.
21. *Deux frères non reconnus par leurs parents* The young man is walking home from the barracks. His sister goes with him, her singing is heard from 10 miles. The young man warns her of the robbers. In the forest they meet with robbers. The chief wants to have the girl, her brother gets wounded in defence of her. The parents fail to recognize him, and do not admit him in the house.

The young man dies in the stable. The mother now recognizes and laments her son. *Millen,* 164–9 A–E + 2 variants = *The Two Captives.*

22. *Duel avec la quenouille* Three girls are having a walk. The English king greets two of them, but not the third, since she has been unfaithful. The girl challenges him to a duel. She fights with a distaff, the king with sword. She defeats the king. Cheers! The king has died! No more war! (or: let us make peace on the bank of the river!) *Millen,* 150–2 A–C + 1 variant, *Bujeaud* II, 197, *Beauquier,* 296, *Tarbé* III, 105, *Canteloube* II, 82, 357, IV, 170, 171, *Puymaigre* 1865, 180, *Poueigh,* 131, 228, *Barbeau* 1962, 227., Rev. Trad. Pop. 1889, 387.
23. *Ecolier assassin* The mother pursuades her son to kill his sweetheart. He cuts out the girl's heart and hands it over to his mother. "This is a lamb's heart." The son is taken and boiled in oil. (He tries to flee but is caught.) *Puymaigre* 1885, 127, *Rolland I* 145, *Rossat* 12a–d (divergent), *Millien,* 266 + 1 var. ("Give me a clean shirt!"), *Beauquier,* 256 *Puymaigre* 1865, 85, *Smith X,* 196 (+ 194), *Barbeau* 1962, 1965, 167 (reconstruction) = Idem 1937, 103 = *Nigra* 29.
24. *Ecoliers pendus* Two brothers commit acts of violence against some women (or simply make love with them). Upon complaint, they are imprisoned. Before execution, their brother, a bishop, appears to rescue them, but too late. He takes revenge on the town. *Doncieux* 14 (8 var.), *Millien,* 163 (for theft), *Decombe 93, Barbeau* 1962, 105 = *Nigra* 4 + D. Vlr. 23–24 + *Child* 72.
25. *Embarquement de la fille aux chansons* The girl wants to learn the sailors' song, goes aboard, but the ship sails out. The girl is crying for her father, but sailors do not let her free. Before the act of love she asks for a dagger to cut an apple (or her shoe lace) and drives it in her heart. The sailor is sad for the frustrated mating. *Doncieux* 42 (28 var.), *Champfleury,* 214 (contaminated), *Bujeaud* II, 183, *Rossat* 8a–h, *Fleury,* 247, *Puymaigre* 1865, 106, *Bladé* 1879, 36, *Millien,* 145 (incomplete) + 143–4 (detail), *Cantelouble* I, 157, II, 381, III, 197, IV, 62, 115, 326 (suicide is missing), 306 (contaminated with Plongeur noyé), *Weckerlin* 1887, 41 = *Beaurepaire,* 151–2, *Beauquier,* 124, *Gagnon,* 38, *Rolland* II 4p–s, *Legrand* XII (XLI), *Smith* VII, 68–70 (3 texts, 1 contaminated with Plongeur noyé + 1 variant), *Benoist* III, *Decombe No. I* (contaminated with Plongeur noyé), *Simon,* 186 (final part missing), *Barbeau* 1937, 51, Idem 1962, 391, 393 (reconstruction), 395 = *Nigra* 14, 16 (the latter contaminated with French 55) + Iberian.
26. *Enfant noyé* One of the three girls gives birth to a child during hay-making, and throws the infant into the water. The baby reproaches her her sinful act. The mother makes an unsuccessful attempt to save the child. ("From whom have you learnt what you are saying?" "From angels.") *Barbeau 1935, 46, Canteloube* III, 227, *Millien, 90–94 A–E, Barbeau-Sapir* 93, *Barbeau* 1962, 366 = *Nigra* 10.
27. *Enlèvement au couvent* The girl is waiting in vain for her lover to return—or her parents refuse the young man—; she ist sent to a nunnery. The lover arrives and searches for her. He calls her out of the convent, gives her a ring and then dies. (Half of the variants end with this.) But it was a sham death; he takes away the girl when she appears at his wake. *Millien* 236–241 A–C + 12 variants. Note: about 30 pieces collected. *Beauquier,* 149–151 A–B, *Puymaigre* 1865, 35 (the half), *Rossat* III, 201, *Smith* VII, 73, *Simon,* 524, La Tradition X, 54 1896*, Barbillat-Tourain 4, 73*, *Seignolle,* 151*, Tiersot 1903, 145, *Van Gennep,* Mercure de France 1910, 45* = *Nigra* 80 + *Child* 25 + DgF 408–409 + *The Marvellous Corpse* and its East European versions.
28. *Enlèvement au couvent par le jardinier* The girl is sent to the nuns in order to sever her from her lover. The young man appears as a gardener and elopes the girl. *Libiez* 16, *Puymaigre* 1865, 39, *Smith* VII, 72, *Simon,* 529.
29. *Enlèvement par le malade* The girl asks her father for leave to see her sick lover. He refuses to consent for fear she would be disgraced. Still the girl leaves. As about to return, she is detained. Her ship has gone. Alas, her father was right. The young man reassures her that she is not an enticed girl but a dearly loved sweetheart. *Arbaud* II, 123, *Barbeau* 1962, 397 = *Child* 25 + DgF 408–409 + *The Marvellous Corpse* and its East-European versions + *Nigra* 41.
30. *Epreuve* The disguised young man tempts his sister to prove his mother her immorality. The girl commits suicide. *Puymaigre* 1865, 54, 56, *Legrand V, Simon,* 178 = *Nigra* 78.
31. *Femme du vieillard* Father married me to an old, sick man. He makes me soil, draw the cart. If I refuse to draw it, he beats me. Wait, old man, I will pay for it! When laying your bed, I shall remove the feather from your pillow and put stones instead! As the man got up in the morning, his head was broken. Take those nice plums! While the rest will be in blossom, yours will be ripe! *Bladé* 1881–82 II, 214–215, *Simon,* 367.

32. *Femme se jette dans la rivière pour sauver son honneur* A girl of minor age is married to a merchant. The landlord with two of his men goes to town shopping, breaks into the house, tempts the wife, and carries her away by force on back of his horse. She jumps into the river, praying to the Holy Virgin, to defend her honour. *Decombe* XIV = *The Girl Kidnapped by Turks* and East-European versions.
33. *Femme reprise au Sarrassin* (L'Escrivette) In absence of her husband, the wife is kidnapped by a Moor. The husband guised as a pilgrim sets out to search for her. Some women washing by the river tell him where she is. Disguised as a beggar he enters the house and frees her with all her valuables. *Doncieux* 8, *Canteloube* I, 111. *Tiersot* 1903, 98, *Bladé* 1881–82, 44, *Millien,* 181, *Rolland* Romania XV, 111 (13 variants), *Arbaud* II, 93, *Barbeau* 1962, 124 = *Nigra* 40.
34. *Fille abandonnée s'habille en soldat* The girl dressed as a soldier follows her lover. "Had I known you would come after me, I should have gone overseas." The girl is lamenting her fate. *Puymaigre* 1865, 33.
35. *Fille assassinée dans le bois* The girl must cross a wood. She enters an inn looking for someone to see her through the wood. A small boy offers his services, but she rejects him and sets out with the stout innkeeper, who kills her for her money. The small boy follows them, finds the knife and the purse. The hostess recognizes her husband's knife. The boy relates that her husband has killed the most beautiful girl he has ever seen in his life. (Broadside tone.) *Millien,* 254–256 A + 6 variants, Barbeau 1962, 373.
36. *Fille aux oranges, La* She is selling fruits of her father's orchard. The lawyer's son buys some and directs her to his father for the money. She finds nobody in the house. "Confound it! To hell with the orange and the lawyer's son!" *Beauqier* 182, *Canteloube* I, 166, III, 379, *Rolland* I 127a–c, V 127, *Doncieux* 20 (extant from the late fifteenth century), *Legrand* XXX (the young man takes the girl to bed), *Arbaud* II, 163.
37. *Fille de Bazas séduite* There is no town to rival in beauty with Bazas, and no girl in it to match M. She is courted by a gentleman of Bazas who makes her pregnant. "What will you pay me now that you have enticed me?" "I pay a hundred florins, which is a sum to comfort you." "Not even a thousand can heal me, not even the water of the Garonne can clean me, nor can the bright sun dry me!" *Bladé* 1881–82 II, 242–3 XII.
38. *Fille du geôlier* The girl falls in love with the prisoner and steals the key: "Flee from the prison!" "Not I, till my case is not settled." They are weeping on a bench, the hangman comes, but the judge grants them pardon under the gallows; seeing how dearly they love each other. *Doncieux* 28, *Millien,* 229–233 A–B + 9 variants, *Beauquier,* 134–6 2 variants, *Barbeau-Sapir* 30, *Smith* VII. 75 (2 variants), *Decombe* 121, Barbeau 1962, 203 = *Nigra* 57.
39. *Fille du roi abandonnée* The girl is looking at the dance, and receives word from her sweetheart: "You must look for another one, because I have a new sweetheart!" "Is she fairer and cleverer than I?" "She is not fairer but wiser: she is able to conjure snow, frost, sun in her bower." *Gagnon,* 303, *Puymaigre* 1865, 31, *Legrand* XVII (the forsaken girl can conjure the sun).
40. *Fille du roi enceinte et l'oiseau* The girl confesses to the bird of her lover who has gone to the wars that she is pregnant. The king overhears this. The mother refuses to speak to the girl, the father asks her, by whom she got the child. By Duc de Main. The king wants to kill the child, the prince enters: "Are you going to kill my own child?" Reconciliation. *Legrand* XV.
41. *Fille du roi Loys* The father urges the girl to marry a man other than her true lover. She resists. The father locks her in the tower, where for seven years she is tormented by worms. The father sees her after the seven years are over. The girl asks him for money to bribe the jailkeeper with. He refuses her. (Some variants end at this point.) Then her lover appears, advising to pretend death. The young man stops the funeral procession, the girl wakes and marriage takes place. *Doncieux* 6 (25 variants), *Haupt,* 90, 92, *Pineau,* 311 XXIV, 388 I, *Puymaigre* 1865, 46, *Weckerlin* 1887, 272 (from 1602), *Nerval,* 132 (contaminated), *Tiersot* 1903, 108 (with different formulas), *Beauquier, 147, Millien,* 184–9 A–B + 22 variants, *Libiez* III No. 2, *Gerold,* 69, *Smith* VII, 76–8 (2), *Ampère,* 254 (contaminated), *Bladé* 1879, 23, *Barbeau* 1962, 179, 187 = *Nigra* 96 + *Child* 96.
42. *Fille enlevée meurt* The English let free a war-prisoner in exchange for his daughter. The girl is weeping behind the closed gates of the castle. After supper the captain enters her room, but in vain does he address her, the girl is dead. The captain retires in a monastery as a monk. *Weckerlin* 1887, 73 (from 1627), *Beaurepaire,* 153–4.

43. *Fille en service militaire avec son ami* The lover is to join the soldiers the next day. "I go with you to serve the king." For seven years she lives as a soldier undetected. Even when she is wounded they do not believe that she is a girl. Finally she exposes her breast: "I am a girl of eighteen." *Rolland* I 140.
44. *Fille enlevée au bocage* The father sends the girl to collect nuts in the woods. Thorns hurt her, she falls asleep, crying. Knights carry her away. (Sometimes just one knight.) The girl keeps silent over a hundred miles, then says, smiling: "This is the castle I have been raised in, there is the cradle I was rocked in, the garden I used to walk in." *Decombe* XIV.
45. *Fille et mère trouvent une andouille* The saussage has been found by the girl, her mother wishes to share it. The judge awards the saussage to the girl, a stack of corn to the mother. She appeals to the higher court, since she is so fond of saussages. *Weckerlin* 1887, 71, *Bladé* 1881/2 II, 326, 330.
46. *Fille huguenotte* She is urged to go to mass, but she is unwilling to break her oath. She is cast into a dungeon, lads and lasses come to see her. She asks for a book of psalms from which to sing, then calls the hangman: "Perform your duty! God's Son is holding me in His arms!" *Millien,* 152, *Decombe* CVI, *Ampère,* 242, *Barbeau* 1962, 291.
47. *Fille militaire tue son amant* The captain entices and then forsakes the daughter of his host. The girl asks her father for a big sum; armed as a knight she looks up her unfaithful lover and kills him in a duel. The king gives her pardon for her bravery. *Fleury,* 278, *Puymaigre* 1865, 78 (divergent), 76 (variant), *Rossat* 24a–f, *Beauquier,* 17–18 A–B = D. Vlr. 97 Dutch.
48. *Fille ne veut pas boire* A knight chooses the most beautiful of three girls. They cover a hundred miles without a word spoken. Then she asks for water to drink. The knight takes her to a spring, but the girl refuses to drink. He takes her to her father's where she drinks a full glass to the health of her family and her sweetheart. *Gagnon,* 155.
49. *Fille parricide, La* The father does not let his daughter marry. She persuades three captains to kill him and pull off his belt and ring as tokens of the murder. The father asks them to take the things and spare his life. Next Sunday she meets the father who drives a knife into her heart. *Bujeaud* II, 239, *Millien,* 275–7 A–B + 5 variants, *Barbeau* 1962, 157 (159) = *Nigra* 11.
50. *Fille se tue pour sauver son honneur, La* Three girls go to bathe. The prince carries away one of them. As it comes to her undressing, she pretends that her dress is too tight, asks for a knife and stabs herself to death. *Millien,* 143–144 2 variants, *Puymaigre* 1865, 93 (different incipit).
51. *Fille s'habille en page, La* The young man is taken as he is about to kiss his sweetheart. The girl clad as a page gains admittance before he is hanged. They exchange clothes and the young man escapes. Under the gallows the girl detects herself and they let her free. *D'Harcourt* No. 25, *Bladé* 1879, 37, *Libiez,* 12, *Puymaigre* 1865, 51, *Legrand* VIII, *Smith* VII, 74, *Barbeau* 1962, 207 = *Nigra* 56.
52. *Fille-soldat* The father is summoned to the army. He begs his daughters to go in his stead. The youngest is willing to replace him, asking for a horse, arms and a page. (Defeats the enemy.) Fragment, subsequently complemented with a new ending. *Puymaigre* 1874, 94, *Poueigh,* 225 = *Nigra* 48 + Spanish-Portuguese + *The Soldier Girl* and East-European parallels.
53. *Fille virée en cane, La* A king or a captain kidnaps a girl. As it comes to mating, she prays and changes into a duck, so she flies away. The king chases her in vain. *Pineau,* 394 III, *Bujeaud* II, 173, *D'Harcourt* No. 2, *Millien,* 88–90 A–C, *Ampère,* 229, *Barbeau* 1962, 293, 297.
54. *Fils du riche marchand* A rich young man kills his father and mother because they forbade him to marry a poor girl. Seeing what he has committed, the girl curses the young man. (Recent wording.) *Bujeaud* II, 235, *Canteloube* II, 379.
55. *Fils du roi et la bergère* He is listening to the shepherdess singing. Asks for his page and a horse. He is told that the girl is but a shepherdess. Whether a shepherdess or not, he must see her even though his horse dies. (Many variants end with this.) "Sing, sing, for I love it very much." "How could I sing, sire?, my father and mother have died during the war!" For father you will get a father, for mother a mother, and so he promises to give her his page, his brother and finally himself. (*Gagnon,* 97) *Canteloube* II, 77, 335, III, 175, 257, *Bladé* 1881–1882 II, 110 (incomplete), *Smith* VII, 60 (complete), *Decombe* XV (she has a true lover and rejects the prince) = *Nigra* 16 + D. Vlr. 34 + DgF 263 + Spanish-Portuguese + *The Song of the Ferrymen* and East-European versions.
56. *Flambeau d'amour* (Hero and Leander) The father closes his daughter in a tower so that she may not be enticed. The girl lights a torch for the young man who drowns in the water or falls down

from the cliff beneath the tower. Next day the girl beholds the corpse. She laments him: would cut her veins with the scissors if her blood restored him to life. *Doncieux* 22, *Rolland* III 187bc IV, 187d–k, *Bujeaud* II, 192, *D'Harcourt* No. 5, *Millien,* 113–116 + 18 variants, *Rossat* 2a–d, *Beauquier,* 312, *Legrand* XVI, *Smith* VII, 82, *Delzangles 26, Barbeau* 1962, 173. (German, Danish, Dutch, Iberian, Italian, Hungarian parallels without genetic connections.)
57. *Frère amant et assassin* While the parents are working in the field, the brother assaults his sister. The girl resists and he stabs her to death. The parent find the girl in her blood, the boy in tears. Court procedure follows, the young man is burnt. (Broadside?)*Smith* X, 201–2.
58. *Funérailles du duc de Guise* Depiction of a funeral: they present his sword "that put out the life of so many Huguenots". (Ballade?) *Ampère,* 243.
59. *Galant assommé* For four years a girl has been courted by a young man. The girl's mother warns him against the lads of the village menacing him. The young man goes home with a sword, three lads slay him with sticks. The girl is lamenting him. *Millien,* 141 A–C.
60. *Galant voit mourir sa mie* The young man goes to call a doctor from London while the girl is nearing death. He returns, the girl is taking leave. His mother tries to confort him: he can marry the rich president's daughter. But his sweetheart, if only with a shirt, is worth more to him than the other one with all her gold. *D'Harcourt* No. 27, *Millien,* 169–172 A–C + 3 variants, *Libiez* III No. 17 (no doctor involved), *Tiersot* 1903, 127, *Barbeau* 192, 213, 215 (reconstruction).
61. *Garçon déguisé en fille* Disguised as a girl he goes to his sweetheart, forces her to make love and then marries her. Tiersot 1903, 179, *Simon,*158 (recent wording, no love-making) = D. Vlr. 6 + DgF 20.
62. *Germine* With the help of her mother-in-law, a stranger approaches Germine in the absence of her husband. The same man then drops in, pretending to be her husband. The wife asks for signs. The man refers to intimacies. The wife is glad to receive her husband. *Barbeau* 1935, 65 (in *Canada* 17 variants), *Champfleury,* 195, *Pineau,* 394, VII, *D'Harcourt* No. 7, *Fleury, 264,* Millien, 206–212 A–C + 14 variants, *Beauquier,* 259, *Canteloube* IV, 327, *Puymaigre* 1865, 8, *Smith* I, 353–4, *Barbeau* 1937, 81, *Idem* 1962, 111 (118 reconstruction) = *Child* 76 + DgF 250 (The Test of Faithfulness).
63. *Hôtesse de Paris et le roi* At lunch, the king visits a beautiful hostess in Paris. As he is settling the account, he asks her what she wishes to the king. "I would like to have him deprived of his crown and wish he would stifle." The king orders his man to quarter her. She takes leave of her father, mother and three children, *Millien,* 117.
64. *L'infanticide* Having made love with three lads, the pregnant girl is left on the roadside. She buries the new-born baby under the pavement. The mayor, witness to the action, casts her into prison. The three lads come to see her, but they find her under the gallows taking leave of her mother. Her farewell speech contains a moral lesson. *Bujeaud* II, 240, *Rolland* I 65, *Rossat* 3a–d, *Millien* 257–262 A–C, *Bladé* 1879, 58, *Puymaigre* 1865, 68 + 67 (throws the child into the water and a neighbour is witnessing), *Smith* X, 202–4 (2 variants), *Barbeau* 1962, 313, *Mélusine* 1886/87, 165 (She kills three babies!), *ibid.* 1892/93 several variants = *Nigra* 10 + *Child* 20 + DgF 529 + *The Unmarried Mother Who Kills Her Child* and East-European variants.
65. *Jésus Christ s'habille en pauvre* The rich man refuses to let him in, his pious wife, however, feasts him, offers him resting place in her room. Brightness in the room: the wife goes to Heaven, the husband to Hell. *Doncieux* 31 (19 variants), *Champfleury,* 5, *Tiersot* 1903, 92, *Canteloube* II, 91, IV, 86, *Millien,* 17–20a–c + 21–3, *Beauquier,* 175, *Barbeau-Sapir* 73, *Weckerlin* 1903 I, 38, *Smith* II, 462–4 (3 variants), *Arbaud* I, 59, *Bladé* 1879, 21, *Barbeau* 1962, 241, Bulletin de Folklore 1893, 45, *Wallonia* 1905, 24 and 56 = *Jesus Seeking Lodging.*
66. *Jeune soldat, Le* He asks for leave to see his sweetheart, whom he finds dead. (She appears in the shape of a dove.) The young man joins the soldiers for good. *Bladé* 1879, 28, *Millien,* 179–183 A–B + 7 variants, Beauquier, 197, *Libiez* III 18 (+ 52), *Canteloube* III, 321, *Puymaigre* 1865, 29, *Combes,* 138.
67. *Joli tambour* The king's daughter falls in love with him. The father raises obstacles, because he is not rich enough. The young man boasts of his riches (three mills, one milling gold, the other silver, the third love; or, three ships loaded with treasure, on board of the third he is going to take home the girl). His father is the English King, his mother the Hungarian Queen. Learning this, they would fain marry the girl, but he rejects them. *Doncieux* II, 27, *Champfleury,* 30, *Canteloube* III, 196, 252, 322, IV, 61, *Rolland* I 128a–h, II, 128 (7 variants), *Beauquier,* 203–205, *Tarbé* I, 127,

Nerval, 120, *Tiersot* s. a. II 27, *Puymaigre* 1865, 174, *Benoist* VI, *Simon,* 219, 221, *Barbeau* 1962, 223, 225 = *Nigra* 73 + *Child* 100 + E–B 852, detail of *The Marvellous Corpse* and East-European variants.

68. *Larrons et la bague* Three soldiers meet a girl, whom they rob and kill. Then they go to the inn of her father. As they are paying, the girl's ring rolls out. They deny but the youngest one owns the murder and tells where the corpse is lying. They are executed. *Wallonia* 1895, 47, *Rolland* III 56, 184, *D'Harcourt* No. 23 (fragment), *Millien,* 248–253 A–E + 2 variants, *Rossat* 5a–c, *Smith* Romania X, 205, *Arbaud* I, 120, *Barbeau* 1962, 371 = *Nigra* 12 + DgF 338 + *The Girl Who Set out with the Soldiers.*
69. *Lisette enlevée par trois Allemands* Three German gallants want to kidnap her. They beg her for bread, and as she is handing it over to them, they catch her hand and lift her on horseback. She cries. *Canteloube* I, 28, *Barbeau-Sapir* 135 (variant, upon her mother's advice she sends them away), *Arbaud I,* 133 = *Nigra* 43 (detail), D. Vlr. 59 (detail).
70. *Luison en prison* She has been kidnapped and imprisoned by three soldiers. She has not seen the sun and moon for seven years. Then her father's page arrives. "What do they say of me in France?" "They say that a big war took place for your sake." "Tell my father that I married, have three children and they call me "mother". "Then give me a ribbon. I tie it on my sword so that they can see, I am coming from a wedding." *Canteloube* II, 17, 271, *Smith* VII, 66, *Arbaud* I, 139 = *Nigra* 50 + *For Seven Years We Have Seen Neither the Sun Nor the Moon* (formula).
71. *Malade au bois* A couple is walking in the woods. The girl feels unwell. "Shall I go and call your mother?" "No, she is too severe." "Perhaps my mother?" "That will do, for she loves you dearly." Mother: "Son, make haste, and I shall be there, too, in no time." The young man finds the girl dead. He wants to commit suicide. Then the girl speaks up: "O, it has been just a test." *Simon,* 128.
72. *Mariage anglais* The princess married to England rejects everything (strophe-repetitive construction) the "damned English offers her". But after the wedding night, she says: "Let us embrace and love each other!" *Doncieux* 24, *Pineau,* 394, VI, *Rolland* V 65–66, 232a-b, *Tiersot* 1903, 106, *D'Harcourt* No. 9, *Millien,* 218–220 A–B (+ 8 variants), *Beauquier,* 379, *Canteloube* II, 73, 252, *Legrand* I, *Smith* III, 365 (2 + 2 variants), *Beaurepaire,* 174–5 (with death), *Barbeau* 1962, 329, 331, 333 Rev. Trad. Pop. 1889, 567 = *Nigra* 46.
73. *Mari assassiné* The groom kills the husband in a forest and marries the widow. On the wedding night the wife sees the bloody head of her husband who went to Heaven. *Bujeaud* II, 244.
74. *Mari trompé* "Where have you been?" "I have gone to fetch water from the spring." "It took a long time! Who has been with you?" "My sister." "A sister with moustaches. Has anyone seen such a thing?" "It was because of the strawberries." "Strawberries in March!" "Yes, they grow in grandfather's garden!" "Give me some of them!" "We have eaten all of them." In the end, the wife ridicules her husband. (In certain variants: Whose horse, sword, etc. is that?) *Canteloube* I, 68, 252, IV, 279, *D'Harcourt* No. 96, *Puymaigre* 1885, 265, *Rolland* II 162a-i, *Tiersot* 1903, 134, *Poueigh,* 446, *Trébucq* 205, *Soleville* 45, *Tarbé* II, 98, *Lambert* II, 320–327 (6 variants), *Puymaigre* 1865, 217, *Tiersot* s.a. 38, *Bladé* 1881–82 II, 126, *Arbaud* II, 152 = *Nigra* 85 + *Child* 274 + DgF 304 + *Iberian* (+ Hungarian No. **129.**)
75. *Marlbrouk* He goes to the wars but cannot tell when he returns. Easter and Whitsun have passed. The wife walks to the balcony and sees the page coming in black cloths: her husband has fallen, he has been at the burial. Four officers carried his coffin. *Doncieux* 44, *Gagnon,* 126, 254, *Lambert* I, 227, *Canteloube* IV, 149, *Weckerlin* 1903 II, 120.
76. *Marquise empoisonnée* The king asks the marquis to surrender his beautiful wife to him. "Were you not my king, I should take revenge." Farewell to the spouse. The queen poisons the new mistress with roses. *Doncieux* 23 (7 variants), *Bujeaud* II, 175, *D'Harcourt* No. 10, *Bladé* 1879, 25, *Millien,* 119–120 A–B + 2 variants, *Canteloube* II, 382, *Barbeau-Sapir* 19, *Legrand* IV, *Puymaigre* Romania III, 101, *Smith* III, 369–70, *Delzangles* 97, *Barbeau* 1962, 343 (reconstruction), Idem 1937, 107 = D. Vlr. 35.
77. *Maumariée vengée par ses frères, La* Her husband beats her and makes her work. She is washing by the river, her brothers appear asking who she is. All comes to sight. They kill the husband in the castle. *Doncieux* 12, *Champfleury,* 28, *Millien,* 125–126 A–C + 2 variants, *Canteloube* I, 138, II, 325, *Rolland* I 139, II 139, *Smith* VI, 428–432 (3 variants), *Arbaud* I, 83, *Barbeau* 1962, 147, 151, 153, 154, 155 = D. Vlr. 4a (Kudrun?) *Nigra* 2.

78. *Merveilleux navire* Girls build a marvellous ship whose sail, mast, rigging, etc. is decorated with gold and roses. Doncieux 37, *Fleury,* 251 *V, Nerval,* 128. *(Ballad?)*
79. *Métamorphoses* Contesting lad and lass: If you change into a bird, a fish, etc., I shall be a hunter, a fisherman, etc., still you shall be mine. Finally the girl surrenders. *Tiersot* s.a. I 10. *Canteloube* I, 34, II, 295, III, 201, 286, IV, 402, *Bladé* 1881–82, II, 360, *Legrand* XXXIX, *Smith* VII, 62–63, *Arbaud* II, 128, *Delzangles* 86 = *Nigra* 59 + *Child* 44 + DgF 437, 525 + Iberian + Greek.
80. *Meurtrière de sa fille* The otherwise rejected knight wishes to buy the girl's love by money. The mother overhears this and scolds the girl. "O mère, ma bonne mère, Vous m'avez porté, Vous qui m'avez porté neuf mois dessus vos flancs, Vous qui m'avez porté pour de l'argent gagner!" Upon this, the mother drives a knife into her girl's body. Her son, a soldier, hears about it: "Were you not my own mother, I would have you trodded by four or five horses!" *Smith X,* 200, *Barbeau* 1962, 365.
81. *Meurtre du François Grand-Cœur* Two lazy lads are drinking wine in an inn. The innkeeper warns them not to proceed any farther. They still go on, meet two young men who stifle them with rope and hide them under leaves of fern in the stable. The miller's family members witness the murder. The mother starts to look for them at midnight, and finds them. (The story is linked to certain places by variable names.) *Decombe* CV.
82. *Meurtrière sauvée par son enfant* The forsaken girl kills her enticer, and gives birth to her child. While going to church, she meets with the judges who want her to be executed. The baby says that the mother is innocent and should not be punished. Mercy is granted. *Rossat* No. 4.
83. *Mie malade pendant 9 mois, La* The girl ate three nuts (peas) in his father's garden, and became ill nine months after. She wishes to see her lover: as he appears, she feels better, asking him to spread his gown over her body. Then she is cured. *Meyrac* 263, *Tarbé* III, 57, *Canteloube* III, 111, IV, 134, *Puymaigre* 1865, 390, *Rolland* I 56a-b (from 1724), II 50a-b (from 1602), *Simon,* 268, 270.
84. *Mie ressuscitée, La* The lad learns (from a bird or a man) that his sweetheart has grown sick. As he arrives, the parents tell him the girl has died. At the grave he summons the girl, who speaks up: her mouth is smelling with soil while the lad's lips breathe love; she tells him not to forget her and also how to mourn her. *Canteloube* I, 127, III, 127, *Tiersot* 1903, 117, 127, *Rossat* 21 a, c, j, *Beauquier,* 323, *Libiez* III 18, 87, *Beaurepaire,* 146–7 = *Haupt,* 86, *Ampère,* 252, *Barbeau* 1962, 411, La Tradition 1896, 58 and 64, *D'Indy* 108 and 113, *Seignolle,* 140*, *Udry* 207 = *Nigra* 17 + *The Speaking Corpse* + East-European + Iberian variants.
85. *Miracle de blé* Flight to Egypt, with the miracle of wheat sown, grown, reaped, etc., in a quick sequence. *Canteloube* I, 32, III, 139, *Millien* 4 A–E, *Rossat* III 1, *Arbaud* I, 33.
86. *Moine, Le* Various stories about the courting outwitted friar philandering with girls and young wives. (The girl pasturing a horse has him sit on its back, the horse runs away with him; she makes him undress in her room and steals his clothes; the milking cow kicks him up, and the like.) *Canteloube* II, 60, 395, *Bujeaud* II, 284–289, *Fleury,* 325, *Rolland* I 75, *Bladé* 1879, 120, *Beauquier,* 271, 307, *Gagnon,* 129, *Tarbé* II, 250, *Rolland* II 75, 78, Simon 503, 506.
87. *Mort au bois en mal d'enfant* The lover takes the girl to another place. In the forest she feels pains of labour. She sends the young man to fetch water. A skylark informs him that the girl has died. What shall I do with the child? *Millien,* 153, *Decombe* 106 (variant: Shall I call your mother? It would be my death! –My mother? Do it at once!) *Bujeaud* II, 198, *Chaminade-Casse* 12 = *Child* 15 (+ 101) + D. Vlr. 7 + DgF 270–271.
88. *Mort de l'enlevée* The young man asks the girl to run away with him, his horse is harnessed, they will go to his father's place. How could she leave her own parents who have raised her kindly; the young man is a single child and his parents will love him but not her. He continues: we shall build a castle with golden gate, etc. On the way he wishes to embrace the girl, but she is dead. Burial and lamentation. *Millien,* 177–178 a-b.
89. *Mort du porte-enseigne* The wounded standard-bearer would like to see his sweetheart. They send for her. She would be willing to sell her clothes to help him, but the young man dies. *Rossat* 25a-h, *Millien,* 243–7 A–C + 12 variants, *Puymaigre* 1865, 178.
90. *Noces des oiseaux* The wedding of the finch and the skylark. Various animals carry the things necessary for the feast. Insects (flea, louse) appear. In the end, the cat kills the rat. *Arbaud* II, 189, *Combes,* 33, *Poueigh,* 146–149 = *Nigra* 127 + Catalan, Spanish (+ Hungarian No. **91.**)
91. *Nourrice du roi, La* The nurse falls asleep. Waking up, she finds the dauphin has been stifled. The nurse takes to flight but the king calls her back. She confesses, and is condemned. The child

comes to life again: "Do not hang my mother, but hang the maid who has poisoned me!" *Canteloube* I, 22, *Smith X*, 204–5 (3 variants), *Arbaud* I, 105, *Ampère*, 278.

92. *Nourrice et St. Nicolas, La* She falls asleep, and the little prince falls into the fire. She takes to flight, meets with St. Nicolas, who tells her not to commit suicide, for he will restore the child to life. The nurse returns. *Doncieux* 33 (10 variants), *Barbeau* 1935, *Canteloube* I, 22, *Rolland* III 180a-d, *Decombe* 122, *Barbeau* 1962, 303 = *Idem* 1937, 183.
93. *Occasion manquée* The king (lawyer) calls up the orange moll, but as he approaches her the girl pretends to be ill. When let free, she scorns the stupid man.—She crosses the woods with a lad and scorns him because he did not dare to kiss her. "Let's go back!" "You must feather the girl while it is in your hand." *Doncieux* 20, *Canteloube* I, 30, 202, II, 46, 254, III, 30, *Bujeaud* I, 252, *Beauquier*, 180, 303, *Weckerlin* 1887, 165 (from 1615), *Rolland* I 4a-d, II 4a-o, *Tarbé* II, 137, *Libiez* III 14, *Bladé* 1881–82, II, 114, 208, *Legrand* XXIII, XLIII, *Simon*, 152, *Barbeau* 1937, 55 = *Nigra* 71–72, *Child* 112, *Dal* 42 + Greek + Spanish–Portuguese.
94. *Où vas-tu toi qui chevauches?* Returning home from the war, he finds his sweetheart has been buried. With his sword he digs up the grave, and the girl speaks up: "My mouth smells with soil, yours breezes jasmine." She asks him to let her rest. *Canteloube* I, 196.
95. *Parents assassinés par les gens d'armes* Three soldiers ask a girl to give them drink at the spring. They see her home. She says to her parents that her sweetheart has come. They open the door. The soldiers massacre the family and run away with the girl. *Canteloube* III, 176.
96. *Passion de Jésus Christ* A brief story of suffering. *Doncieux* 5, *Millien*, 14–16 A–C, *Smith* II, after 465? *Decombe* 85, *Arbaud* I, 40, II, 1, *Delzangles* 34, *Canteloube* II, 132, *D'Harcourt* No. 12, *Barbeau* 1962, 235, 237, Idem 1937, 193, *Rossat* III, 61 16A–B.
97. *Pénitence de Marie-Madeleine* She refuses to go to mass, rather she goes to play with the lads. Her parents or the Holy Virgin, etc. tells her that a handsome young man is preaching. She dresses (with the sun, moon and stars on her gown), and she goes to listen to Jesus Christ. He reproaches her, and orders her to do penance in the wilderness for seven years. *Doncieux* 9, *Millien*, 29 (32–34 only repentance), *Rolland* Vla-j, *Bladé* 1881–82, 183, 332 (only repentance), *Smith* IV, 438, *Arbaud* I, 64, II, 15, *Delzangles* 62.
98. *Pernette* The girl urged to marry a man attaches to her true lover who is in prison. The parents threaten her saying that her sweetheart will be hanged: "Then they must kill me, too, and bury both of us side by side." *Doncieux* 1 (44 variants), *Champfleury*, 150, *Bujeaud* II, 194, *Rolland* IV 188a-c, *Tiersot* 1903, 110, *Rossat* 20a-c, *Millien*, 183, *Weckerlin* 1887, 65 (from 1602), *Beauquier*, 38, *Canteloube* II, 57, *Tiersot* s.a. I 10, *Bladé* 1881–82, II, 192–193, XI, *Gerold* Iabc, *Weckerlin* 1903 II, 66, *Legrand* XXVIII, *Smith* VII, 81, *Arbaud* I, 111, *Ampère*, 259, *Simon*, 147 = *Nigra* 19 + Catalan.
99. *Péronelle* The lass has been taken by the soldiers. Her brother or parent asks her to return, but she is unwilling to do so, because she fares well: they give her food as well as clothes. *Doncieux* 2, *Canteloube* III, 198, IV, 186, 283, *Weckerlin* 1887, 363 (fragment from 1602), *Smith* VII, 70, G. *Paris*, 39 = *Nigra* 49, 102 + Catalan.
100. *Plongeur noyé* The daughter of the Spanish king learns a trade: she is washing. While beating at the washings, her ring falls from her finger and sinks in the sea. The young man dives three times. First he sees nothing, secondly he beholds the ring, the third time he drowns. His father is lamenting him. *Doncieux* 25 (40 variants), *Champfleury*, 214, *Haupt*, 29, *Bujeaud* II, 166, 170, *D'Harcourt* No. 19, *Rossat* 9, *Fleury*, 247, *Millien*, 128–132 + 8 variants, *Gagnon*, 12 (contamination), *Puymaigre* 1865, 62, *Canteloube* II, 397, III, 195, IV, 160, 306, 425, 448, *Weckerlin* 1887, 75 = *Beaurepaire*, 148–50, *Barbeau-Sapir* 104, *Bladé* 1881–82, III, 355, *Legrand* XII (+ contaminated), *Barbeau* 1962, 219 + Iberian.
101. *Pommier doux* Three sisters stay in their father's orchard and hear the footsteps of marching soldiers. Their lovers are also among them. "I wish they would be victorious!" The youngest says: "Even though he dies, my heart will be always his!" *Doncieux* 3 (17 variants), *Champfleury*, 86, *D'Harcourt* No. 77, *Beauquier*, 32. *Tarbé* II, 206, 208, *Canteloube* III, 333, *Puymaigre* 1865, 65, *Nerval*, 130, *Weckerlin* 1903 II, 43, *Decombe* 35, *Simon* H., 149 (+ variant from 1715).
102. *Pommier miraculeux* The Holy Virgin asks Joseph to give her cherries or apples. "Ask the one you are pregnant by!" Upon this the tree's branch bows down toward Mary, and Joseph falling on his knees begs for pardon. *Millien*, 9 = *Child* 54.

103. *Porcheronne, La* The husband goes to war, trusting his wife to this mother's care. No sooner does he leave than the mother-in-law sends the wife to herd pigs. She even starves her. In the seventh year she starts singing. The husband arrives, unrecognized, and meets his wife and mother who offers her daughter-in-law to the "stranger" for the night. He detects himself and scolds his mother. *Doncieux* 13, *Bujeaud* II, 220, *Millien*, 195–205 A–F + 6 variants, *Legrand* VII, *Smith* I, 355–359 (2 variants), *Arbaud* I, 91, *Tiersot* 1903, 100–102, Romania X, 584, Mélusine 8, 69, Revue de Tradition Populaire 12, 294, *Barbeau* 1962, 119, 123, *Davenson* 4, *Puymaigre*, 47 = *Nigra* 55 + DgF 342–343 + Iberian + *The Cruel Mother-in-Law* and East-European variants.
104. *Prince d'Oranges* He is wounded, but rejects the father confessor for whatever he had received from girls it had been always on their own accord. For one of them he even paid too much. *Barbeau* 1935, 31, *Barbeau-Sapir* 4, *Barbeau* 1962, 335 (reconstruction) = *Idem* 1937, 13.
105. *Prince Eugène* He meets his enemies whom he had denounced. They fight. He kills fourteen men, then his sword breaks in two. He calls his page to help him, but the page does not dare to do so. He sends word by him to his wife to take care of his child so that it may grow up and take revenge on him. *Barbeau* 1935, 34, *Weckerlin* 1887, 47 = *Ampère*, 246, *Barbeau-Sapir* 12, *Barbeau* 1962, 337, 341 (337 = 1937, 19) = *Child* 193.
106. *Princesse et bourreau* The girl is singing in her father's room at dawn. He tells her to keep silent. She kills him and casts his corpse in the cellar. As she steps out, the hangman comes: "Where is your father?" "He has gone to war." "Show me the way there!" They go to the gallows tree by the hangman's car: "Whom have they erected this for?" In the end, the hangman demands her love, but she rather chooses death. "Do your duty!" *Barbeau-Sapir* 37, *Bujeaud*, 145? = *Nigra* 11.
107. *Prison du roi français* The French king rides out, is taken, and cannot conceal his being the king. From the prison he sends a messenger to bring ransom from Paris. *Doncieux* 4 (7 variants), *Puymaigre* 1885, 86–90 (3 variants), Rev. Trad. Pop. 1889, 397 = *Nigra* 5.
108. *Prisonnier de Nantes* The jailkeeper's daughter frees the prisoner who flees swimming across the river. "When I am released I return and marry her." *Doncieux* 26, *D'Harcourt* No. 114, *Gagnon*, 27, *Canteloube* III, 358, *Puymaigre* 1865, 49, *Rolland* I 137a-b, II 137, V 137, *Decombe* V–VII, *Beaurepaire*, 156–7, *Barbeau* 1962, 199.
109. *Renaud tueur de femmes* He calls the girl to walk (recent: Renaud is so attractive, etc.). They proceed seven miles without a word spoken. Nor do they eat or drink anything. The girl asks for drink. "Drink of your blood for this is your last drink!" At the fish-pond he tells he has killed thirteen girls already and that she will be the next victim. While undressing she asks the knight to turn aside and pushes him into the water. He takes hold of a branch, but the girl cuts it with his sword in spite of all his entreaties. *Doncieux* 30 (15 variants, *Champfleury*, 171–172, *Bujeaud* II, 237, *Canteloube* IV, 46, *Rossat* 11a-d, *Millien*, 133–137 A–D + 10 variants, *Ampère*, 256 (contamination), *Tiersot* 1903, 142, *Puymaigre* 1865, 98, *Barbeau-Sapir* 25, *Smith* X, 199, *Decombe* 92, *Simon*, 164–170, *Barbeau* 1962, 143 (145) = *Nigra* 13 + D. Vlr. 41 + *Child* 4 + DgF 183 + Iberian + *The Enticed Wife*.
110. *Retour de la fille guerrière* She has been in wars for seven years. On her return she is not recognized. She does not greet her father and mother. Her three children had been buried, the fourth is sitting on her arm. *Canteloube* III, 359.
111. *Retour de la fille morte* The mother is washing. She begs her daughter to return. "I am not allowed to," answers the girl, yet finally she is permitted to come. She kisses her son in the cradle; the mother warns the daughter that her mouth smells with earth. "Your husband has married a new wife." "Let him have her, there are fairer ones in Heaven and ugly ones in Hell." *Rolland* IV 206, *Barbeau* 1962, 271, *Millien*, 49–50 A–B.
112. *Retour de la fille-soldat* Having been at wars for seven years she returns, but is not recognized. Asks for food, though she does not eat of it. Goes to bed. In the morning, the mother sees the girl combing and says in tears that she is like her own daughter. "What would you give me if I brought her back?"–"Keep your money, your daughter stands before you who has returned as a virgin." *Smith* IX, 288.
113. *Retour de l'amant aux noces* A young man (or one of three lads) betrothes her. Since she is too young to marry yet, the young man goes (or returns) to the soldiers. Later the father forces his daughter to marry an old man. The young man appears at the wedding, the girl dies in his arms, and the young man dies after her. He sends word to his father that he had died in the war. *Millien*,

173–176 A–B + 8 variants, *Puymaigre* 1865, 27 = *Nigra* 28a + D. Vlr. 102 + *The Lover Returning on the Wedding*.

114. *Retour du mari* The husband goes to the war. Instead of one year he returns after seven years. His wife is having her new wedding, and does not recognize him. He offers a game of cards to decide who shall have the wife. In a noisy scene he presents tokens to make his wife recognize him. The wife chooses him. *Fleury* 268 II, *Tarbé* II, 122, *Rossat* 23a-d, *Puymaigre* 1865, 20, *Legrand* X, *Smith* IX, 289 = *Nigra* 28b (28c) + D. Vlr. 11. + Greek + Yugoslav.
115. *Retour du mari soldat* A shabbily clad soldier is bibing in the inn. At his song the hostess bursts in tears. She says her husband has gone several years ago. The soldier asks why she has more children. She received tidings of his death so she married again. The soldier takes leave and returns to the soldiers. *Doncieux* 36 (9 variants), *Barbeau* 1935, 37, *Pineau*, 383 XII, *Tiersot* 1903, 100, 133, *Bujeaud* II, 93, *D'Harcourt* 120, *Rossat* 22a-h, *Millien*, 212–217 (17 variants), *Beauquier*, 106, *Canteloube* IV, 414, *Puymaigre* 1865, 25, *Tiersot* s.a. II 16, *Barbeau-Sapir* 54, *Smith* IX, 290, *Simon*, 193 = *Nigra* 28 + D. Vlr. 103 + Iberian.
116. *Roi danse, Le* Three young ladies feed pigeons in the garden. The king asks who they are. He takes the most beautiful one to dance. In the first round he wants to kiss her, in the third he tears her skirt. The girl scolds him: "Go to another one and court girls of your rank!" *Bujeaud* II, 350.
117. *Roi et la jeune fille dans le jardinet* The king asks the girl in the garden to give him a wreath of flowers. The girl's hands are trembling. "What's the matter?" "I am going to die." "Then they shall bury both of us! It is better than to listen to the priest's singing, to your mother's lamenting, and to live on without comfort." *Bujeaud* II, 177.
118. *Roi Renaud* The wounded husband returns and dies at home. His death is concealed from his wife. The woman hears and sees signs. Upon inquiries she receives evasive replies. Finally she learns her husband has died. She dies after him. *Doncieux* 7 (59 variants), *Barbeau* 1935, 60, *Bujeaud* II, 218, *Tiersot* 1903, 104, *Pineau*, 399 V, *Haupt*, 132–33, *Buchon*, 85, *D'Harcourt* No. 3, *Puymaigre* 1865, 1, *Nerval*, 130, *Canteloube* II, 288, IV, 178, *Tarbé* II, 125, *Millien*, 100–110 A–B + 22 variants, *Rossat* 1a-d, *Beauquier*, 152, *Rolland* III 183a-h, *Tiersot* s.a. II 1, *Bladé* 1881–82 II, 37? (*Gerold*, 72), *Legrand* IX, *Paris* Romania XI, from 97, XII, from 114, *Decombe* 89, *Ampère*, 253, *Bladé* 1881–82, II, 134, *Weckerlin* 1903, I, 217, *Barbeau* 1962, 129 (reconstruction), Mélusine 1878, 75 (2 tunes), 1888/89, 301 (Breton) = *Nigra* 21 + DgF 47. + Iberian.
119. *Saint Nicolas et les trois enfants* The butcher cuts up three orphans. St. Nicolas is feasted with flesh of their corpses at lunch. When detected, the butcher begs for mercy. The children are revived by the saint. *Doncieux* 32, *Beauquier*, 280, *Canteloube* IV, 164, *Rossat* III, 58–9a-b, *Rolland* 111, 177a-b, *Nerval*, 131, *Weckerlin* 1903 I, 231.
120. *Séducteur marié* He is enticing the girl. Since he denies that he is married, the girl yields. Then he owns that he has a wife. (Under the girl's curse he drowns in the river.) The girl dies. *Rossat* 16a-b, *Libiez* III 15, *Bujeaud*, 238? = *Nigra* 24 + *Child* 9 + D. Vlr. 4 + DgF 249.
121. *Sœur substituée à la fille enceinte* She gives birth to a child before marriage, the bridegroom learns this from a peasant girl's song. The bride asks her married sister to replace her on the wedding night because she resembles her. The bridegroom sends her away: "You are not my true love. Where is your sister?" The mother tells her daughter about their failure. Then the bride puts on her best dress and pale as she is goes to meet her bridegroom. He ties her to a horse's tail or orders musicians to play, dances her and drives his dagger into her breast: "If it bleeds than it is all right, if milk spurts, he kills her." *Rolland* IV 207, *Beauquier*, 254, *Millien*, 110–112 A–C, *Legrand* III (pregnant by the bridegroom), *Barbeau* 1962, 161 (reconstruction) = *Idem* 1937, 91. = *Nigra* 34 + *Child* 5 + DgF 357, 274, 276, 126, (271).
122. *Soldat arrivé aux funérailles de sa mie* He asks for leave to see his sweetheart. By the time he arrives the girl is being buried. He encounters the funeral procession, kisses the corpse and dies. *Doncieux* 27, *Canteloube* I, 50, *Bladé* 1881–82, II, 72/3, *Smith* VII, 83–4 (2), *Arbaud* I, 117, *Combes* 139 = DgF 458 and 446 (+ *The Two Chapel Flowers*).
123. *Soldat par chagrin* For grief of love he joins the army. The officer sees him grieve and shows him his sweetheart's ring which he wears on his finger: "Look, she is not worth of your sorrow!" Fight takes place and he kills the officer. Before execution, he says: "Take out my heart and send it to my sweetheart!" *Bujeaud* II, 213, *Libiez* III No. 21, *Canteloube* IV, 157, *Puymaigre* 1865, 171–173, Wallonia I, 36 1893, *Barbeau* 1962, 421, *Choleau*, 153, *Seignolle*, 155* = *Nigra* 27, heart taken out: D. Vlr. 16 + *"Take out My Heart!"*

124. *Tonnelier de Libos, Le* The girl wants to marry him. "Tomorrow." "I cannot wait!" (Without transition:) "My father has a horse whose hind legs set the road aflame and whose front legs kick up dust." Women sitting at the window call the handsome knight. "I am not a knight but a burgher." "You are lying, knight, for I am your brown maid whom you knew in the kings chamber!" "O you were dancing naked there!" "You are lying for I had shoes, shirt and a black canvas dress on." (?) *Bladé* 1881–82, II, 148–9.
125. *Trente voleurs de Bazoges* They go to burgle the king. When they put the treasures on sale, they are caught and sentenced to death. "Had I given credit to father and mother, I should not have come to this damned land!" *Bujeaud* II, 228.
126. *Tristes noces* The lad tells his sweetheart that he is going to marry another girl. "Is she fairer than I?" "No, but she is richer." He asks her to appear at the wedding in her best clothes. When she arrives everybody thinks she is the bride. The bridegroom orders the musicians to play a dance-tune. After the first or the third turn, one of them collapses dead on the right, the other on the left side. Grave flowers. *Doncieux* 29 (20 variants), *Buchon*, 90, *Haupt*, 1, *Tiersot* 1903, 113, *D'Harcourt* 99, *Canteloube* I, 52, III, 168, *Rossat* 6a-c, *Millien* 137–141 A–C + 6 variants, *Weckerlin* 1887, 4, *Beauquier*, 81, *Legrand* XXXII, *G. Paris*, 117, *Smith* VII, 82, *Beaurepaire*, 144–5, *Arbaud* II, 139 (elements + contamination), Mélusine 1878, 189* = *Child* 73 + *Nigra* 20 + Iberian + *The Girl Danced to Death*.
127. *Trois anges* They go begging. The lady of the castle washes their feet, the husband and the servant-maid refuse to do so. The lady goes to Heaven, the others to Hell. *Canteloube* III, 161, *Rossat* III 28a-d (sometimes contaminated with "Jésus s'habille en pauvre").
128. *Trois beaux canards* The prince shoots with his silver gun the white duck of the girl. The duck drops blood and pearls, its feathers are flying in the wind. Women gather them in the field and prepare bed for people walking by. "What shall we do with our daughter? Shall we send her to the nuns or shall we marry her?" *Barbeau* 1947 (92 variants), *Rolland* I 126a-f, II 126, *Tiersot* s.a. II 11, *Simon*, 242, *Canteloube* III, 81, 215, IV, 218, 351, *Barbeau-Sapir* 118, *Beaurepaire*, 163, *Ampère*, 262, *Barbeau* 1937, 151 = *Nigra* 61 (+ *The Girl and the Gander?*)
129. *Trois dragons* They kidnap a girl for their captain. She prays and dies. *Canteloube* III, 163, *Smith* III, 368 (2 variants).
130. *Trois enfants de Berse* Walking by a church, they want to make an offertory. "He who has no money will be punished." As they reach the shaking bridge, they find it in ruin. They are taken, bound and cast into the river... Sentence, king of France, the murderers! "Taken them to the shaking bridge, there you will hear the corpse speaking!" They go there and hear a loud exclamation: "Are you the child of Berse? Who has drowned you in the water?" "The Huguenots of Saintonge. My body lies at the bottom of the water, my soul is speaking." *Bladé* 1881–82 II, 33.
131. *Trois orphelins* The wife dies and the man marries another woman. When the children ask her for bread, she kicks them in the belly. The eldest boy comforts the younger ones. They go to their mother's grave. On the way they meet St. Nicolas (or Jesus Christ, or the Holy Virgin), who grants fifteen years for the mother to spend on the earth. She takes them in her lap, combs their hair and tells them how to behave. Then she returns to Heaven. (Or: the mother speaks up from the grave, saying that she cannot rise, and that they are having a stepmother.) *Puymaigre* 1885, 114–8, *Rolland* III 178a–d, *Tiersot* 1903, 96, *Canteloube* IV, 15, *Millien* 50–53c–d, *Rossat* III 67 A–D, *Smith* Romania IV, 108–110, *Arbaud* I, 73 = *Udry*, 215, *Barbeau* 1962, 269, 273, *Decombe* 99, *Sébillot* 1892, 231+ (fragment), *Senny-Pinon*, 33, Wallonia 1913, 262 No. 16 = *Nigra* 39 + D. Vlr. 116 + DgF 89 + *Three Orphans* and East-European versions.
132. *Tueur de sa femme* The mother-in-law is eager to see her daughter-in-law die. The latter complains to her father. Before he could bring relief, the husband takes her to ride in the forest and stabs her to death. The woman asks in vain to see the father confessor. As the husband returns, his brother-in-law asks him about the blood on his boots. "I have been hunting for hare..." "You have killed my sister!" The husband and his mother are condemned to death. *Bujeaud* II, 231, *Rossat* 13a–d (divergences), + 14a–d, *Millien*, 263–265 A–B + 10 variants + 267–9 (encounter with the mother), 6 variants, *Nerval*, 134 (quotation), *Libiez* III 10 (11 divergent variants), *Rolland* II 145, *Smith* X, 194 (contamination), Revue Trad. Pop. 1889, 133, *Barbeau* 1962, 359 (sweetheart), 369 (wife) = *Child* 13.

133. *Veuve, La* She fulfils all the wishes of her husband in the reverse. She walks to the furthest doctor and returns too late. As she hears the chimes tolled she returns rejoicing. She laments for her sheet instead of her husband. She cuts the sheet off the corpse. As she is working at its mouth with the scissors, she is afraid it would bite her. She has the cow to sing the "circumdederunt". (She marries or goes to bed with a cleric.) *Rolland* I 31a–e, V 31, *Bujeaud* II, 67–73, *Canteloube* III, 165, 332, IV, 335, *Fleury* 359, *I, Beauquier*, 125, *Libiez* III, 229, No. 15, *Tiersot* s.a. II 40, *Decombe* 47–8 = *Nigra* 84 + *The Bad Wife*.
134. *Vol d'Église* "Father raised me to support him when he is old. I visited inns, turned into a thief, burgled the church and sold the things in town; I have been taken and imprisoned in the tower."—The youngest child asks his mother about his father. "He did not believe to anyone, and will die a cruel death one day." *Smith* X, 206.
135. *Vol de l'hôtel* He steals things at his lodging and at other places, which he sells in the Flanders. People of Grenoble follow him, take and condemn him to be burnt. He sends word to his mother by a skylark not to think of him any longer for he is lost. *Smith* X, 207.

Inferred French ballads

136. *The Disgraced Girl* = Spanish—Portuguese, English, German, Hungarian.
137. *The Test of Faithfulness* = German, Spanish—Portuguese, Italian, Greek, Hungarian + East-European versions.
138. *The Two Chapel Flowers* = Spanish—Portuguese, English, Breton, Hungarian + East-European versions.
139. *Poisoned János* = German—Danish, English, Italian, Hungarian.
140. *The Bad Wife* = German, Italian, Greek + other songs contaminated with French in Hungarian.
141. *The Coward Lover* = contaminated French + Spanish, contaminated German, Hungarian + East-European versions.
142. *The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death* = Italian (Spanish), Danish, Hungarian.
143. *The Servant and My Goodwife* = Greek, Hungarian.
144. *The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession* = Italian, German, Hungarian + East-European versions.
145. *The Bride Found Dead* = German, Greek, Hungarian + East-European versions.

Other ballad-titles used in the collections

L'abandonnée aux trois robes = Les tristes noces (126)
L'anneau de la fille tuée = Larrons et la bague (68)
Capitaine tué par le déserteur = Soldat par chagrin (123)
La captivité de François 1 = Prison du roi français (107)
Déserteur par amour = Soldat par chagrin (123)
Jésus cherchant à se loger = Jesus Christ s'habille en pauvre (65)
Répliques de Marion = Mari trompé (74)
Transformations = Métamorphoses (79)

TUNE AND DANCE

All what has been said so far has been in connection with the words of ballads. Since, however, the ballad is always performed by singers, melody pertains to it as well as the words. Sometimes people dance to a ballad tune. Some hold even today that dance belongs to the essential properties of the genre. Therefore we have to examine the role of melody and dance in the context of the generic features of the ballad. In this endeavour, however, I must restrict my conclusions to the Hungarian material, since to discuss the interrelationships of words and music in a comprehensive way would presuppose a thorough knowledge of the folk music of all nations involved, which would not only exceed the scope of investigation of any individual author but, for most of the language areas, practically that of any partial research.

The same applies, so to speak, to the musical aspects of Hungarian balladry as well. Notably, the Hungarian ballad tunes are intrinsically related with the whole of Hungarian folk music. There are very few melodic types of Hungarian folk music which are not combined with one or another text variant of one or another ballad type. On the other hand, a good number of texts are associated with such tunes which stand out as solitary, unique phenomena in the body of Hungarian folk music. Queer as they are, they are not to be neglected as peripheral occurrences. From the point of view of balladry, they may shed light on valuable interconnections. Thus, scrutiny into the melodic stock of Hungarian balladry would mean to discuss the entire body of Hungarian musical folklore.

Therefore we cannot even attempt to present a full-scale elaboration of the entire material. Many things have been clarified so far regarding the origin of the individual Hungarian tune types, and new results have been obtained in connection with characteristically ballad melodic types, yet there are still many problems waiting for solution. For the time being, we have to content ourselves by introducing a few eloquent examples to clarify the manifold interrelationships of ballad tunes, paying foremost heed to such questions which are most instructive for the genre in general.

The first thing to state is that the Hungarian ballads are sung exclusively to strophic melodies. The strophes are for the most part made up of four melodic sections, as are Hungarian folksongs, as a rule; strophes composed of two-three sections, or five-six and other patterns of strophic construction are rather exceptional. Isometry is another characteristic feature, heterometry (6+6+8+6; 8+7+8+7; 8+6+8+6; 5+5+6+5+5+6) occurs in certain rare types, suggesting foreign or literary origin. Prosody today is fixed (bound), as a rule, vacillations in syllabic numbers in some variants point back to an earlier practice (Types **1., 17., 22).** But even in these exceptional patterns the number of syllables are increased or decreased in conformity with the strophic construction. Stichic and

recitative forms not infrequent in other tunes associated with folk customs (lamenting, wake, *regös* (solstice) songs, children's games, dramatic plays, etc.) are not to be found in the realm of Hungarian balladry.

Yet, hardly a few of these strophic tunes are coupled with some definite ballad text; indeed, very few of them are performed with ballad texts only. Melody and words, like in other nations' folklore to my knowledge, appear in variable associations, changing their partners as in the case of lyrical songs. A ballad tune can be sung to the words of a lyrical song, most of them to many ballad texts, and *vice versa*, a ballad text may be coupled with a number of ballad tunes. Sometimes one and the same singer will change the melody. On one occasion the informant from whom Variant 1 of Type **48**, was recorded sang the same text to the melody of Variant 2 of Type **48**. One of my informants changed tune 7 while performing a variant of Type **27** to that of tune 8 of the same type. It is owing to this general practice that ballads are not so much associated with a definite melody as to a certain tune type or melodic style. Therefore, when we find that a tune is consistently performed with ballad texts, possibly with the text of a certain ballad, than we may draw conclusions to the origin of the tune.

The tune types most frequently associated with ballads can be determined by their metric characteristics rather than by their melodic constructions. As has been mentioned in connection with ancient Hungarian ballads, they are composed of 8, 6 or 12 syllabic lines, which means that they should be sung to tunes of similar melodic sections; since the Hungarian folksong mainly consists of four isometric lines, 4 × 6, 4 × 8, and 4 × 12 syllabic patterns are prevalent in the Hungarian ballads' tunes, too. Constructions with 10 and 11 syllables are characteristic exclusively of outlaw ballads and more recent ballad songs or broadsides, consequently, the corresponding tunes must have got in connection with the ballad genre one hundred and fifty years ago (85 tune types). Yet, even in this group the melodic sections with 10 or 11 syllables construct in the patterns of the old rather than the new style of folk music, which is the more interesting because types and variants of the new-style Hungarian music have developed in largest numbers precisely in these two metric groups.

The mentioned metric groups are crossed by the various style groups of melodies. It is relevant, therefore, to survey the ballads from the point of view of the frequency with which the various melodic types occur in them. Let us start with the oldest and most typically Hungarian tune types.

Kodály proved that the pentatone melodies with quintal shift are heritage from pre-Conquest times; many parallels have been found in the Volga region, for example **118**/*53* = *Kodály* 1971, No. 7a + Pt 1. Further, **27**/*5*, **65**/*19*, and **6**/*9*. In Hungary proper, these are mainly associated with texts of prisoners' songs and outlaw songs, and in Transylvania also with old ballad types (*18* tune types). By the way, I have listed only such songs which consist of 6, 8 and 12 syllabic lines, characteristic of old ballads.

Pentatone tunes with descending melodic trend are nearest related to the previous group, being the most frequent tune varieties, and found in many associations with the ballad types, too. For example, **3**/*2*, **3**/*9–10*, **6**/*4*, **6**/*51*. Besides purely pentatone tunes, also tunes including pentatonic turns are considered in this

group. Several eastern parallels to descending melodies with pentatonic turns have been found as well (for instance **65**/*18*). (56 tune types.)

Recitative tunes represent the most archaic group among Hungarian pentatone melodies. These may show an ascending trend with *d r m* incipit—**2**/*2*, **2**/*5*, **2**/*9*, for instance—complemented sometimes with a minor six, like in **6**/*40*, or a descending incipit for example: **1**/*2*, **2**/*10*, **3**/*11*, and **3**/*12*. Members of this group turned up almost exclusively in the most traditional regions of Transylvania and Moldavia in association with ballads and lyrical songs. In certain ballad types they occur in conspicuously high numbers, so in the variants of The Walled-Up Wife **(2.)**. (31 types.)

Another very large and very old group of Hungarian folk music, other than pentatonic, had developed from lament melodies. Hungarian laments construct for the most part in a recitative hexachord, either major or minor, with two melodic sections alternating in this compass: the one being closed on the second grade the other on the tonic. From this basic pattern, various forms sprang forth covering the compass of an octave, with both *parlando* and *giusto* rhythm, yet preserving much of the original recitative character. The melodic sections of this derivate form usually have 5 4 2, 5 4 ♭3 cadences, although several other varieties also exist. (Cf. Szabolcsi 1933, 1937 and Vargyas 1950, 1953 and 1966.) Many ballad texts are sung to such melodies, for instance **2**/*16*, **3**/*4*, **6**/*22*; variants of the last are found among the tunes of Types **9., 27., 44., 93., 102., 106., 113.**, and **117.** Type **27.**, for example, has 43 variants with this melodic construction. The narrow form (hexachord with two kinds of cadence) is represented by **32**/*1* and **48**/*1*. This melodic group enjoys a marked popularity throughout the language area in both the recitative and the dance-tune forms, and comes up rather frequently in historical sources as well. Certainly, it is not by chance that it plays a significant role in the ballad, too. Here belong further the tunes which agree as regards style with the melodies of sixteenth-seventeenth-century Hungarian epic (chronicle) songs. I shall revert on this relationship later. (26 types.)

Bagpipe tunes belonging to the most ancient Hungarian melodic types are distinguished by their very characteristic rhythmic pattern: four isometric melodic sections consisting of eight even crotchets each, contracted occasionally into quavers at the head or the end of the sections (for example, **3**/*3*, **3**/*7*, and with loose rhythm, **6**/*23* and **6**/*55*). As concerns their melodic line, some of them belong to the pentatone family, others represent variants of lament tunes (9 tune types).

There are other kinds of descending melodies (starting from a high note and gradually descending to the tonic), many of which are no longer explicitly related with either the pentatone or the recitative lament-tune families. Sometimes reminiscences of the pentatone system can be suspected in them, as in **6**/*22*, **6**/*36*, and **6**/*39*; but **2**/*14* and **6**/*54* are examples of types having no relationship whatever to the ancient Hungarian melodic groups; what is more, obviously foreign tunes also occur, like the major melody of **6**/*56*; two melodies *(4–5)* of Type **45** with their five-syllabic sections represent a rare strophic construction. Most of the melodies pertaining to this class are coupled with one text-variant only; very exceptionally they may extend to a whole type, like **65**/*1*, which tune is characteristic of the type, or **27**/*10* and *13*, which occur in 14 and 34 variants, respectively; such tunes, indeed,

are very rarely combined with several ballad types: **93**/*11* can be found in **107., 110.,** and **115.**; finally, the group discussed includes such rare melodies which occur exclusively in association with ballad texts, like **68**/*2* and *4*. (84 tune types.)

Melodies with a narrow compass are represented by tunes related with the narrow form of laments, further by a few tunes with imperfect scales and pentatonic recitatives. Apart from these, no narrow construction occurs in Hungarian ballad tunes which might be listed along with old-style Hungarian music. Those ranging between 1 and 5 or VII–6 grades with a comparatively flat melodic arch are least typical of Hungarian music, especially their major and minor varieties are outstanding, being mostly borrowed from urban or some foreign source. Although many types belong here, they are marked by a low number of variants, as a rule, in the overall stock of Hungarian folk music; the same refers to the ballad field: such melodic types occur rather frequently in ballads but mostly as solitary phenomena with a low number of variants.Nevertheless, such a tune, too, may be widespread. For example, **8**/*2* is popular in Areas IV and V, combined sometimes with the texts of **17., 20., 66.,** and **88.** Tunes of such melodic flow are often derivatives of church music (to be discussed below). Although they cannot rival with the former groups as regards the number of their variants (in spite of the high number of the individual tunes), they are still rather valuable for their historical implications. (150 tune types.)

Ascending melodic lines also go contrary to Hungarian tradition (except for the recurrent ascending sections of the new style). Many of them stand in isolation as individual developments. Very few of these are related with some old-style Hungarian song. Nevertheless, extensive families occur among them, like **27**/*34* (cf. Types **6., 107., 109., 113.,** and **115.**), or **27**/*20*, whose origin will be discussed later. (126 tune types.)

Low-moving tunes, starting from below and ending in a high tone are completely alien to Hungarian tradition; so are even those in which the closing note is circumflown though yet the larger part of the melodic section ranges below it (plagal). Such tunes are mostly of foreign origin. Very exceptionally old tunes with eastern parallels can be demonstrated in them: **113**/*7*; see further *Kodály*'s statement in connection with 54a (*Kodály* 1971). (In such instances, however, it appears from the parallels that originally the melodic line was authentic, moving above the cadence.) (**33** tune types.)

Tune patterns consisting of 2–3, 5–6 or more sections should be specially mentioned. Hungarian folksongs (and ballads) usually contain four sections. Those with two are mainly fragments detached from the first part of a four-sectioned tune. Such are, for example, **6**/*63, 70., 72.*, and *74*. The solitary tune of **62.** must have been two-sectioned originally. We may consider **91**/*1* to be composed of two sections of 13 syllables each, that is a form variant of mediaeval goliardic poetry, although structures of 7 + 6 + 7 + 6 syllables are not exceptional in Hungarian folk music. Yet when a melodic line of 13 syllables run down so smoothly, without stop or interruption, it should be rather regarded as consisting of two sections, a relic of mediaeval musical tradition.

As to the three melodic sections, songs so built now are truncated forms, as shown by **92**/*1* and *2*, paralleled by the four-sectioned complete form. Similar is the

case with **3**/*1*. But there are tunes which had been originally constructed in three sections, like **3**/*27*, **60.**, the only surviving melody of this type, and **24**/*27*, which, however, certainly originates from abroad.

Songs of five sections are rather rare in Hungarian folk music. Yet, **117**/*1*, a tune of this kind, is very popular with Hungarian peasants, occurring in 71 variants of this ballad, and in 89 variants of the prisoners' song **118.**

Constructions with six or more melodic sections are represented by hardly more than one single song in Hungarian balladry, namely by the highly variegated tunes of **63.** As regards melodic line, these are not uniform; what connects them is the peculiar form: a slow, mostly *rubato* incipit (of two sections, as a rule) is followed by a dance-like portion with a variable build. A stanzaic type rather than a melodic type is involved here. If still we were to take it for one tune, then it should be listed along with melodies coupled with one ballad type.

The new style is conspicuously rare among Hungarian ballad tunes. Disregarding **126.** and **128.**, which are recent developments, we find not a single ballad whose characteristic melodies should represent the new style. Sporadically, linked with certain variants, mainly of new types and recorded from recent collections, tunes of the new style come up here and there, in insignificant quantities, however (cf. **116**/*1, 14, 16, 18, 19*; **133**/*3* and *5*.).

Having surveyed the style groups, let us now consider the tunes which are closely associated with the ballad genre, being either exclusively characteristic to some type or occurring in combination with variants of several types, but always performed with ballad texts. The group will possibly include such tunes which survive in association with some rare and mostly solitary texts as similarly isolated musical phenomena whose peculiar formal, tonal and melodic features distinguish them from the rest of Hungarian tradition, and which therefore may be taken for relics of an early period of Hungarian balladry.

The tune of **10**/*4* is a solitary one performed exclusively to the words of this ballad; on the other hand, all the tune variants of **26**/*1* and *2* are linked exclusively to the texts of this type (disregarding a few sporadic occurrences in lyrical pieces); further the melody of **71.** lives together with the words of this type, which are never performed with another tune; Type **77.** whose tune occurs exclusively in combination with this text, has another tune, too, similarly coupled with this text only; this, however, is a rhythmic ramification of an extensive tune family connected with a multiplicity of lyrical and dance-tune texts. Represented by several variants, Type **72** has two principal tunes: *1* and *2, 6–8, 10* and *13* representing the one, and *3* the other. (For related seventeenth- to nineteenth-century secular and church songs see: *Kodály* 1971, Examples 133–38.) It has to be noted that the variants collected in Nyitra county survive in combination with bridal farewell speeches and wedding songs. Tune and text are closely related in Type **81**, although lately another ballad-like text has appeared together with this tune. Tunes *1* and *2* of the outlaw ballad **101.** are typical of these texts, although they come up here and there in combination with variants of other ballads, too. Finally, the melodies of **127.** and **129.**, suggesting foreign influence, also go hand in hand with the words of these types, all the variants being sung exclusively to these tunes. The melodies of **26., 65.,** and **81.** of the discussed types are not explicitly

foreign ones, but they diverge to some extent from the characteristic Hungarian types. The others are certainly foreign in origin, as will be demonstrated, for some of them at least, below.

Tunes sung usually with ballad texts of several types, but never with other kinds of song, are similarly interesting. Such are **12**/*4*=**89**/*1*—with differences between the two main cadences, 3 and 2 appearing also in the variants—to which may be added **10**/*23*, **21**/*1* and **7.**, with all the pertaining tunes, further **8**/*1*, **12**/*5*, **16**/*9*, **42.**, and **48**/*4*, and also **3**/*21*, **2**/*13*, **68**/*11*, **75**/*8*, **2**/*3*, **69**/*20* and **123**/*9*. That is: a total of 40 variants. (As for origin, see Example Group 2.)

The tune of **11**/*1* is also exclusively performed with ballad texts. This comes up in many variations: **11**/*4* and *5*, **10**/*1*, **10**/*3*, **16**/*14*, **20**/*17*, **23**/*2*, **26**/*7* and *9*, and **28**/*1*. Over 50 variants exist. (For origin, see Example Group 1.)

Casual tune combinations are seen in **19**/*1*, **21**/*3* and **118**/*63*, which are not to be found outside the ballad sphere in Hungarian folk music. (See: Example Group 14.) Similar is the picture in relation to **12**/*2*, **69**/*14* and **105**/*6*: the tune occurs in three ballad types with four variants. Two other tunes peculiar in Hungarian ethnomusicology excel by their high numbers of variants, still invariably associated with ballad texts: **10**/*8*, **12**/*6*, **16**/*1*, **23**/*9* and **26**/*4*/ (36 variants taken together). (See: Example 8.) A half-ballad text should be also added to this group, which precisely because of its pseudo-ballad character has been omitted from my survey, since however it is related with the theme of **10.**, the story of The Disgraced Girl, often merges with this group. With this added, the number of variants would be much higher. Perhaps the other tune developed from this one: its original rhythm must have been similarly iambic, and also the characteristic major sixth in the end of the middle section forms a close link between the two: **10**/*6*, **16**/*2*, **26**/*5*, **65**/*3*; 29 variants.

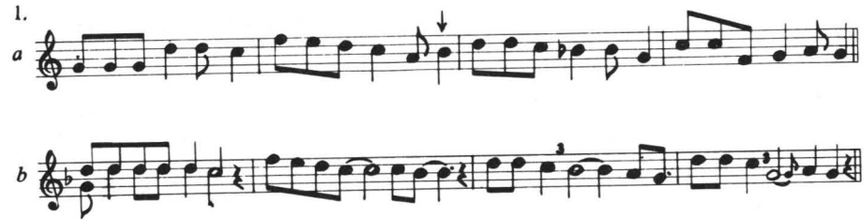
A further few solitary tunes appearing as rare associations with certain variants of some widespread text types or a text surviving in one single variant should be mentioned, too. Such a strange tune, recorded in two villages of Békés county, is **6**/*14*, being outstanding among the many kinds of melodies of the Three Orphans, and so are two tonally transformed—distorted—variants of the same: **27**/*32* and *48*. (For origin, see Example 16.) Other peculiar, solitary tunes are: **3**/*27* known by 5 variants from North-Western Transdanubia and connected only with The Enticed Wife, **38.**, connected with The Daugther of the Pagan King, **68**/*2*, a Phrygian tune with gradually descending melodic trend, and another tune of the same ballad, **68**/*4*, which has been recorded in seven variants from one village of Bukovina, and can therefore be regarded as an association of solitary tune with a text. (There is a variant ending one step higher: **94**/*1*.) Also the single text variants of **60.** and **62.** are coupled with such solitary tunes. The only text of The Test of Love known from Transdanubia has a solitary tune, too: **69**/*5*., a characteristic *"giusto syllabique"* rhythm (cf. Brăiloiu 1952), whose major tonality and 6 4 2 cadences unusual in Hungarian folk music suggest some early foreign influence. This "giusto syllabique" of an alternating structure of asymmetrical bars of crotchets and quavers delivered in a strict rhythm can be regarded as a mediaeval survival (*Baud-Bovy* 1956, 1977 and *Vargyas* 1958, 1960), frequently occurring in ballad tunes. (Cf. **10**/*25*; also Types **20., 22., 69.**; 8/*2*; also Types **17., 20., 66., 69.**, and **88.**;

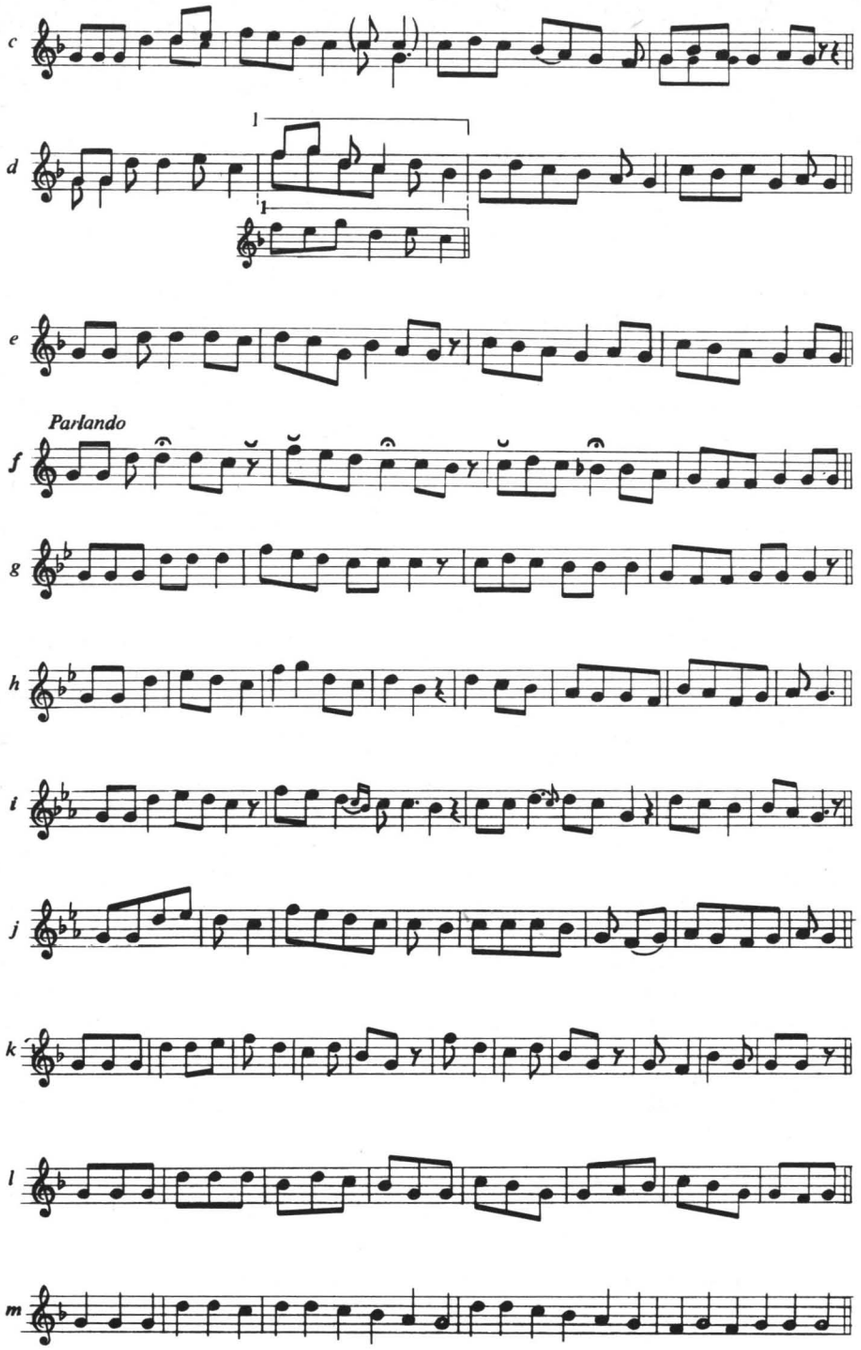
further **11**/*1* and its relationship.) A total of 51 variants, in which the gradual dissolution of the rhythmic pattern can be traced.

The list of ballad tunes would be incomplete without mentioning such melodies as are used as carriers of lyrical texts, more often perhaps than as ballad tunes, yet have to be considered, owing to their intimate connections with ballads, having come into close contact with the genre. First of all, the widely known melody of the song "The Orphan Bird Is Flying" has to be taken into account: apart from the thirteen variants of **27**/*20*, this melody occurs in four outlaw ballad types(**102**/*3*, 5 variants; **109**/*16*, 14 variants; **115**/*10*, 9 variants; **118**/*14*, 9 variants). Apart from this melody of extraneous melodic trend (the origin of which is seen in Example 16), some of the most ancient Hungarian tunes have also intertwined with ballad texts. In the Transylvanian material **3**/*9*, **6**/*32* (cf. Types **9** and **118**); in the Moldavian, **4**/*3* (see further Types **12, 20, 23, 31, 48, 78, 88,** and **118**); in the Great Plain, **27**/*6*, *7* and *8* (see further Types **93., 102., 107–190., 113., 115.**, and **118.**); a total of 146 variants! The "Vidrócki tune", **3**/*5*, occurs in Types **6., 9., 27., 44., 68., 93., 102., 106., 109., 113., 115.**, and **117.**, in 108 variants. The tune of "To Horse, Horse-Herd, to Horse", **117**/*1*, comes up in Types **11., 65., 101., 105.**, and **118.**, in 171 variants; popular as a shepherd song is **118**/*38*, which occurs in Types **12., 14., 21., 32., 69., 105.**, and **117.**, in 24 variants, and the Transdanubian tune of "Woods, Fields and Narrow Groves", **27**/*34*, figuring also in Types **6, 50, 107, 109, 113, 115, 118,** and **120,** in 23 variants. The relation of these tunes is clear: they had existed before the genre of ballad developed, they belonged to the class of the most popular Hungarian songs, and therefore ballad texts readily associated with them.

More exciting is the case of those tunes about whose origin we know something and which do not form part of the old Hungarian melodic stock, being later transmissions; therefore their origin may provide information about the civilizational contexts of Hungarian balladry, and folksong in general. In this section of my study I often refer to church folksong, and its connection with mediaeval and later church music. For the results I am indebted to *László Dobszay* and *Janka Szendrei*, who kindly compared the material of the Historical Archive of Songs and Folk Chants systematized by them with the ballad tunes included in the present work. The relevant correlations have been elaborated by them for *Ethnographia* (to be referred to as *Dobszay—Szendrei–(Vargyas)*).

I have demonstrated the French origin of the tune family of **11**/*1* earlier (*Vargyas* 1958, 1960). A full survey of the variants revealed closer connections, besides it appeared that the tune survives also in the form of a folk religious song; the same has three Slovak variants, of which *Bartók* (1928) stated that they are Hungarian transmissions (Note 234).

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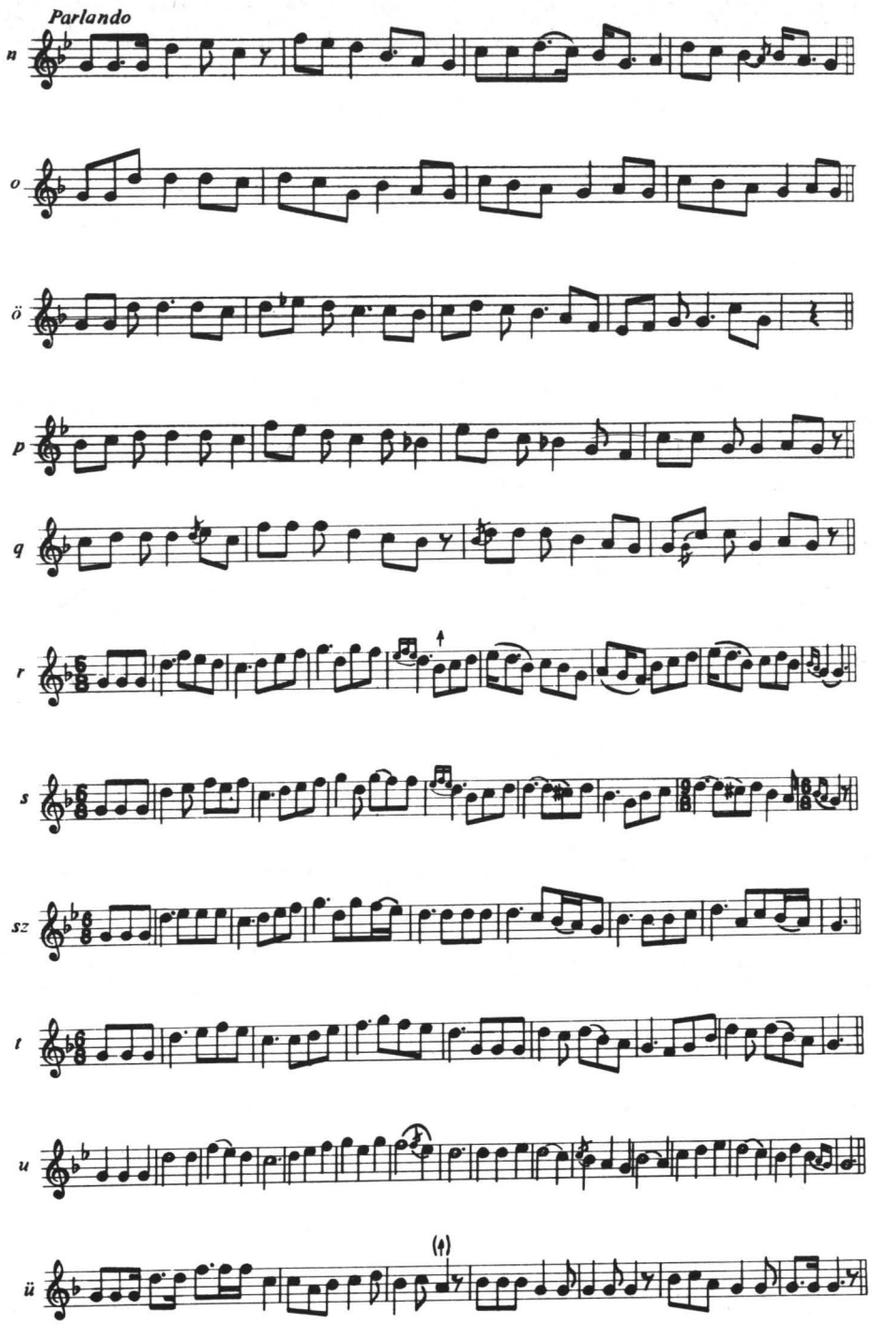
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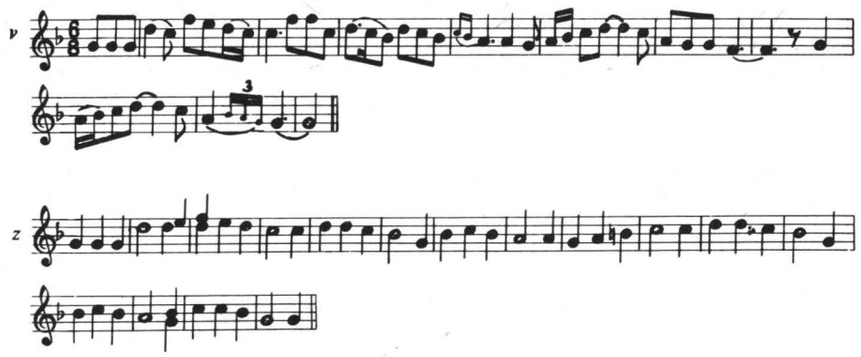
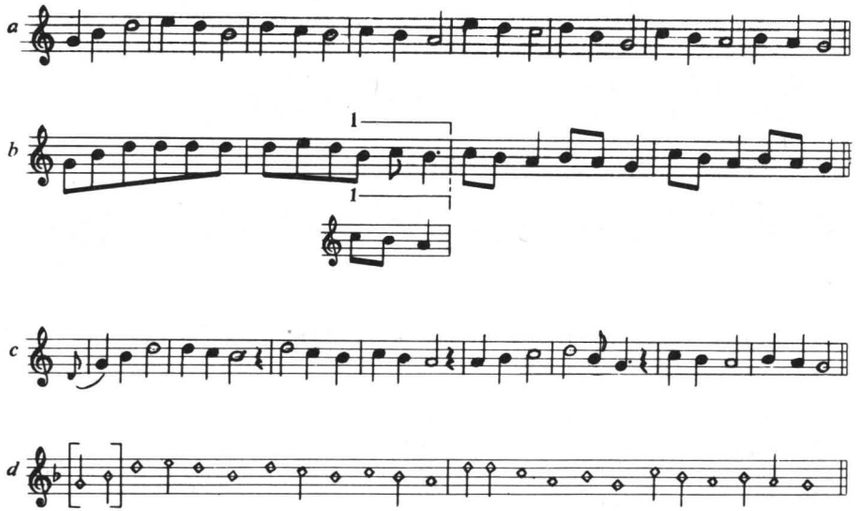
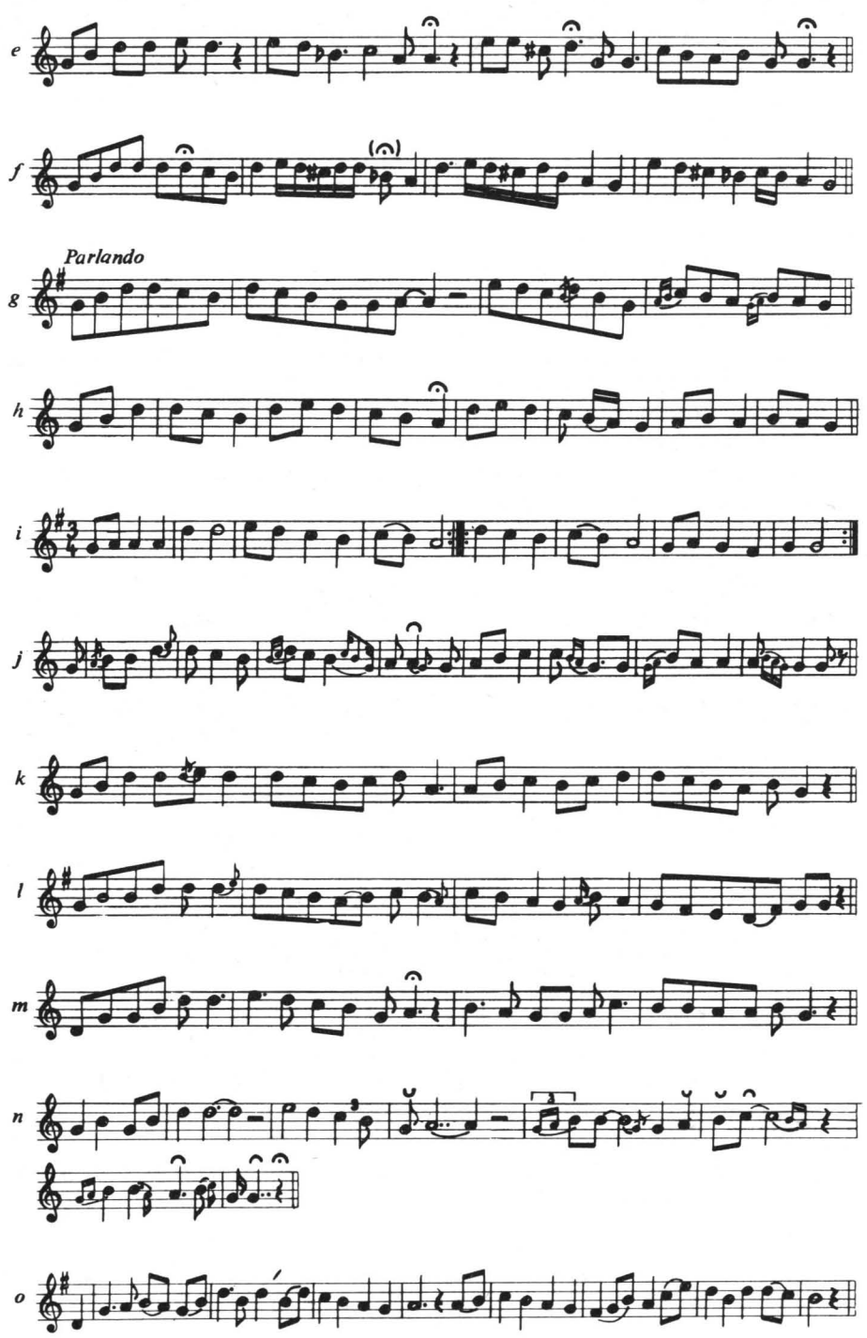


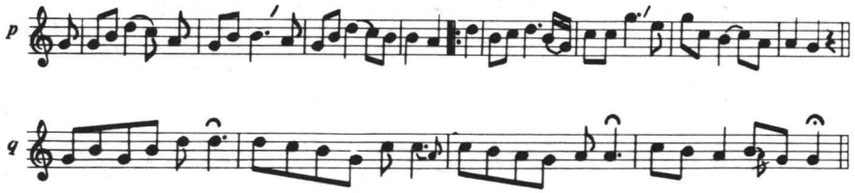
a = **11**/*1*, *b* = **26**/*7*, **10**/*1*, *c-g* = the tunes of **10.**, *h* = **16**/*14*, *i* = **23**/*2*, **20**/*17*, *j* = **10**/*3*, **16**/*14*, *k* = **26**/*8*, 1 = **26**/*9*, *m* = **28**/*1*, *n* = AP 3704/f, a wake song from Verőce county (Like the Pelican of Egypt . . .), *o* = AP 131d (beggars' song: Give Me, Give Me . . .) from Doboz, Békés county, *ö-q* = Slovak tunes, *Bartók* 1959, 76/abc, *r-u* = tunes of the French Roi Renaud, *r* = *D'Harcourt* No. 3, p. 63, *s* = *ibid.* No. 3, p. 64, *sz* = *Canteloube* IV 178, *t* and *u* = *Chevais* 209 and 210, *ü* = *H. Daems:* Etnische Muziek in Belgie 1967 A/11, Roi Renaud, finally *v* and *z* represent complementary parallels of a different but related tune type, *v* = "La passion de Jésus Christ", *D'Harcourt* 12, *z* = *Bartók* 1924, No. 209 (Two Girls Went to Pick Flowers), *cf. Dobszay-Szendrei–(Vargyas)*.

The already mentioned family of 12/4 = 89/1 is German in origin (*cf. Domokos* 1952, a broad comparative survey), and has seventeenth-century antecedents in lay songs (*Kodály* 1935). [For its full significance in Hungarian church folk chants see *Dobszay—Szendrei–(Vargyas)*.]

2.



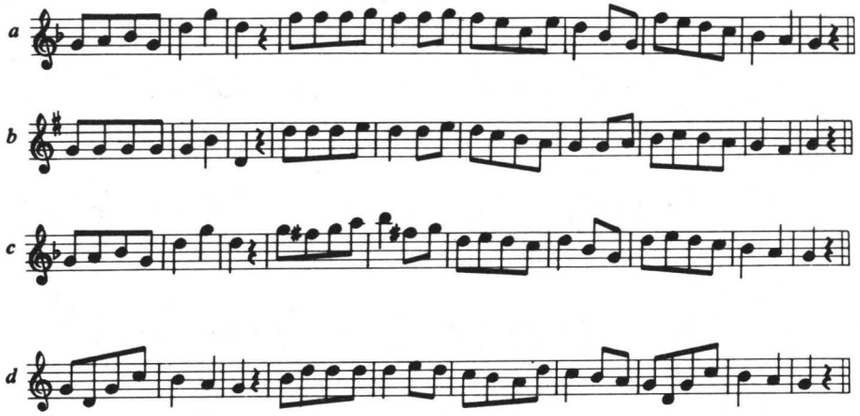




a = **7.**, whose melodies are, with one exception, similar, *b* = **12**/*4*, *c* = **89**/*1*, *d* = a song recorded in 1749 (My Quiet, Beautiful Song, *Kodály* 1935 = Szabolcsi 69*, *e* = **2**/*13*, *f* = **3**/*19*, *g* = When the Family Fled to Egypt, collected by *Péczely* in Kilimán, County Zala, *h* = *Sušil* **25**/*66* (Seeking for Lodging), *i* = *Stoin* 1939, No. 2580, *j* = *Bartók* 1935, 26/d (Romanian *colinda*), *k* = *Kolessa* 1929, No. 265, Ukrainian, *l* = 21/1, *m* = **8**/*1*, **12**/*5*, **42.**, **48**/*4*, *n* = 89/5, *o* = E-B 2125 German, *p* = *ibid.* 2128, *q* = Sl. l' p. II, 405, Slovak.

Let us see a few further international connections. The tunes of **127.** all belong to a family of Slovak origin: the authentic variants (major plagal as well as minor authentic) have their Slovak parallels.

3.



a = 127, *b* = *Bartók* 1924, 185, *c-d* = *Bartók* 1959, Nos 250 and 248a (Slovak). Slovak, Moravian and Czech variants enumerated in *Bartók*'s Note 185. The contraction of Sections 2 and 3 into two bars distinct from Sections 1 and 4 which have three bars is a typical Slovak practice, referred to by Bartók as "Slovakian rhythmic contraction".

Slovak origin of **93**/*5* was also demonstrated by *Bartók* (listing Slovak, Moravian and Czech parallels in Note 205).

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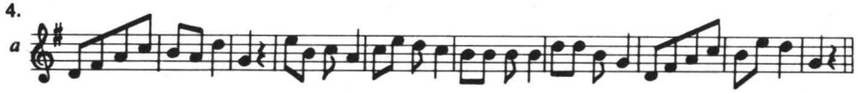

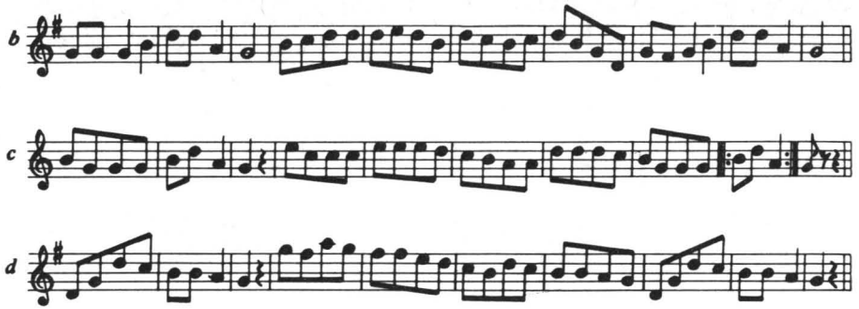

a = **93**/*5* = *Bartók* 1924, No. 205, *b* = *Bartók* 1959, 239c Slovak, *c-d* = *ibid.* 331 and 330b.

The text and tune of **95.** are Moravian transmissions. Two characteristic Moravian parallels are given in the Notes. The melodic trend and the expanded three-sectioned structure is alien to Hungarian folk music (*cf. Kodály* 1962).

For the only extant tune of the ballad-like **90.**, I have stated German origin (*Vargyas* 1964). Also the words are coming from German antecedents. The archetype (E-B "andere Melodie") shown below had been preserved in a sketchy form as a religious (wake) song by the Hungarians. The Romanians used it as a *colinda* tune in a similarly abridged form. 45a-v in *Bartók* 1935 are close parallels, so are especially m-u. As the Hungarians had taken over the German text too, while the Romanians had not, the Hungarian must originate from the German.

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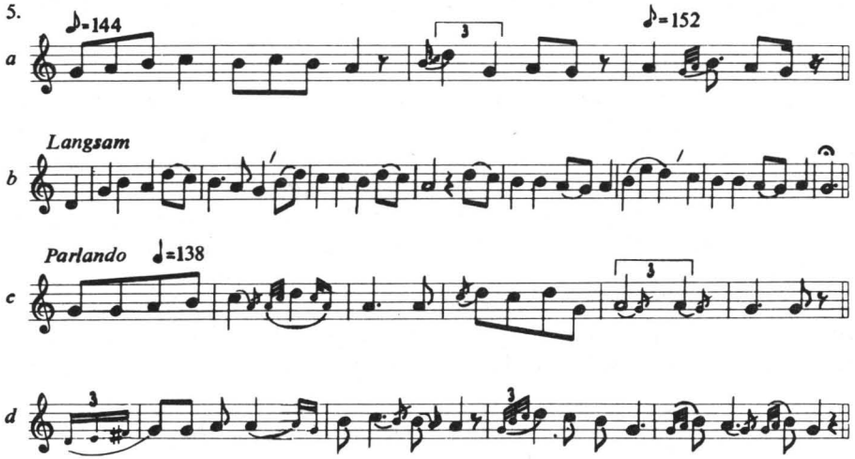
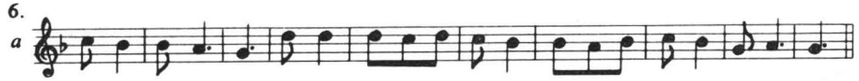
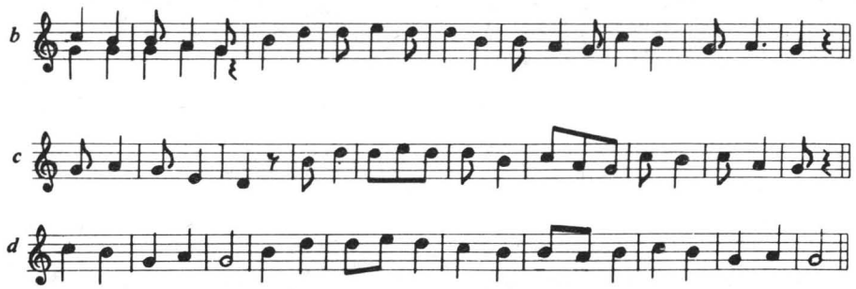


a = 90, b = E-B 2058, c-d = *Bartók* 1935, 45t and u, Romanian.

The tunes of **45.** can be found among the Slovaks too, its Slovak origin being decisively indicated by the "rhythmic contraction" in it.

6.

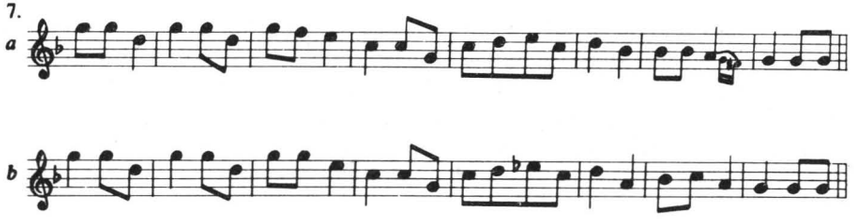




a-c = the tunes of **45.**, d = *Bartók* 1959, No. 9.

A picture in the reverse is seen in the next example. As against an isolated Moravian and a similarly isolated Croatian text from the Muraköz (*Žganec* 1924, No. 256) there stand numerous Hungarian variants filling in the area of the whole Transdanubia, and others recorded from counties Borsod and Abauj and Bukovina, which indicate Hungarian transmission beyond doubt (*cf. Vargyas* 1959).

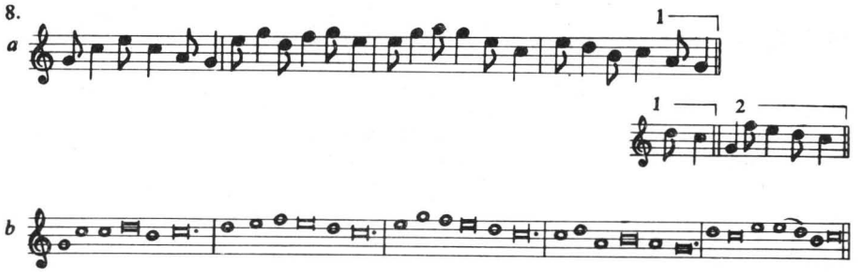
7.

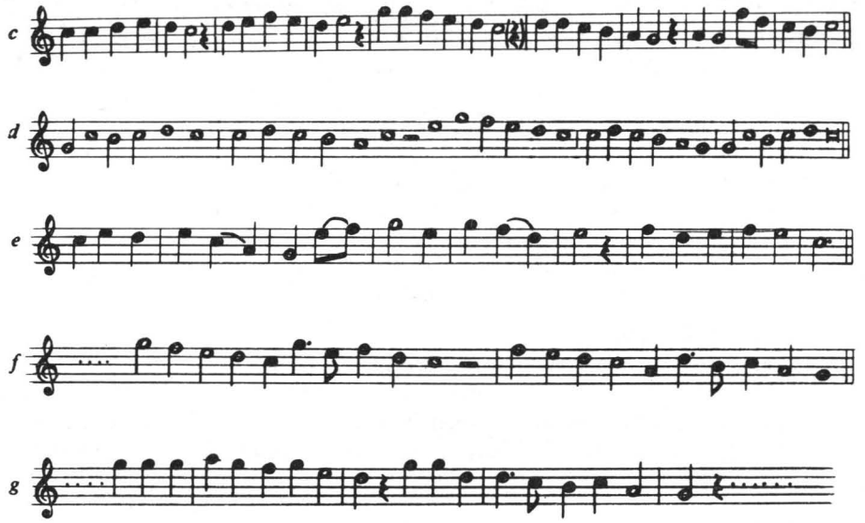


a = **74**/*10*, b = *Sušil* 312.

Similar is the case with the next example: compared with the widespread Hungarian tune and its church song antecedents (a-d), the Moravian (e) is obviously truncated. The melodic trend, together with the occasionally added ending formula, fully agrees with the old Hungarian church song. At the same time, the typical winding turns (especially of the last section) and the descending trend of the first and the third sections appear only vaguely at the end of tune b. Nevertheless, this peculiarity cannot be regarded as one developed specifically on Hungarian soil; it should be rather considered a western feature pointing back to a perhaps yet earlier church tradition, as can be inferred from similar turns occurring in the middle or ending parts of mediaeval Dutch and West-German melodies (f-g).

8.

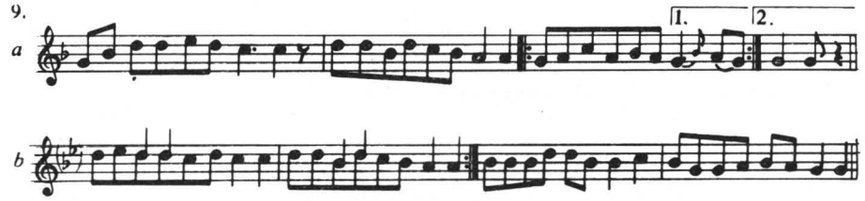




a = **10**/*8*, the tune sometimes ends on *do* as in Variant 1, or receives as an added fifth section the clause of Variant 2; b = *Papp* 149a/I of Cantus Catholici from 1651, c = *ibid.* II Bozóki's song-book from 1797; d = *ibid.* III (Our Lord Has Sent Down . . .) from the Kolozsvár Song-Book, 1744, e = *Sušil* 2339, f = *Schöffer* 153, the ending part of 15, g = Souterliedekens, the middle of 83. *ibid.*, similar portions at the end of Psalms 13, 141, further Kolmarer Liederhandschr., No. 29.

Let us now see how tunes of lay songs of the various epochs coupled with ballad texts. In one of the variants of the tunes of **44.** we can recognize the melody of a late-eighteenth-century lyrical students' song (The Flow of My Golden Times . . .)

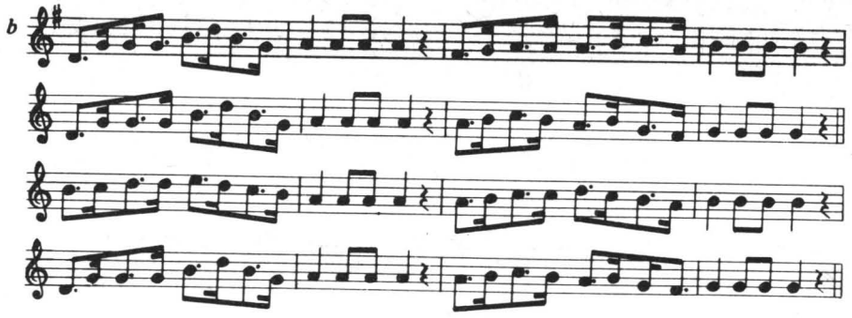
9.



a = **44**/*4*, *b* = *Bartha* No. 16 = *Szabolcsi* 1947, 70*.

The tune of **63**/*29* is a composition by *Ádám Pálóczi Horváth*, which "At national feasts was performed by big instrumental bands, in family circles sung to the accompaniment of guitar . . . at wedding procession accompanied by gipsy bands: that is to say, it used to be chanted at every sundry place", according to the evidence of a nineteenth-century report (*cf. Pálóczi* 521). Its popularity is further brought out by the fact that I happened to record the melody from Áj, where it was sung to a macaronic text interspersed with German words command.

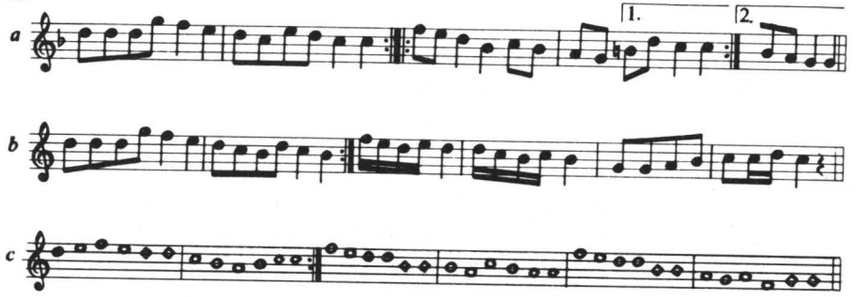
10.



a = **63**/*29*, *b* = *Pálóczi* No. 37.

The earliest-recorded variant of the tune of **123.** occurs also in the Collection of Pálóczi Horváth. Béni Egressy "transcribed" it in 1870 (*cf. Kerényi* 1966, No. 98, 35/I). The ballad preserves this transcribed form. It is not impossible that also the tune of **12**/*8* (Son-of-the-Greek Durica) can be traced to this variant as an ultimate source.

11.



a = **123**, *b* = **118**/*48*, *c* = *Pálóczi Horváth* No. 391.

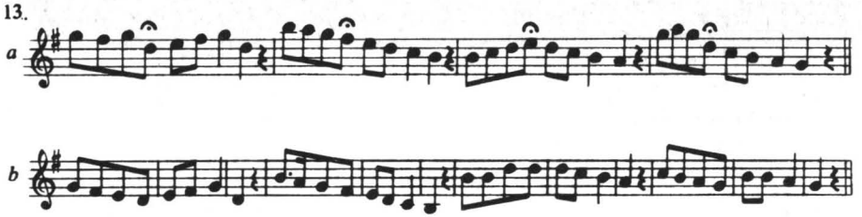
The tune of **81**/*4* presents the last bars of the famous choir-song of the opera *László Hunyadi* by Erkel (The intriguer has died...).

12.

This choral piece was so popular that in 1848 it was sung by the revolutionary crowd over the corpse of Lamberg killed by them. *Kodály* published it in the form of a shepherd's bagpipe tune (*Kodály* 1971, No. 194).

The tune of **134**/*4* is that of a popular art-song (May-beetle, Yellow May-beetle...) composed in the last century (*cf. Kerényi* 1961, 18, in the German edition, 22), while the melody of **133**/*2* is identical with the tune of a Petőfi poem, *The Bargain* (Shepherd lad, poor shepherd lad..., very popular throughout the whole language area to this day). The next example recalls a composition by Egressy (Do Not Go, Sweetheart, to the Stubble-field...), similarly in the last century.

13.



a = **115**/*12*, *b* = *Kerényi* 1961, 31 and 1964, 35.

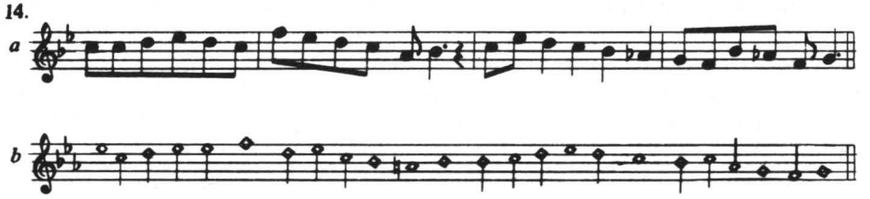
The tune of **118**/*31* derives from an urban song (It Sleets, My Little Bay is Wet...) whose printed source is not known to me; while **6**/*70* is the second half of another popular tune (Beyond the River a White Kerchief is Waved...).

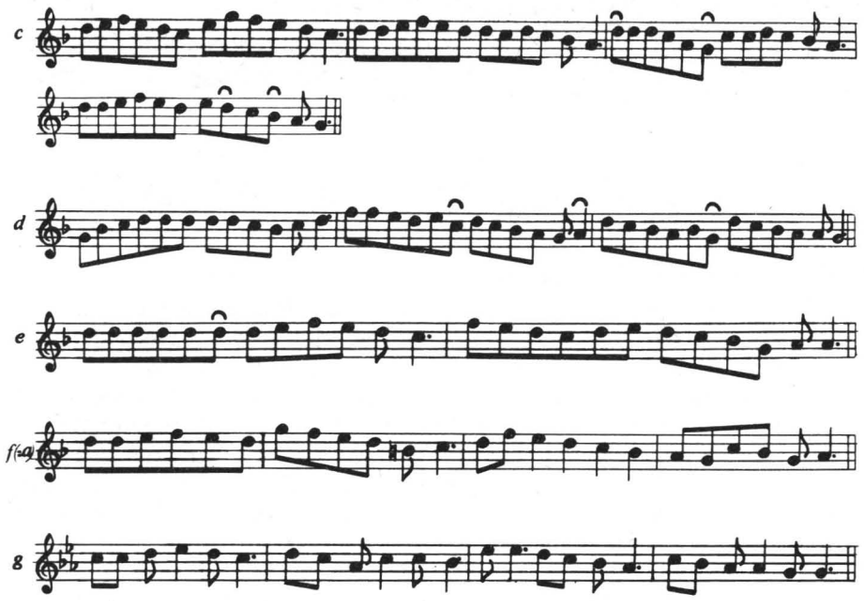
Here belongs perhaps **12**/*2* which was sung also to the words of **69**/*14* and **105**/*6*; namely, this tune occurs in several nineteenth-century collections (in that of Arany, *cf. Kodály* and *Gyulai* No. 13, in the MS collection of István Tóth, and *Szini* 157). At the same time, it is hardly known in folk tradition, except the areas of Slavonia and Bukovina where a good deal of old art-music survive. On the other hand, it is not excluded either that the collections in this case have preserved an old folksong.

A much larger number of correspondences can be established in relation of folk church songs, in which genuine ballad tunes occur sometimes. Some of these live in many variants, possibly of several ballads and are not known from other collections.

Of the tune sung to The Girl Who Set out with the Soldiers (*Kodály* 1971, Example 143) stated that it derived from a Western church song composed by Jacopone da Todi (Cur mundus militat), listing related funeral songs in his study (*cf.* Example *b*). Recently Dobszay and Szendrei compiled a vast number of variants of recitative tunes related with lament, among which several half-tunes can be found ending on the cadence of the second section, resting on a closing note after the characteristic grade 2. They quote more church as well as lay songs. Example *e* of their compilation is published below, from which it appears that such short Phrygian tunes could have developed not only as Kodály stated but also from recitative half-tunes as exemplified by the manifold shape of cadences in the lament tunes. Under *f* I adduce the tune *a* transposed a note higher in order to make the similarity with the other melodies more conspicuous. Next a half-tune of a lay song can be seen which students in the eighteenth century sung to texts mocking the Germans.

14.

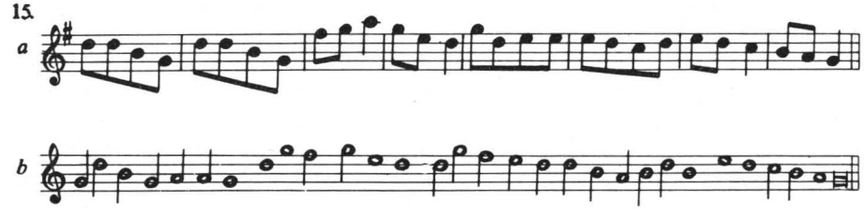




a = **19**/*1* (further **21**/*3*, **118**/*63*), *b* = *Cantus Catholici*, 143, 249, *c* = a folk church song collected at Nagybárkány, Nógrád county (Christ amidst great pains . . .), *d* = a wake song from Veszkény, Sopron county, *Lajtha* 1954, No. 130, *e* = Nz. Cs. 5181 (The day has dawned on which . . ., Csikszenttamás), *f* = *a*, *g* = *Pálóczi Horváth* 12/b (My Lord, Deal Heavily with Him . . .).

Kodály compared the next tune with a Czech church song published in 1576. He quotes the tune with a lyrical text.

15.

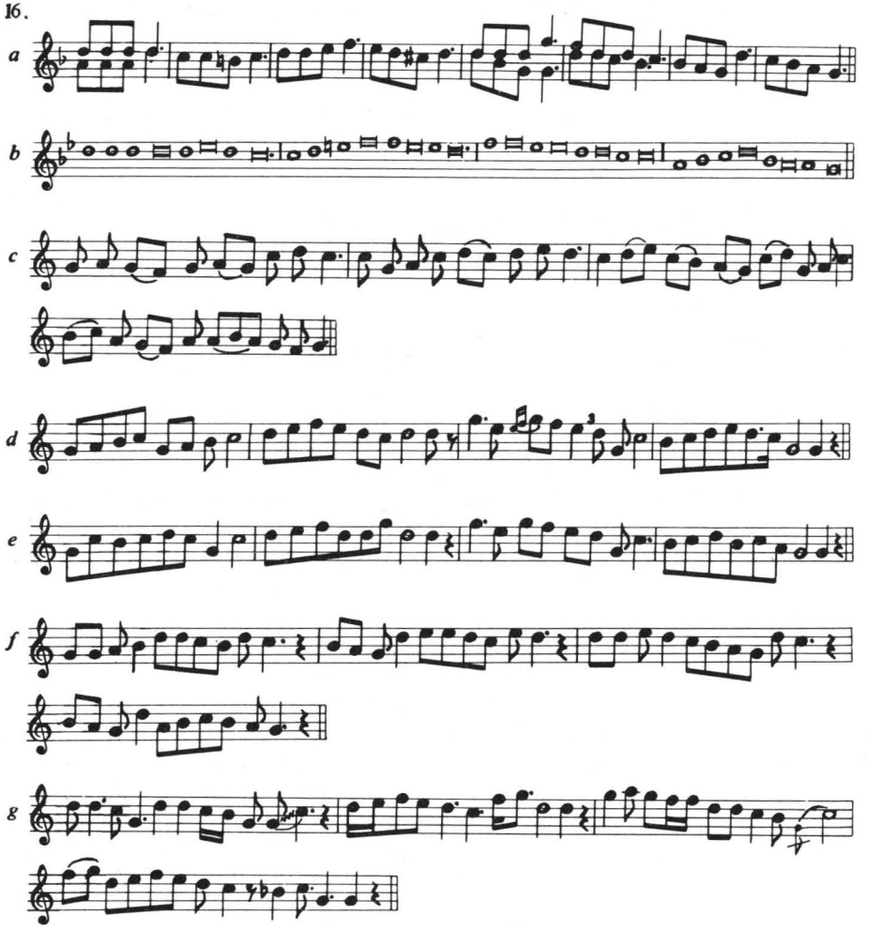


a = **104**/*1*, *b* = *Pisni Ewangelistskich*, 425, 1576.

The following example is the tune of the Békés-county variant of Three Orphans **(6.)**, a rare melody. After this follows a late variant of the mediaeval hymn *Veni creator spiritus*, then the original Gregorian tune of the latter. A widespread melody coupled with lyrical as well as shepherds' songs, and also with ballads and mainly with prisoners' songs, follows next to complete the comparison. The first-mentioned tune is a rare derivate of the late variant of the church song (paralleled by several ballad- and lyrical folksong tunes in the enumeration of Dobszay–Szendrei). It seems that a very rich folksong family had developed from the mediaeval

Gregorian tune which includes not only the very popular group of Tune *e* (The Orphan Bird Is Flying in Hide . . .) but also that of **114.** (I Will Neither Step out Nor Will I Surrender) (*cf.* also **133.**), as shown by examples *f* and *g*. The tune of this mediaeval hymn must have disseminated very early among village people, possibly in mediaeval times, and this is the reason why it could branch off in so many groups (for more detail see Dobszay and Szendrei).

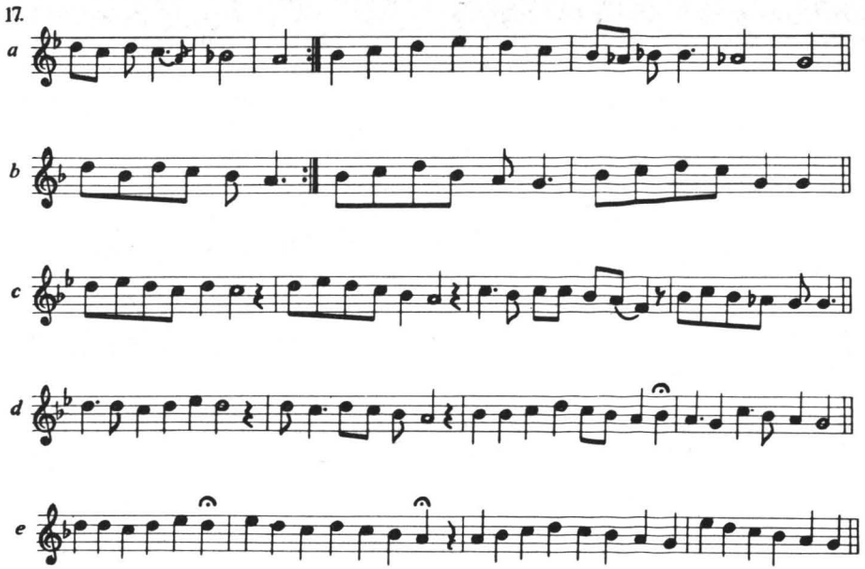
16.



a = **6**/*14*, *b* = *Papp* 1651, 90/**I**, *c* = hymn from *Graduale Romanum*, *d* = MF 192b (Simon Kéri Used to Be a Handsome Man), *e* = **27**/*20*, *f* = a folksong from Bodony, Heves county (Good-bye, Village of New Bodony), *g* = variant of **133**/*1*, Váraszó, Heves county.

Example 17 represents a rare but very significant ballad tune: the only extant melody of the first recorded text of The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death **(1.)**. The next two are remote variants of the same. A popular Marian Lament's tune can be recognized in it.

17.

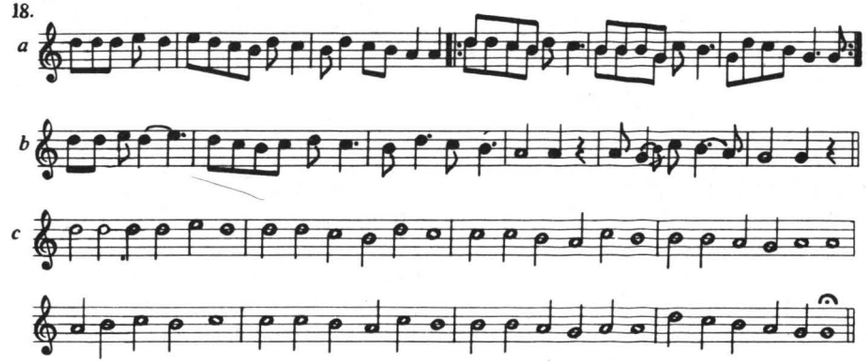


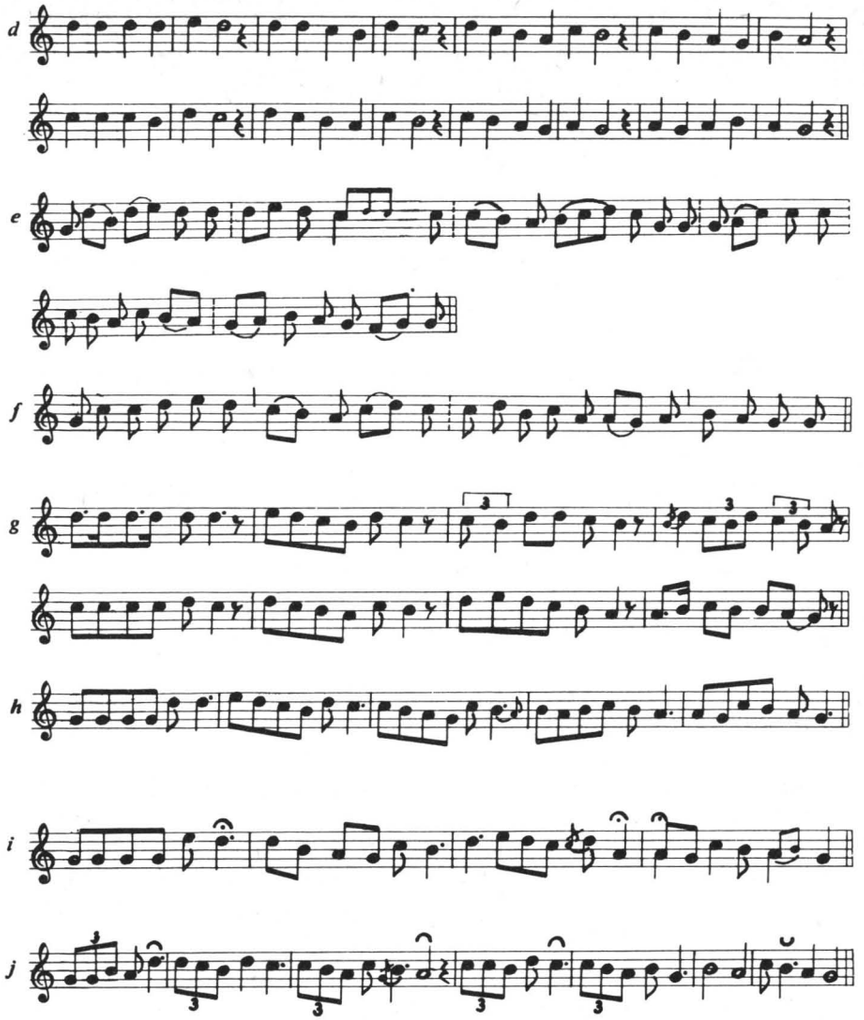
a = **1**/*1*, *b* = **16**/*4*, *c* = **23**/*4*, *d* = *Vargyas* 1960–63, I, No. 88 (Alas, My Beloved Child Whom I Raised with Much Care), *e* = *Papp* 39/II from 1822, with identical words.

In Examples *a* and *b* the second section of the lay church song is sung as the first section too. But the ascending melodic arch of the church song figures only in *a*. At the same time, Example *b*, which seems to be most individual, retained the cadences ending on the fundamental notes in Sections 3 and 4 of Example *e*. The five tunes are related in different ways to each other, yet taken together they display a clear relationship (*cf. Dobszay—Szendrei–(Vargyas)*).

The Song of the Ferrymen **(72.)** survives as a wedding song in Nyitra county, but occurs also in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century published and written songbooks in the form of a funeral song; it is in this form that its variants conquered the entire language area. As shown by the two Gregorian songs, it had a longer and a shorter melodic variant living side by side from the beginning.

18.

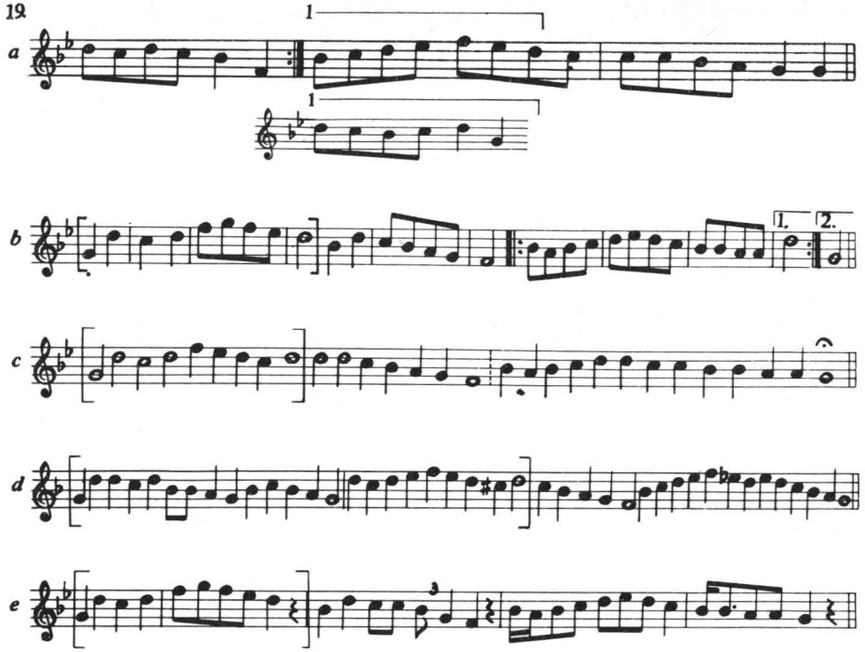




a = **72**/*1*, *b* = **72**/*2*, *c* = *Papp* 130/I, 1693, *d* = *ibid.* 130/II, 1806, *e* = VII Tonus MK 8, *f* = antiphony Kn. 1, *g* = a wake song from Pereg, Gr. 15/A/C, *h* = MNT II, No. 437, nativity song, *i* = nativity song from Áj, Abaúj county, *j* = Sl. l'. p. II, 561 (variants: *ibid.* III, **71** and *Bartók* 1971, 671a-d). For further connections with Example 1 and other Hungarian and French church and secular songs see *Dobszay—Szendrei–(Vargyas)*.

The next tune is an abridged form of a church song (shown below together with nativity-play tunes derived from it): the first section of the original song was omitted and replaced by the second; the continuation is rather an abstract of the church song. A similar reduction is seen in songs of nativity play, in Example *e*, for instance.

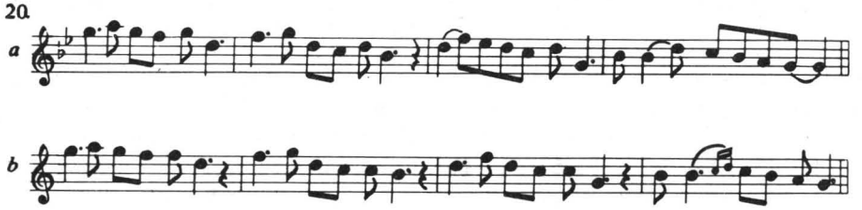
19



a = **123**/*10*, *b* = *MNT* II, 570, nativity-play tune, *c* = *Papp* No. 25, seventeenth century, *d* = *Csomasz Tóth* 66 = *Cantus Catholici* 1651, *e* = AP 6578a, nativity-play tune.

Example 20 is perhaps the reverse of the melodic developments discussed so far: probably the secular song is the original, whose common form lowers on to VII *(f)* in the third section. The lay church song has a cadence exclusively 1 *(g)* at the identical place. In any case, the nation-wide spread of the folk church song well complements the variants of the folksong recorded exclusively from the Székelys *(Dobszay—Szendrei–(Vargyas))*.

20

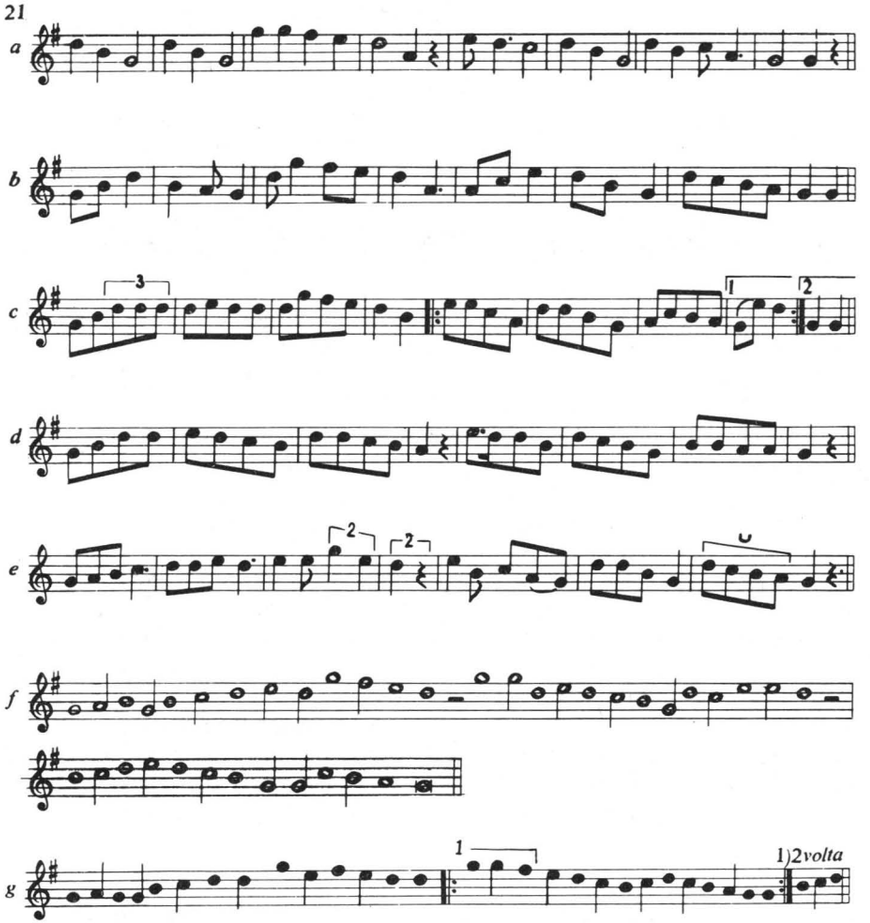


a = **65**/*19*; *b* = Marian lament from Lövéte, Udvarhely county (The mournful Day of Mary, Mary...). The secular variant rarely occurs in connection with ballad texts, more often with lyrical songs.

Neither the tune to come next does belong to the typical ballad melodies, yet it has been associated with five different ballads. It shows clear relationships with

the tunes of New Year chant as well as the Advent songs and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century church songs given below. In all appearance, the tune was occasionally, though not infrequently applied to ballad texts.

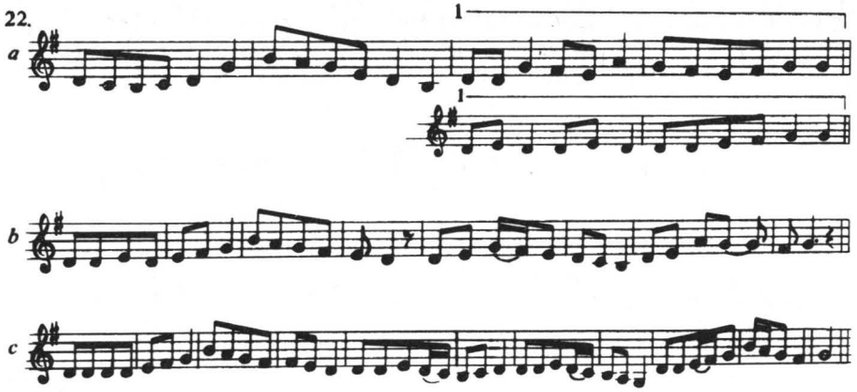
21



a = **65**/*27* + **16.**, *b* = **105**/*8* + **122.** and **123.**, *c* = MSZ 7204, *d* = Lövéte, Udvarhely county, *e* = Váraszó, Heves county, *f* = *Papp* 33/III from 1744, *g* = *ibid.* I, *Eperjes Song-Book* (Gradual).

The tune to follow seems to be strange not only in the context of Hungarian folk-tune types but also in the ballad tunes which are anyway highly varied as regards their origin. This melody courses below the fundamental. The extant folk church song about the Holy Virgin clarifies its origin. Variant 1, on the other hand, reveals the method with which folk singers strived to adjust the tune to the other melodies, similar in character, of The Prince Preparing to Marry.

22.

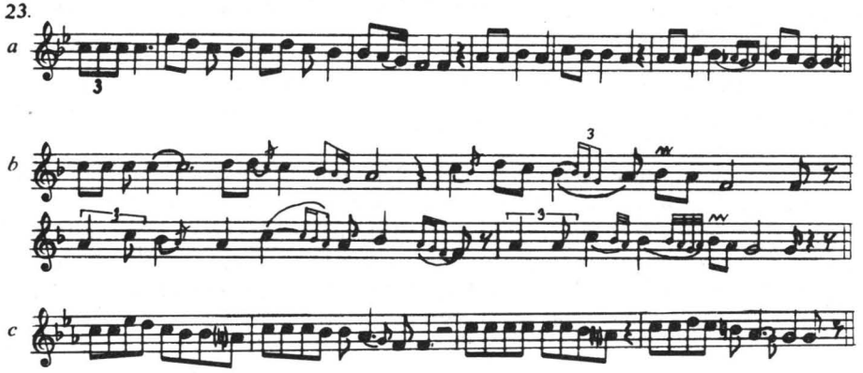


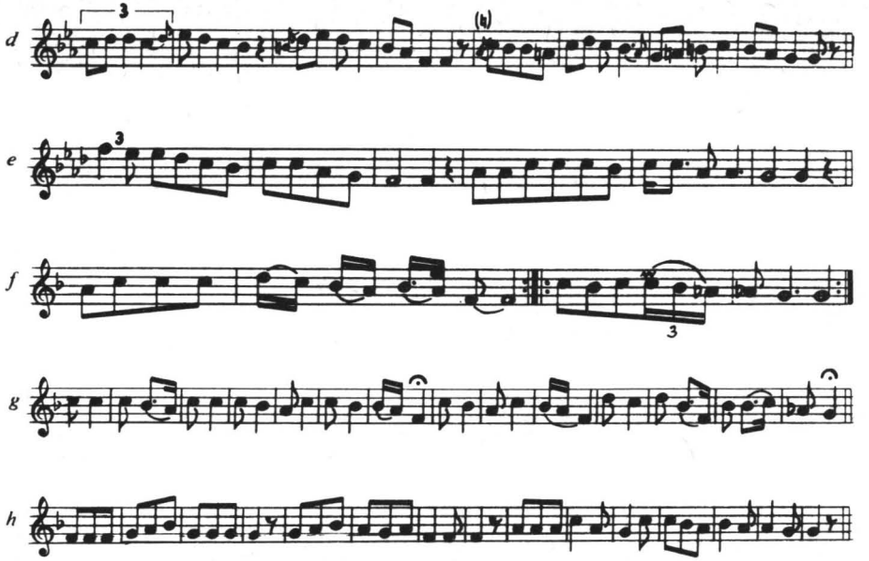
a = **75**/*16*, *b* = church song (Rejoice, Rejoice, Holy Virgin...), Vanyarcvashegy, Zala county, *c* = *Papp* 121. *Cantus Catholici* from 1651 preserves the earliest-recorded variant of this song with a cadence an octave lower. [Cf. *Dobszay–Szendrei–(Vargyas)*.]

The nativity songs, as well as the songs of nativity plays, lead us to the field of folk customs. The tune of **27**/*70* has no parallel among the secular folksongs proper; variants of it occur among the nativity songs. The ballad must have borrowed its tune from them. Also the Moldavians sing two of their ballads to the tune of a solstice song: **31**/*5* and **82**/*4*.

At first glance the next Moldavian tune seems to be a Romanian origin, because the Romanian examples *(f–g)* and Kodály's parallel (*MNGY* XIV, 364) show the same melodic trend. Although apart from this there is nothing to indicate a close relationship between them. Also the tune collected at Nagyszalonta *(c)* warns us to be cautious. In regard of the more convincing variants *(d–e)*, which turned up as custom tunes at two points far apart from the Romanian areas, we see the question in a different light. Finally, the last-published Danish tune shows that similar melodic constructions (with VII as main clause, VII–5, 6 compass) can be looked for not only in East Europe but also among the archaic West-European tunes.

23.

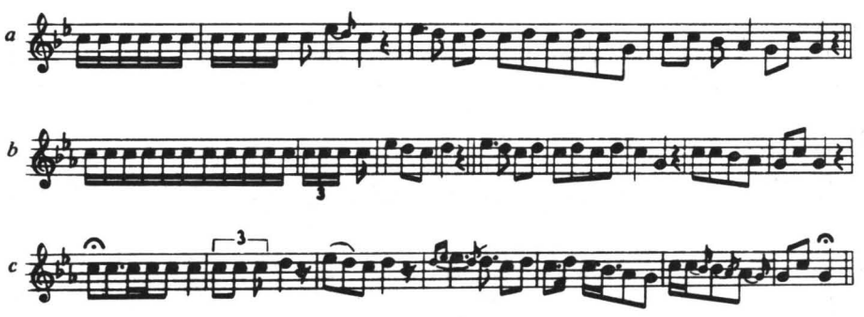


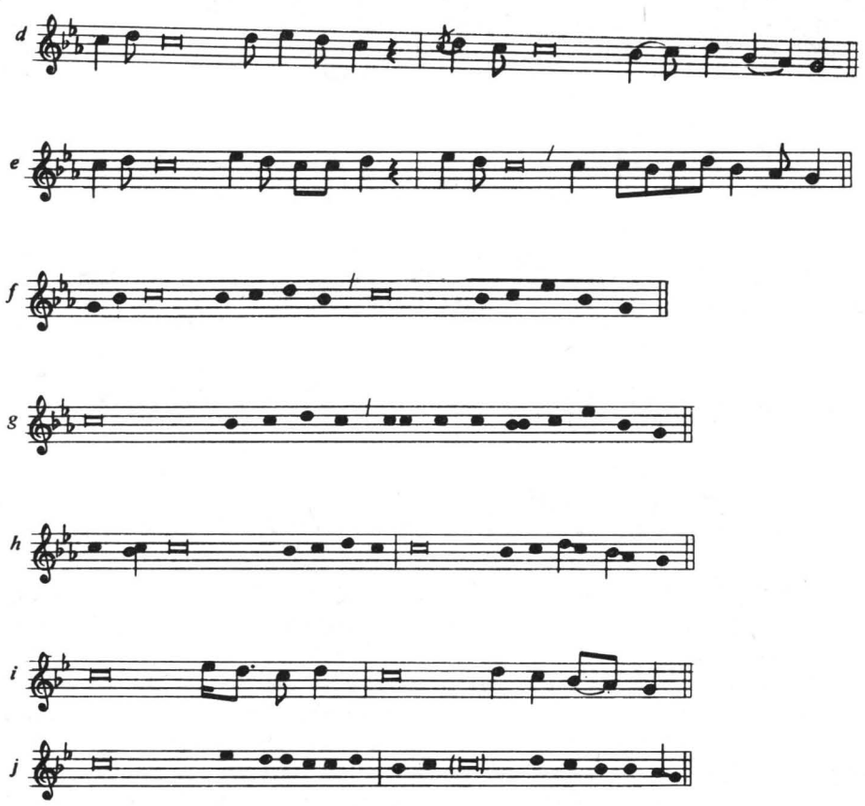


a = **3**/*25* + 86., *b* = **3**/*26* Moldavia, *c* = **6**/*18* from Nagyszalonta, *d* = *MNT* III, No. 8, wedding song from Menyhe, Nyitra county, *e* = *MNT* V, No. 218, strophic lament tune from Baranya county, *f* = *Drăgoi (s.a.)*, No. 37, *g* = 200 *Cîntece*, No. 171, *h* = DgF 95, *ibid.* XI/2, 121.*[Dobszay–Szendrei–(Vargyas)]*.

Interesting is the next case: four variants of The Incredulous Husband **(64.)** from the Great Plain were sung to a recitative psalm tonus 4 and 7. People had ample opportunity to listen to both at burials, and since the words speak about burial too, they applied the tunes to parodies. It is not excluded that the early, mediaeval form of tonus 4 also had some influence on the extant folklore variant. Hungarian peasants perform psalm melodies as recitatives on other occasions as well, mainly as wake songs *(cf.* Examples *d*, *e* and *i)*. *(Dobszay–Szendrei–(Vargyas))*

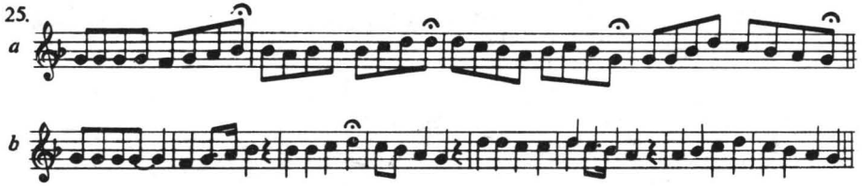
24.

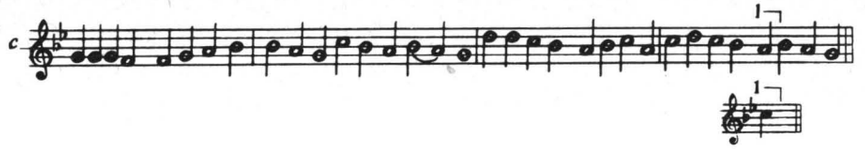




a, b and *c* = tune variants of the ballaad recorded from Újszász, Pest county, Vésztő and Gyula, Békés county; *d–e* = recitatives from Lövéte, Udvarhely county, and Szék, Szolnok-Doboka county, *f* = psalm tune IV from the fifteenth-century MS of Szalkai; *g* = the same from the *Big Psalm-Book (Öreg Gradual)*, 1636, h = official form from *Graduale Romanum*, i = *Lajtha* 1959, No. 252, wake song from Sopron county, *j* = melody of tonus VII from the turn of the fifteenth century, according to the *Paulite Cantuale*.

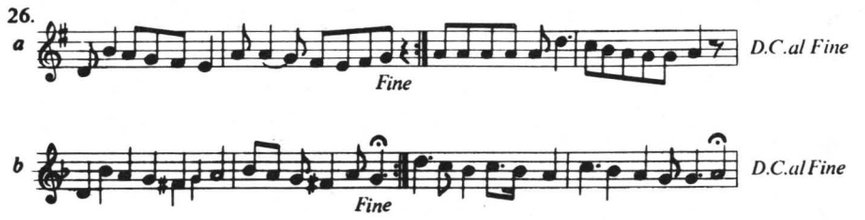
The Hódmezővásárhely tune of the Three Orphans is identical with a folk church song known all over the country.





a = **6**/*15*, *b* = *Vargyas* 1960–63, No. 91 (Holy God of Armies), *c* = *Papp* 295/I, from a Protestant (Lutheran) song-book of the eighteenth century.

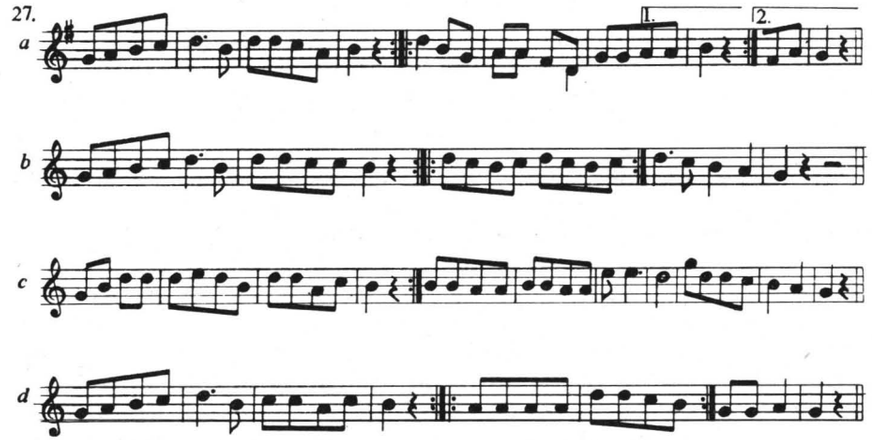
It is a surprising instance: the tune of a song of procession being coupled with the words of an outlaw song.



a = **111**/*5*, b = *Vargyas* 1960–63, I, 96/A.

Major-minor variants within one family are not exceptional in folk music. Most conspicuous examples are represented by *Bartók* and *Kodály* (Sz. Nd.) Nos 72–75.

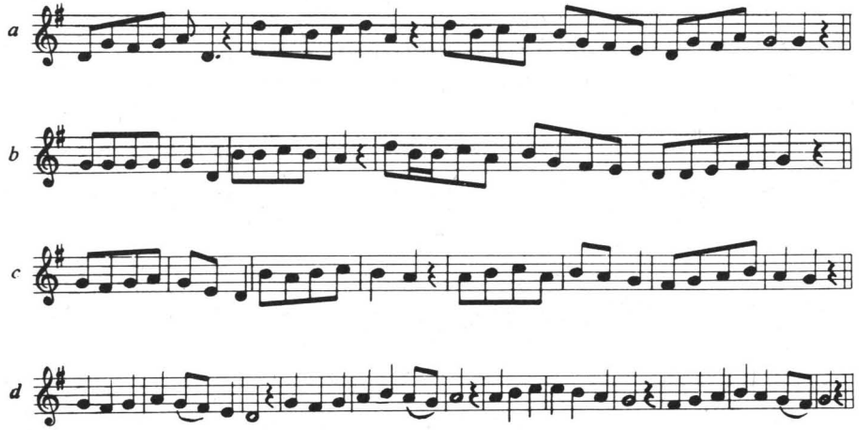
The major tune of the Zala-county variant of Where Have You Slept Last Night, Tomtit? **(77.)** is sung in Transylvania in combination with a greeting song, and as a wake song in other parts of the language area. Its first-mentioned use may have given rise to its spread among the Slovaks who coupled in with texts of solstice *(koleda)* greeting songs.



a = **77**/*1*, *b* = church song from Balatonmagyarád, Zala county (Three Sainted Kings Started Out), *c* = parody from Gyömöre, Győr county (Three White Stocks of Vine), *d* = Sl. 1' p. II, 554. *[Dobszay–Szendrei–(Vargyas)]*

The tune of The Speaking Corpse given next turns up in 24 variants of this ballad, in three of Imre Bogár **(101.),** first appeared in the collection of *Bozóki,* 1797, as a church song *[Dobszay–Szendrei–(Vargyas)].*

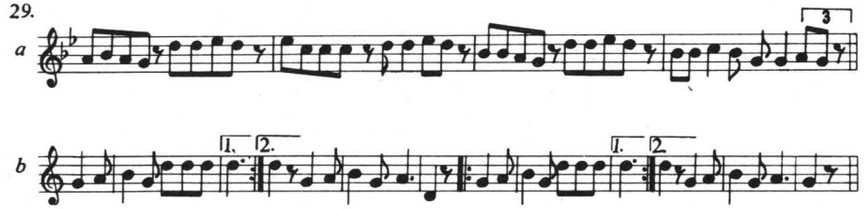
28.



a = **65**/*29a*, *b* = coupling song from Bükkzsérc, Borsod county, *c* = AP 7277c (The only Son of the Father...), Lédec, Bars county, *d* = *Bozóki* 1797.

Let now the above certain agreements be followed by two bolder ones, by which I should like to point to some possibility rather than actual parallelism. The thrice-repeated up-leaping dominant cadence of the next tune is so strange that a foreign origin may be safely supposed. Possibly it preserves memory of a melody like the French placed side by side with it.

29.

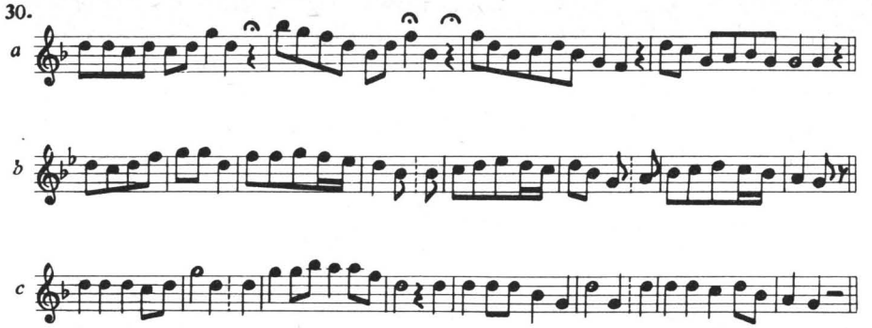


a = **6**/*12*, Resznek, Zala county, *b* = *Chevais,* 115.

The strong French connections of Hungarian ballads allow to some degree a possible agreement.

The next agreement, however, should be interpreted in a way that the Danes and the Hungarians have preserved some common, mediaeval tune in two fringe areas of European culture. True, the Hungarian melody is rarely linked to a ballad text, but is extensively sung to the words of a dawn love song [something of the aubade (Tagelied) type]. The consistency of tune-text combination in this case makes in itself a historical connection likely and explains the tune's association with the ballads. The Hungarian melody has assumed pentatone features, probably as secondary acquisitions.

30.



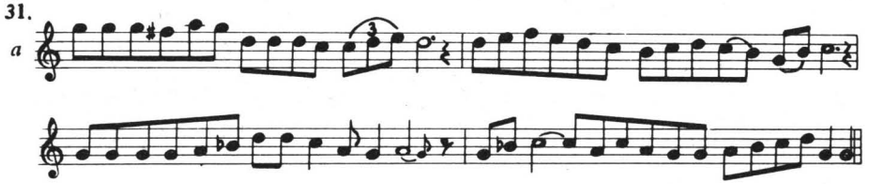
a = **115**/*6*, see further **118.**, b = DgF 146, ibid. XI/3, 154, c = DgF 186, ibid. XI/3, 174.

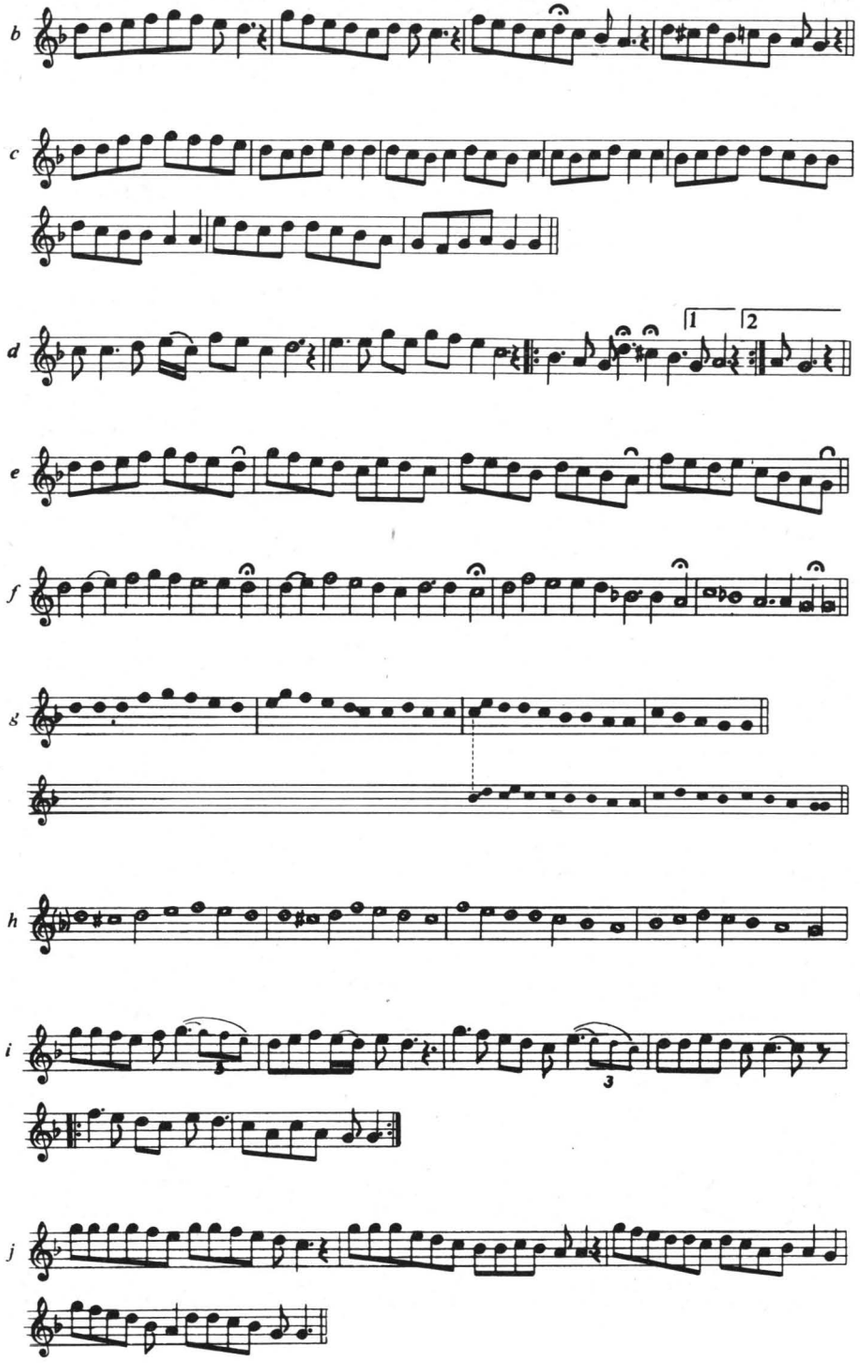
Finally, a large number of ballad texts are sung to tunes which belong to the family of lament tunes, owing to recitative melodic construction, and cadences: 5 4 2, 5 4 1, 4 2 1, 5 2 1, 5 1 1, and the like. The same clause types can be found in laments with an octave compass, at the same time also the recitative traditions of the lament genre can be detected in their strophic forms composed of four sections. The same style occurs in dance tunes as well (cf. *Vargyas* 1950–53). Already in my paper I called attention to the emergence of this type in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chronicle songs and historical lays; one of these, the Bella Istoria of Árgirus was sung to such tune by the Bukovinian singers when *Kodály* collected among them. In the meanwhile a large number of instrumental dance tunes have been discovered from the mentioned centuries which belong to the same type. Dobszay demonstrated *[Dobszay–Szendrei–(Vargyas)]* that it is markedly represented in Hungarian church songs of folklore kind, especially in the funeral songs.

Hungarian ballads readily coupling with such kinds of melody show the survival of earlier epic tradition, or perhaps a parallel phenomenon. In this case, therefore, a process of intertwining is exemplified by the Hungarian ballad in the first place, and this more convincingly than some route of transmission. Only Example *d* permits us to suppose that it developed from Examples *e–g*, which are folk church songs; the correspondence may, however, be apparent only, since it may well be accounted for by the interrelationships of styles.

We omitted a relevant twelve-syllabic tune popular all over the language area whose rarer variants preserve the original cadence of 5 4 2, although the majority have transformed it into 5 or 5 4 4. (See further **61**/*3*, and in Types **12., 14., 32., 69., 105., 117.,** and **118.**)

31.

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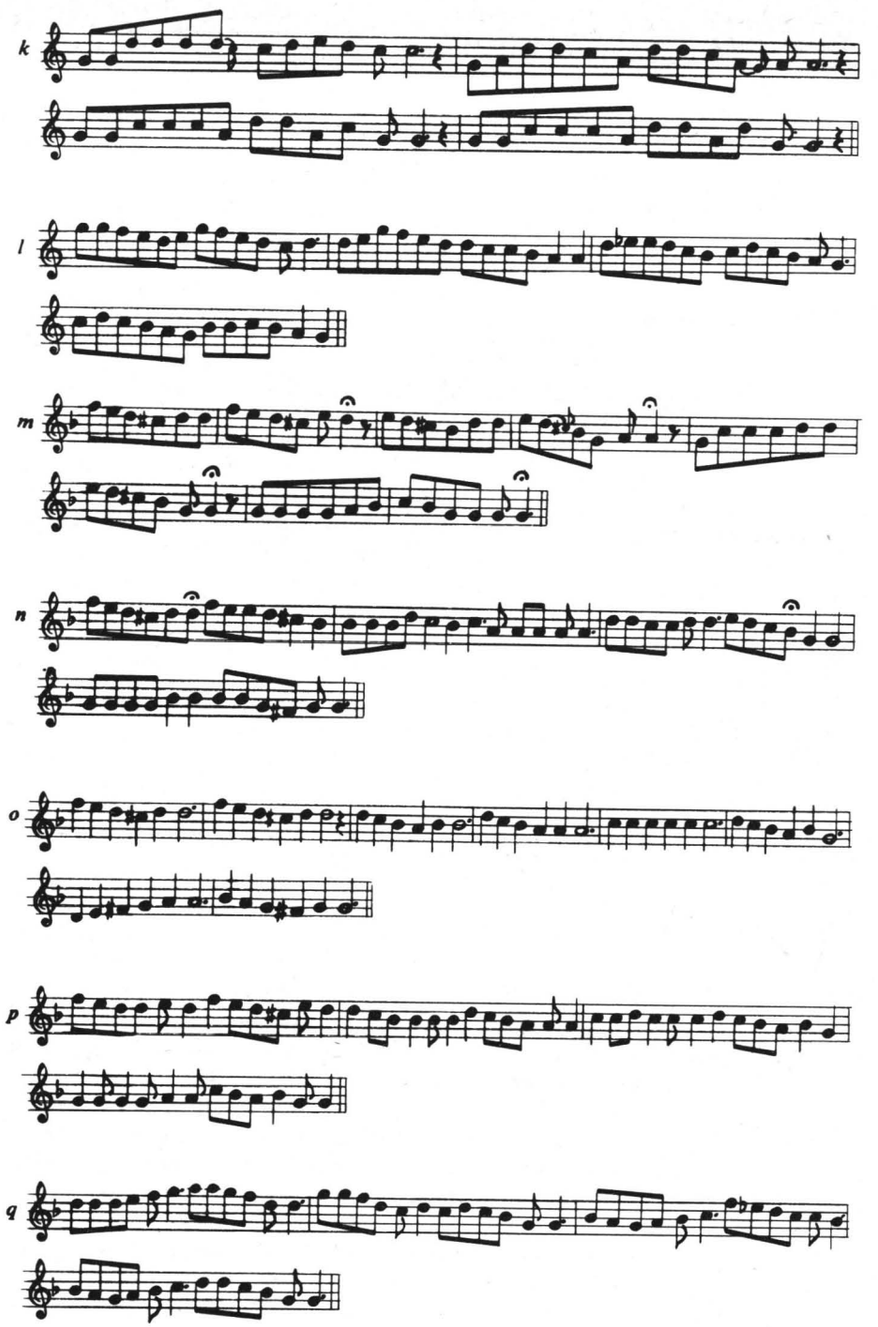
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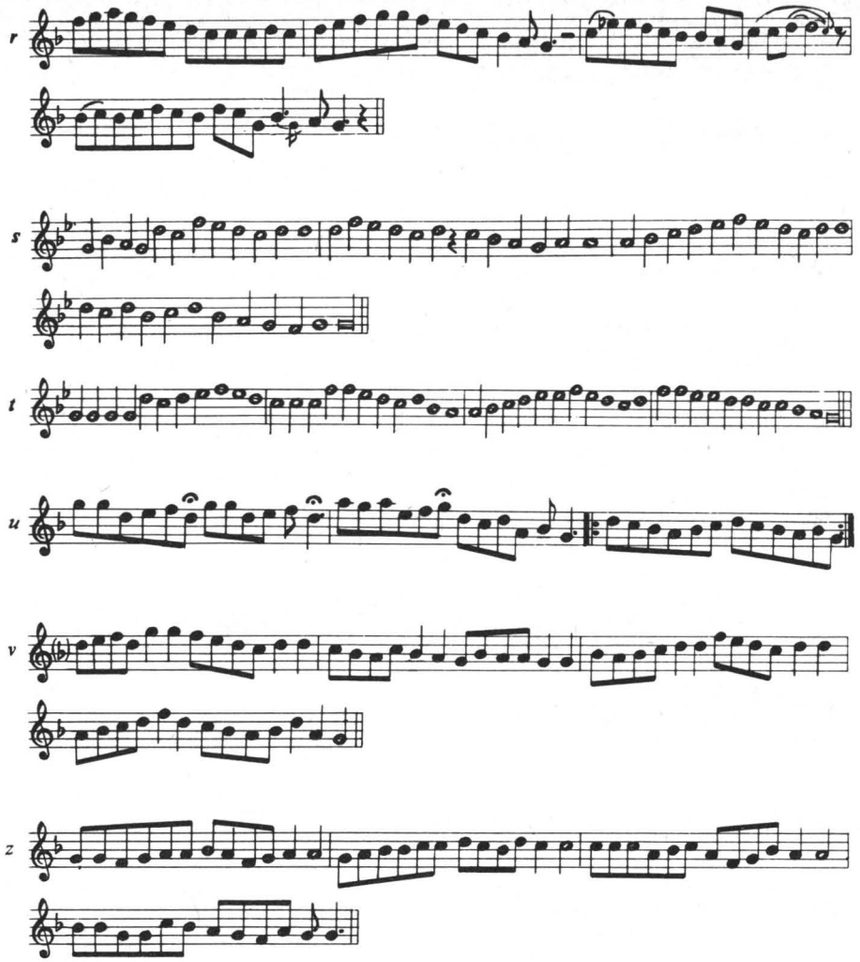

a=**20**/*29*, *b*=**3**/*4*, *c*=*Bartha* No. 35, 1777 (You Were Very haughty, City of Carthage...)=*Szabolcsi* 64*, *d*=**37**/*1*, *e*=a popular lay church song (Jesus Christ's Blood Dropped...), *f*=*Papp* 64/1, 1693 (with identical text, *Lajtha* 1956, 84–87, wake song from Sopron county), *g*=*Papp* 64/II, 1774 (Oh, the Last Hour of Our Lives, with identical words, collected by *Balla* from Moldavia), *h*=*Papp* 342, funeral song from 1769, *i*=**2**/*4*, *j*=**20**/*23*, variant, *k*=**20**/*24*, *l*=**20**/*21*, *m*=*Pt* 349, the melody of Árgirus collected from the Székelys of Bukovina, *n*=**59**/*1*, *o*=*Csomasz Tóth* 235=a melody applied by Verseghy and sung in his *Mátyás Rikóti*, a farce, 1804, *p*=*Pálóczi Horváth* 292 (with two further variants), *q*=**2**/*16*, *r*=**117**/*8*, *s*=*Csomasz Tóth* 15/I=Balázs Székely: Tóbiás 1546, *t*=*Csomasz Tóth* 14=Kákonyi: Asvérus 1544, *u*=**2**/*1*, *v*=*Csomasz Tóth* 50=Tinódi: A History from Transylvania, 1552–53, *z*=*Csomasz Tóth* 35=Tinódi: In the Field of Szalka..., 1544.

By way of conclusion, it can be stated that Hungarian ballad texts have been often associated with certain widespread and certain very ancient Hungarian tunes: with melodies developed from lament tunes and with old-style pentatone melodies. These constitute the musical material of the most mature texts exposed from the best traditional regions.

Next to these, the ecclesiastical songs have the greatest importance for Hungarian ballads. Most individual applications take place in this sphere, which is a sign of the strong attraction this material exerts on ballad texts. At the same time, tune families developed from certain church songs to associate with many variants of many types of ballads. Obviously, the ballad singers must have felt a degree of relationship in the atmosphere of the two genres. But this connection may also have to do something with the fact that church tunes as well as the ballad tunes originate from mediaeval times. Thus there is nothing to be wondered at that the ballad carried over mediaeval tunes to later periods. Even in subsequent centuries we see a parallel application of tunes of both ecclesiastical and secular texts; in certain extreme instances a church melody turns into an instrumental dance tune. Therefore the dual face of this type of ballad tunes can be regarded as natural.

No less important are those tunes which can be traced back to Western civilization, that is, a common European mediaeval musical stock. By the nature of things, both secular and church products belong here, more precisely tunes used in both church and secular practice, or else melodies of which only the ecclesiastical relations are traceable. Such interconnections help to shed more light from the side of music on the route of dissemination of the ballads that have reached Hungary. Remarkably enough, the results agree with those of text comparison. What we call "ballad tunes", that is melodies linked with ballads, possibly ballad types, if not derivable from old Hungarian precedents are mostly some western pieces, judged by their style, even though we are not able to account for their origin at present.

Secular art songs of later periods are also meaningful. In this relation, however, increasingly declining aesthetical values are involved: the musical material of this kind shows how deeply the musical taste of any period affected ballad singing. It is the shallowest tunes that exerted strongest influence in the most urbanized parts of the country (sometimes their melodies were applied to ancient ballads, as in the case of the Transdanubian variants of the Three Orphans). Nevertheless, mainly the more recent ballads were combined with such tunes.

Here belong, perhaps, those few cases where melodies of certain neighbouring peoples turn into tunes of Hungarian ballads. Such musical connections throw light, though rarely, on the course of text-borrowing as well (cf. **90.**, **95.**). In other instances, however, the text shows no traces whatever of the foreign connection indicated by the melody (cf. **101.**, **127.**), for—notably enough—in the case of **101.** the story of a famous Hungarian outlaw has been associated with such a tune whose relationships point toward a neighbour nation. Creations of this kind should, therefore, be also attributed to the influence of fashionable popular songs.

Thus two extreme cases can be observed: on the one hand, people transfer the most popular melodies of ancient origin onto the ballad—this being obviously the practice of the earliest times—and on the other hand, they apply new melodies precisely because they are felt strange and modern. The latter category may have

included tunes arriving with the new genre from the foreign land; to these ever new elements of art music had been added in the course of centuries. As regards church music, melodies of this kind appealed to the public either because people were used to them, owing to quotidian practice, and accepted them as part of their own ancient heritage, on the one hand, and on the other, appreciated them as exciting new melodies, if they were so, whose force of attraction lay precisely in their "strange and modern character".

How these main tendencies appear in the individual ballad types is the next topic of our investigation.

First of all, let us review the types which have a tune of their own, i.e. such ones as are characteristic of individual types, although they may have some other melodies as well. Such are Jesus Seeking Lodging **(7.)**, The Girl Who Set Out with the Soldiers **(19.)**, The Speaking Corpse **(65)**, The Coward Lover **(71.)**, The Song of the Ferrymen **(72.)**, The Girl and the Gander **(81.)**, The Rivalry of Flowers **(89.)**, and Imre Bogár **(101.)**. Here belong such ballads which survive with one exceptional tune, like János Who Was Poisoned **(60.)**, The Murdered Brother **(61.)**, and The Bewitched Son **(62.)**, further ballads with two different tunes of their own, e.g. The Incredulous Husband **(64.)**, and finally The Bad Wife **(63.)**.

These "particular" tunes mainly represent a sort of foreign music which strongly deviates from the bulk of Hungarian folksongs. Such tunes survive either because they are reminiscent of the text's origin, or because of their peculiar strophic construction, which may be autonomous development as well **(63., 71., 72.)**.

The tunes associated with The Disgraced Girl **(10.)** obviously betray the origin of the ballad: its variants go with ballad tunes of French origin, or tunes whose origin has not yet been clarified.

Certain ballads apply, in addition to some foreign "ballad tune", mainly old Hungarian tunes (as signs of their ancient origin): The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death **(1.)**, The Walled-up Wife **(2.)**, The Girl Taken to Heaven **(8.)**,—these being known mainly from the traditional Areas IV–V—but here belong ballads collected from every region of the language area (or from Areas I and II only): The Bride Dragged to Death **(11.)**, The Bride Found Dead **(12.)**, The Wife Taken at Her Word **(21.)**, The Marvellous Corpse **(68.)**. The Two Kinds of Bride **(74.)** and Where Have You Slept Last Night, Tomtit? **(77.)** are coupled with ancient Hungarian tunes with the swineherds' dance rhythm as well as with the goliardic 13 or 14 syllable lines, which are western parallels of the former. Whichever was the archetype, the other could readily associate with it. As these two Hungarian types have no parallels in foreign countries, perhaps their Hungarian tunes should be considered their original melodic counterparts. At the same time, the close connection of mediaeval melodies speak for their antiquity.

The preponderance of Hungarian musical tradition is conspicuous in many types. In case of ballads collected from the most traditional musical areas (Transylvania and Moldavia) exclusively we do not lend any particular significance to the fact: The Enticed Wife **(3.)**, The Heartless Mother **(4.)**, The Two Chapel Flowers **(9.)**, The Bride Given in Marriage to Poland **(14.)**, The Two Prisoners **(17.)**, The Knight and the Lady **(18.)**, The Brigand's Wife **(20.)**, The Mother of the Rich

Woman **(22.)**, The Girl Abducted by the Turks **(31.)**, The Mountain Shepherd Who Was Murdered **(32.)**—which is sung to an old Hungarian tune, although its original Romanian melody must have been known to the Csángós—The Lover Returning at His Sweetheart's Wedding **(47.)**, Lázár, the Son of the Hungarian Emperor **(48.)**, Farewell to the Sweetheart **(59.)**, The Test of Love **(69.)**, most of the tunes coming from Areas IV and V, King István of Hungary **(88.,** from Romanian!) and the Lament-like Ballads **(92.)**. The more surprising is the decisive presence of old-style Hungarian music in such generally spread ballads mainly surviving in Areas I–III as The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death **(27.)**, and in most of the outlaw ballads and prisoners' songs **(105., 107., 109., 110., 111., 113., 117., 118., 119.)**. These are recent developments, yet their melodies are traditional ones, which circumstance can be explained by their having generated in the poor layers of the peasantry (the richer ones spoken of critically in this poetry could hardly have been responsible for the spread of these songs); and it is commonly known that poorest people preserve the most ancient traditions.

There are such types which cover by their variants a vast musical material of mixed origin. An outstanding example is the Three Orphans **(6.)** whose variants are combined with the most ancient classical tunes in Transylvania and Moldavia, with very poor melodies in Transdanubia, sometimes with fragments or half-tunes thereof, and with a large variety of miscellaneous tunes in the intermediary areas (church melodies, typical "ballad tunes", and even with tunes of the new style, too). The picture is interesting for two reasons: first, we can assess in it the divergent trends of development of traditions in the various areas—since the ballad under discussion shows an even spread from the Austrian frontiers to Moldavia—second, and following from the first statement, we can see how the subsequent stages of musical development had affected the variants of this ballad. Musical material of a similar kind can be found only in association with broadsides and recent types: **93., 96., 98., 101., 106., 108., 114., 122., 123.,** and **125.**

Seemingly new-style tunes prevail in **112., (114.?), 116.,** and **126. (128.?)**, but these are rather art songs. Fully new foreign tunes are found in Types **97., 99., 121., 133.,** and **134.**; on the other hand, different kinds of melodies, earlier foreign transmissions, come to the fore in Types **24., 26., 45., 70., 75., 95., 100., 103., 104., 127.,** and **129.** In most instances, text and tune are contemporaneous in this group.

Further conclusions, such as seen in *Boswell,* pointing out that vowels of the text can bring about certain features of the melodic construction and that changes of text rhythm may cause changes in the musical rhythm, cannot be drawn here. The stress and rhythmic properties of Hungarian are not likely to induce such phenomena. Besides, the words of songs will rhythmically subject the melody to concomitant changes, owing to the claims of *rubato* performance, dependent also on the momentary disposition of the singer.

Hungarian ballad tunes can offer some points of departure for the examination of their relationship with dance. A far greater portion of Hungarian ballads are performed to *parlando rubato* melodies and even recitative tunes—to which one cannot dance at all—than to *tempo giusto* dance tunes. Also the French sang many ballads as "complaints", which cannot be accompanied by dance. According to *Hodgart,* (83), there is no trace to indicate that people have ever

danced a ballad in Great-Britain. All this seems to contradict the opinion that ballads used to be danced as of necessity. Let us take therefore a closer look at the relevant data.

First of all, we quote a portion of a letter *Bartók* wrote to *Róbert Greguss* (published by *Pál Gergely*). "I should say it is almost excluded that the ballad melodies of Classes A and C [= old style, and mixed style] should ever have been accompanied by dance. Dance could be performed together with such texts which have a dance-like exclamatory character, that is to say, dance and melody may have been the main thing in their case, the text itself being supplementary. Few tunes of Class B [= new style] are sung to ballad texts. But even in the case of such texts it seems very likely that they used to be performed to the tune of some melody of Class A or C. The new-style tunes have been applied subsequently to the text. Of course, a tune of Class B may have been used as a dance tune, but it is hard to imagine that people sang the words of the ballad while dancing, at most the musicians played the melody. In general, ballad singing and the dance seem to be things mutually excluding each other—according to my observations—in the sphere of Hungarian as well as Romanian and Slovak peasantry.

When and where ballads of this kind were sung mainly or exclusively cannot be ascertained by evidence of data gathered in recent times. In our days old ballad texts together with their tunes have entered their stage of final extinction, in which it would be very difficult to trace their one-time role of this nature (provided, they had ever had such a role)."

The above statement of *Bartók* is well in line with the experiences of ethnographers in the more recent years of systematic collection in East Europe, an area that is still rather rich in traditional material. In this period dance was performed to the sound of instrumental music as a rule, and the ballad could not play any role in it.

Different may have been the situation in the case of such dance forms which were performed to the accompaniment of the singing voice of the participants instead of instrumental music. The round-dance of girls was performed to the tune of their songs. All historical data in this connection are relevant to such round-dances. Therefore we have to examine if this kind of dance really had anything to do with the ballad genre.

The historical data concerning the Germans' topical research are summarized in *Goldschmidt*'s book (p. 44). He resorted to three data only: the round-dance of Kölbigk which was obviously no ballad dance; next, leaping over some five or six hundred years, he quotes the work of Neocorus, entitled "Chronik des Landes Dithmarschen" which states in connection with songs sung to chain-dance as follows: "van ehren Schlachtingen, Averwinningen, wunderlichen Geschichten, seltzamen Aventure edder andern lustigen Schwenken, ock wall Boolschaften, und anderen Lastern gewisser Personen", that is, epic songs of various description—yet other than ballad songs—are mentioned by the said author. These songs speak about battles and adventures, in a half-lyrical tone. As to the songs mentioned by *Goldschmidt* and *Wittrock* in *Böhme* 1886 [22–ab = "Impossible Tasks" without an epic frame, 23 = a lyrical dialogue, 24 = "a maritime heroic song" (cf. the list of Wittrock)], no more can be sifted out of them than that a ballad was also sung to a

tune and that a certain tune occasionally coopled to a ballad was performed to a round-dance and at wedding feasts.

It is natural that people danced to such tunes which had a dance rhythm. I had been present at a scene in the village of Áj, Abaúj county, where the girls performing their round-dance in the spinning-house included a strict *tempo giusto* tune of The Speaking Corpse into their repertoire of lyrical songs. And what field workers experienced in the Faroe Islands shows that round-dance was performed to the tune of all kinds of "long" songs—mainly epic songs of the old style and never ballads—obviously because long texts offer themselves for a longer dance. All the other data the various authors brought up to support the idea of ballad dance refer to children's games; but children can turn everything into game, motion and dance, and consequently their games cannot provide evidence on the generic nature of the ballad songs incidentally performed by them.

The question of the round-dance needs a thorough comparative and historical survey, like the one *György Martin* (1979) has carried out in his study on "The Hungarian Girls' Round–Dance".

He has stated that the Southern Transdanubian girls' round-dance preserves the same form which is known from the round-dance of the Faroe Islands, and from the description of "branle" in the Orchesographia of *Arbeau* (1588), this latter having been the most widespread social dance of the Middle Ages. Hungarian girls always perform this dance to their own singing. The so-called Faroese step is a characteristic feature of it (two steps to the left, one to the right, resulting in the swinging movement of the circle in a sun-wise direction). The spreading of this basic step-formula can be traced from tradition or from written records from the Faroe Islands to Sweden, Germany, Austria, France, Sardinia, then to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece. This kind of dance is performed in the major part of its dissemination area as a pure form of dance, that is without mimic elements involved, to lyrical rather than epic songs. On the basis of historical data, France and Great Britain may be regarded as its main area in earlier days, and the Balkan peninsula in recent times where mediaeval traditions tend to survive longest. The Hungarian form called *karikázás* (roundel) is coupled to a special tune type, to which numerous verses, always lyrical stanzas, are sung as required by the duration of the dance. At the same time, the step-formula, the manner of whirling, the purely vocal character of the music, the asymmetric rhythmic pattern (5/8), and even the role this dance occupies in the dancing order point to a decisively archaic, mediaeval tradition. It is always performed as sort of substitute at dancing parties, further before certain other dances, or in the intervals in the dance order, by which circumstance the obsolete character of this dance is well brought out in the face of the other dance forms of the village community. Thus in Hungary the girls' round-dance, having Faroese parallels and certainly being mediaeval in origin, is clearly separated from the ballad.

Consequently, the data do not support the existence of the "dance-ballad". What can be made clear from them is no more than that occasionally ballad texts are sung to dance tunes.

This conclusion is not refuted by etymological considerations either (ballad = ballata, that is dance). As a matter of fact, the word was applied to a

French verse originally, and only later to the ballad, by English literary circles (cf. *Hodgart*, 78). Nevertheless, the word does not exist in any nation's tradition. The genre is denominated by other terms in the various folklore areas. Therefore this etymology is irrelevant for points of origin of the genre.

This being the case, we must discard a hereditary, but unsubstantiated scholarly tradition: the ballad does not mean a unity of song and dance, but a specific text genre which is performed always by singing. Very rarely people may have danced to a ballad tune among other tune types, if the rhythm of it allowed dancing at all.

Conversely, we are able to say more when making inferences from the ballad to the dance. Danish ballads often mention the dance. In many instances the scene of the event is a communal dance of the youth, possibly a wedding dance, in which case the hero's strong singing voice lends a very important moment to the text. (DgF 396, 397, 147!, 223, 503; further less significant examples are: 39, 121, 129, 189, 215, 232, 261, 264 and 466.) In conclusion, the dance mentioned in ballad texts is always the round-dance accompanied vocally, the social dance of the Middle Ages, which was replaced in Renaissance times by the pair-dance with instrumental accompaniment (and also by round-dance tunes performed by instrumentalists). Therefore, tune and dance unequivocally testify the mediaeval origin of the ballad.

THE BALLAD AND CONTEMPORARY MAN

Enjoyment of old literary and folk genres requires a certain kind of transposition on the part of the modern reader. He has to transfer himself into a different world in order to be able to understand the experiences expressed by such products. A different kind of approach, different kinds of world-outlook separate him from that sphere of experience. The greater the difference from the ways and thinking of modern man, the more difficult he will find this act of transposition, and the lesser the connection with his own world.

How do things stand in connection with the ballad in this respect?

By reconsidering what has been said in the foregoing about the generic traits of the ballad, we arrive at a surprising conclusion: there exists hardly any other old genre, whether literary or folklore of origin, which should so closely meet the tastes of modern readers as does the ballad. After the trend of realism that strived to represent things in detail was over, actually every literary genre has endeavoured to represent summarily, by picking out major questions of central significance, instead of giving the full vista of quotidian life, to drive the public to important recognitions. Modern authors attempt to express some centrally important lesson by way of stylization, by getting rid of the limits of time and they want to write a parable rather than to represent reality. Even the outward formal features suggest a taste which is best seen at work in ballads; conciseness, omission, insinuation rather than perfect depiction and representation. A modern novel is no longer conceivable in the enormous dimensions of a War and Peace, Forsyte Saga, and the like. Condensed, poetic presentation, and conciseness are sought for. Theatrical plays, at the same time, tend to break the usual temporal order, to get loose from the factual reality, and to raise the audience to a sphere in which the problems of man can be interpreted in a stylized way, that is at an elevated level.

All this brings the ballad closer to the tastes of modern times than to those of the realism of yesterday. For the ballad does not represent reality. It builds from elements of reality a stylized parable in accordance with the laws of human psychology and thinking; parables constructed from reminiscences of reality, with the intention of demonstrating the condensed essence of reality. Conciseness, omissions, leaping over preliminaries are highly instrumental in turning up the usual order of things and in producing something similar to modern form-breaking. Furthermore, by working with types and typical themes the ballad works up the central problems of the society in which it is born, bringing about something which is not unlike the crop of modern literary genres concentrating on focal, communal problems. Endeavour at conciseness, on the other hand, results in a spectacular similarity between the product of the two creative periods.

More important than this is, however, the similarity of content. Those genres which behold the universe as one governed by mythical powers, enhancing

therefore the scenes of war and the figure of the hero to superhuman dimension, degrading [the enemies] to monsters, or populating the world with wonders, adventures, and other elaborate products of overexaggerated fantasy, carry the reader much farther from the actual relations of modern man than to be able to evoke katharsis or even interest from him. In any case, such stories require a greater degree of transposition. As against this, the ballad deals with psychological problems and therefore has a stronger appeal to modern man.

Of course, also the ballad contains traits which are alien to contemporary readers. It is a long time since the pregnant girl was killed by her parents, as in the story of The Disgraced Girl, or the unfaithful wife was burnt to death by her husband; on the whole, our love life and family relations are radically different from what we find in ballads. Frame events based on motifs of recognition, or non-recognition, that used to be customary requisites of stage plays of the literary circles as well two or three hundred years ago, are deprived of all credit today. Why do then feel we a ballad so attractive, in spite of all these strange features? Because it is never the elements of action, the framework, that is important in it, but always the emotion and sentiment, the typical behavioral norms of man; and these are of eternal significance.

It is not the various manifestations of cruelty—which a literary historian spoke of pejoratively as of reflections of degenerated folklore psyche—that are essential in a ballad (by the way, even cruder acts of violence occurred in the age when ballads flourished, and people had had enough opportunity to borrow examples for poetry); it is not the dragging of the heroine tied to the tail of a horse, not the burning alive, execution by the hangman, or dancing a girl to death that are really important, but the flaring passion in which the husband gives free vent to his rage, the bride's protest against something, enduring even being dragged tied to the tail of a horse, and the repression of this defiance, the sudden change of the bridegroom's feeling, the behaviour of the detected wife or girl, her confused evasive attempts. All this serves to raise sympathy in the audience. People revolt against oppressive powers, unjust social norms, fight for the right of certain emotions, for the rights of the individual in the face of stubborn social practice. That is what we all approve even today.

The stories built from such elements transcend the postulates of crude reality as easily as any remarkable achievement of twentieth-century literature. True, they will never become absurd, and very rarely surrealistic, indeed. But they always float above reality to such an extent as never to demand the credibility of the complementary elements; they never explain why a sweetheart or a child is not recognized, they just take the fact for granted; such things occur, and people behave accordingly. And the lesson is drawn from the heroes' and heroines' attitudes. They will never stop to think on whether a snake can hide in the bosom of a young man and he walking from place to place with it, for this is not essential; essential is the act of refusal or acceptance, which on the other hand is a real concern of our own life. Snakes are symbols of similar tests which occur every now and then in our real life as probes of our humanity.

A fully homocentric approach in which man appearing in his social context and a decisive psychological condition is the only theme. This is what we regard as

incomparably modern in ballad poetry. This is what brings it so near to contemporary man. Today when science is engaged in discovering new exciting aspects of the universe, literature cannot but turn away from the phenomena of outward reality and concentrate on the problems of man and society. A wonderful preliminary of this attitude had been expressed some four or five hundred years ago by a peasant poetry which was able to represent man and his social background by less speculation, without turning things upside down, simply by omitting the unessential elements of reality, by revaluating and condensing the essential ones.

Of course, only the outstanding products of the genre are able to achieve this to such extent as to save the modern reader from the trouble of transposing himself to relations of by-gone times, and to make him able to feel what is universally human in them. But does not the same apply to literary products of any age? Even of the works of a Molière, a Shakespeare we acknowledge only the peaks, like Tartuffe or Hamlet to belong unconditionally to us! How many literary achievements have been relegated into the category of historical values which are read generally as school-tasks, being accessible only to a few highly sensitive literary minds. In like way, the ballad as a genre is attached to a certain period of time from which only the great masterpieces are happy interpreters of immanent manifestations of the human soul. The most successful specimens of the most exquisitely elaborated types. But those are speaking clearly about the human mind which, in some aspects, stands unchanged amidst all the changes of variable reality.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN BALLAD RESEARCH

Hungarian ballads had been recorded even before their systematic collection began. Transcriptions of sixteenth-century text, or excerpts of texts had preceded the practice—now left out of consideration—which prevailed at the end of the eighteenth century when individuals or students' choirs worked up folk melodies coupled occasionally with ballad texts. Sometimes only the words remained, without the tune added. First of all should be mentioned the Sárospatak melodiaries in this context; among the sporadically collected folk texts included in them, we find, for example, the late eighteenth-century version of The Girl With the Gander **(81.)**. The collection entitled Four Hundred and Fifty Songs by *Ádám Pálóczi Horváth* (1760–1820) includes the ballad of The Test of Love **(69.)**, and The Feast of the Pasha of Várad **(36.)**. He wrote his manuscript collection in 1813, but he had learned the songs he put to paper while a student at the Debrecen College, and later when he was running his farm in Transdanubia, therefore his recordings must have originated from the second half of the eighteenth century.

From the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century some manuscript collections that survived by chance or certain broadside publications preserved a few prisoners' songs, and a few ballads, such as The Girl with the Peacock, The Prince Preparing to Marry and My Grey Horse was a Good One (Nos **118.**, **93.**, **75.**, **104.**, and **105.**).

Nevertheless, ethnomusicological and folklore collection in the modern sense of the word was started only after 1832 when the Hungarian Academy of Sciences invited collectors for a competition, as a result of which a large number of texts came to light, partly published much later, without tunes, by *János Erdélyi* in 1846–48. Owing to lucky circumstances, part of the unpublished portion was unearthed after a lapse of 110 years. (Cf. *Kodály* 1942.) For instance, the ballad of The Spinning Girl Who Was Murdered (No. **123)** originates from the collection of Dániel Mindszenty (1832), that is from a period preceding the first systematic folksong collection.

A Moldavian collection of *Ince Petrás* (1813–1886) similarly owes its existence to the Academic competition. This Franciscan monk of Moldavia recorded his collection at Klézse, in two fascicles, in 1841–42 and 1843. Only in 1872 did he begin to send up specimens of his material under the pen-name *Rokonföldi*. ("While submitting the present report to you, and to my nation which I wholeheartedly revere, I would like to ask you confidentially to keep my name unmentioned."—This is what he wrote to the editor of the *Nyelvőr* (Purist), the periodical, to which he forwarded a portion of his collection.) Apart from the ballads published in that periodical, the rest of his findings had remained latent in manuscripts on the loft of his house after his assassination, until *Pál Péter Domokos* discovered them and brought them out in Volume I of *Csángó Népzene* (Csángó

Folk Music) in 1956. This volume includes Types **3.**, **4.**, **20.**, **28.**, **32.** and **44.**, further the text of a prisoner song, No. **118.**

His collection had been preceded by the book of *Elek Gegő* in 1838 who first presented the content and typical turns of Type **33,** the Moldavian version of The Young Lords Escaped from the Emperor's Prison.

It is after such preliminaries that *János Erdélyi* published the three volumes of *Népdalok és Mondák* (Folksongs and legends), 1846, 1847 and 1848, selecting the material from the contributions of collectors activated by the mentioned academic competition, and partly from subsequent collections. Although regarded as scientific by contemporary standards, even his publication cannot be accepted as strictly "authentic" according to modern conceptions, as in his first volume he merged different variants, complemented the texts and kept tacit about the place of provenience. In the second and third volumes he changed his method, and what is more, he subsequently gave addenda also to the first volume, referring where possible to the place of provenience. At that time the relation between folk and art poetry was unclarified, consequently numerous markedly unfolkloristic texts and even compositions of known poets were incorporated in the collection if they had been taken down from the mouth of people, interpreted in a rather general sense. Along with these, however, authentic words of several genuine folk ballads can also be found in his publication. Of The Walled-up Wife **(2.)** only fragments and the content were available to him, but many other ballads were first published in his work. For instance, The Girl Danced to Death **(26.)**, The Sister of the Man Condemned to Death **(27.)**, The Speaking Corpse **(65.)**, The Two Kinds of Brides **(74.)**, The Prince Preparing to Marry **(75.)**, and a few outlaw ballads started their literary career in the volumes of the *Népdalok és Mondák*.

The discovery of the best mediaeval ballads in Transylvania is associated with the name of *János Kriza*. He too began to organize collection in that language area before Erdélyi's compilation had been published. The periodical *Atheneum* heralded his work at the beginning of 1843 in an article entitled *"Erdély az irodalom körül 1842-ben"* (Transylvania and literature in 1842): "Of the books to be published shortly we have to mention the Székely folksongs and legends which Kriza has collected from the oral tradition of the people..." (*Faragó* 1965, 88). As both the work of collection and publication initiated by *Kriza* had been proceeding at a slow pace, some of his contributors had preceded him by publishing a few of the ballads in various periodicals. Thus The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death (Type **1,** No. *1*) recorded in 1853 appeared in the 1858 issue of the *Kolozsvári Közlöny* (Kolozsvár Bulletin) (No. 381 with *Kriza*), and The Young Lords Escaped from the Emperor's Prison had not even been taken up in *Kriza's* collection; this latter ballad was made generally known by Volume I of MNGY published at a later date. In spite of all these deficiencies, it is the *"Vadrózsák"* (Wild Roses) edited by *Kriza* in 1863 that meant the definitive discovery of Hungarian folkballads. The poetic beauty of the "Old Székely" ballads aroused nation-wide furore at one stroke. Among them we have a rich series of complete texts of The Walled-up Wife **(2.)**, The Heartless Mother **(4.)**, Three Orphans **(6.)**, The Girl Taken to Heaven **(8.)**, The Wife Taken at Her Word **(21.)**, The Mother of the Rich Wife **(22.)**, together with many

ballads of lesser significance, and The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death **(1.)**, mentioned before.

By the turn of the century the *Vadrózsák* belonged among literary rarities, so that the collection had to be re-published in Volumes XI—XII of MNGY. (The ballads were grouped in Volume XI, while the notes to them written by *Gyula Sebestyén* in Volume XII.) In the present book, we always refer to this new edition. *Kriza* went a step further compared to *Erdélyi*'s first volume: he refrained from coagulating variants, presents the proveniences, though within wide geographical confines sometimes, like "Székely land", "Erdővidék" (Forest Region), and so on; at the same time he still followed the method of altering phonetics according to his own "Székely" dialect. But only the morphemes suffered modifications, otherwise the notations are exact and authentic.

Nevertheless, traces of interference of the man of letters can be discovered in some of his texts: elaborated rhymes, superfluous lines inserted for the sake of perfect rhyming, and the like make one suspectful in this respect. (It should be noted at this point that *Kriza*'s publication had exerted a strong effect on the Székely population, reacting on the collections of subsequent times. His influence can be observed even in the performances of illiterate informants.)

Two years after the appearance of the *Vadrózsák* a further two collections turned up from the Northern parts (Region II). The one is that of *Gyula Pap,* a booklet entitled *"Palóc népköltemények"* (Palots folk poems) which added some authentic notations to the existing stock of Hungarian balladry. Extremely important is, for instance, the version of The Girl Danced to Death with its textual implications **(26.)** The other one by *Szini* is noteworthy for its tunes: his 200 pieces were all published with the pertaining melodies presented in a relatively correct notation. The latter includes verses by poets (Csokonai, Vörösmarty, Petőfi, even the National Hymn by Kölcsey!) among a good number of real folksongs, still it is important for us because of the early tunes of some of the ballads, for example, those of The Speaking Corpse **(65.)**, The Coward Lover **(71.)**, The Prince Preparing to Marry **(75.)**, and a few others of more recent origin (Nos **118**, **122**, and **123)**.

Soon after *Kriza* a large-scale entreprise was started by the Kisfaludy Társaság (Kisfaludy Society): apart from, and after *Kriza,* we owe most of the texts of classical Hungarian ballads to the series publication of this Society, bearing the title *Magyar Népköltési Gyűjtemény* (Collection of Hungarian Folk Poetry = MNGy). The first volume of the series (1872) presents pieces, too, which came to light at *Kriza*'s initiative originally, but which *Pál Gyulay* thought it expedient to make known earlier than the long-protracted publication of *Kriza*'s material could take place. He brought them out in periodicals. The first volume of the MNGY includes pieces from all parts of the language area, rivalling in value and number with the material of the *Vadrózsák*. The second volume concentrated on one single county, that of Csongrád, consequently it is not abounding in ballads. Richer than this was the third volume including several appreciable ballads originating from the unpublished material of *Kriza*. The more dubious are the collections of *Jób Sebesi* and *Elek Benedek*, a medley of transcribed texts marred by insertions of alien bodies, decidedly literary compositions and forgeries. *Sebesi* can be likened to Macpherson, only he forged ballads. Some of his renowned

compositions found their way into popularizing and even scientific publications as well (cf. the chapter entitled "What Has Been Left out of the Publication").

Volumes IV and V contain *regös* songs, IX, X and XI only folk tales, and as such are irrelevant for our purposes. The rest, however, deserve attention. Volume VII, Oszkár Mailand's collection from the Székely Region is paler somewhat than the former mentioned ones, the more significant is Volume VI selected from the "Folk Poetry of Somogy County" by *Béla Vikár* who using the then most up-to-date phonographical method of collection succeeded in enriching the stock with exquisite pieces from one of the best traditional parts of the Hungarian language area (apart from the Transylvanian region and Moldavia). As an innovation, he published a few beautiful melodies in the supplement to his book. Similarly important is the Transdanubian material published by *Gyula Sebestyén* in Volume VIII, with the contribution of many collectors. Along with the most beautiful outlaw and prisoners' ballads, many rare classical pieces came to light in this book, e.g. the only complete text of the Transdanubian type of The Brigand's Wife **(20.)**. Besides relying on the ever intensifying interest in folklore and field-work in the country, this editor made extensive use of old periodicals, broadsides and manuscripts, too.

Following the re-edition of *Kriza's* collection, there remained only one volume, the last of the series that is the fourteenth to include ballads, representing at the same time a transition to the period of modern collection. Among the contributors to this volume recruited from the most diverse social strata, including schoolboys, also *Kodály* participated in the collection of the folk poetry of the Nagyszalonta region. He undertook to publish the relevant melodic stuff. Unfortunately, even in this volume a low number of texts with tunes were given in the supplement. Nevertheless, very important ballads turned up among them from this archaic segment of the Great Plain: The Bride Found Dead **(12.)**, Three Orphans **(6.)**, The Two Kinds of Brides **(74.)**, etc.

Five years after the first volume of the MNGY was published, *Lajos Kálmány,* this so far most eminent collector of the Plain folklore, presented his first volume entitled *"Koszorúk az Alföld vadvirágaiból"* (Wreathes from the wild flowers of the Great Plain), followed in the span of a year by his second, then by the three volumes of *"Szeged Népe"* (The people of Szeged) in 1881, 1882 and 1891, further on by the publication of The Girl Abducted by the Turks **(29.)** in 1914. Many years after his death his legacy was exposed in 1952 and 1954 with a rich flow of the valuable ballad tradition of the Great Hungarian Plain. Exploring the relics of the oral tradition of the population in the entire dissemination area of Szeged, he recorded, tuneless though, such values in whose absence we should hardly be able to assess the one-time role of the central language area in the development of Hungarian balladry. In addition to many of the best or oldest variants known throughout the country, he solely brought to light such unique pieces as are The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child **(5.)**, The Bride and the Rooster **(15.)**, The Girl Abducted by the Turks **(29.)** and The Girl Escaped from the Turks **(30.)**, The Bride Dying in the Wedding Procession **(13.)**, The Rich Woman's Mother **(22.)**, which is the only variant outside Transylvania, most of the variants of The Mother Kidnapped by the Son **(42.)**, and it is he that hit upon a precious fragment of The

Walled-up Wife **(2)** at Törökbecse. However regrettable it is that he was unable to write down tunes, his activity as a collector of ballads is of crucial importance.

Parallel almost with the series of the MNGY were published the large-sized volumes of *István Bartalus* with the title *"A magyar nép dallamai* (The tunes of the Hungarian People), *Egyetemes Gyűjtemény"* (Universal Collection), 1873–1896. He made collection mainly in Heves county and at Marosszék (Transylvania) in 1871–72. His material includes a large number of art-songs along with very beautiful old-style folksong and ballad tunes; as regards rhythmic pattern, his notations are not unobjectionable by our modern standards, yet they offer grounds safe enough for us to discover the original forms. He first produced from Transylvania the melodies of such ballads as The Walled-up Wife *(2.)*, The Two Chapel Flowers *(9.)*, and even rarer ones, for instance János Who Was Poisoned **(60.)**.

Before *Bartalus* had brought out his last volume, *Béla Vikár* set out to collect texts and tunes with the phonograph. Although he was not an accomplished musician comparable with *Bartalus*, he was a better expert of dialectal texts, so that he was able to reach down to the deepest layers of folk tradition, and his phonograph proved to be a perfect preserver of the linguistic and musical material alike. He could not write down the melodies from the cylinders, but this task has been solved by others. First a conductor of mediocre erudition, named *Kereszty* tried to make notations, in a rather primitive way, later *Béla Bartók* did the work with full competence. It is these cylinders that modern, large-scale collection of folksongs started with, to assume nation-wide dimensions after the examples set by *Bartók* and *Kodály*, resulting in a thorough knowledge of Hungarian balladry, too. Collection now covered the whole language area, including the five Székely villages of Bukovina, then forming part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. (Only Moldavia had to be left out of consideration in those times.) Their collections succeeded in exposing the tunes to almost every type. Of course, the contribution of *Vikár* is always understood, when speaking about their results, since his achievements have been definitively joined in the scholarly sphere, owing to *Bartók*'s intervention. There followed then their pupils, and followers of whose large camp only the most important ones can be named here: *László Lajtha, Antal Molnár, János Seprődi, Sándor Veress, György Kerényi, Péter Balla.* Well-organized ethnomusicological field-work ensued in their wake under the guidance of the Ethnomusicological Department of the Ethnographical Museum, Budapest, and later the central control of the Folk Music Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

A special branch is represented by the collection carried out by *János Berze Nagy* in Baranya county parallel with the activity of *Bartók* and *Kodály*. Although his musical notations are not faultless, (sometimes definitely wrong), ballad texts produced from one single county mean such an addition to Hungarian balladry without which we should not be able to draw a full picture of this domain of research. Not only important variants of certain old ballads (Nos **10, 11**) but also a so far unknown type has been discovered by *Berze Nagy* (Jesus Seeking Lodging, No. **7**).

Still another field of collection has to be mentioned here which has been decisive for ballad research in Hungary, that of the Moldavian material. Hungarian

researchers had known nothing about it, except the contributions to the *Nyelvőr* (Purist) by *Ince Petrás*. This deficiency was especially felt in the domain of ethnomusicology. In the interwars period, a researcher *Pál Péter Domokos*, born of Transylvania, already part of Romania, undertook to investigate the Csángó heritage; he made his first trip to Moldavia in 1929; then in 1931 and 1940 he published a group of tunes recorded by means of the phonograph. In 1941 he summed up his experiences in a publication of some 120 folksongs with tunes, including many ballads, too. More than one ballad tune was first known from his work, although their texts had been generally appreciated even before. Such are, for example, The Girl Taken to Heaven **(8.)**, The Heartless Mother **(4.)**, etc. In his wake other researchesrs visited the Hungarians of Moldavia: *Sándor Veress, Péter Balla, Gábor Lükő*. Particularly important has been the continuation of the work by *Zoltán Kallós*, an excellent collector of the Transylvanian Hungarian folklore, who made collecting tours to Moldavia after World War Two as well. The research workers of the Kolozsvár Folklore Institute joined in the task of exposing the extremely rich Moldavian tradition. As a first result, the collection of *Moldvai csángó népdalok és balladák* (Folksongs and ballads of the Moldavian Csángós) was edited by *József Faragó* and *János Jagamas*. This collection includes a few types of ballads which had been unknown so far, and many rare ballad variants together with their tunes. Then the publications of *Kallós* followed suit, crowned by the *Balladák könyve* (A book of ballads) in 1971. His collection means a powerful enrichment, quantitative and qualitative alike, of Hungarian balladry. After *Bartók* and *Kodály* he discovered most new types: The Soldier Girl **(80.)**, The Girl Solving Riddles **(79.)**, The Lover Returning at his Sweetheart's Wedding **(47.)**, The Wife Who Was Sold Away **(84.)**, Lázár, the Son of the Hungarian Emperor **(48.)**, Fairy Ilona **(56.)**, Sitting by My New Distaff **(58.)**, The Dead Brother **(86.)**, King István of Hungary **(88.)**; on the other hand, he succeeded in discovering beautiful variants of known ballads of the old, classical style, and finally he expanded the field of research to distant territories by inclusion of the traditional areas of the Mezőség, the Csángós of Gyimes, the riverines of Maros and Küküllő, and even the more urbanized region of Kalotaszeg. By tapping a rich-flowing source of tradition, he considerably augmented the territories where the earliest-type Hungarian ballads are still in a state of flourish. Another researcher, *István Almási* of the Folklore Institute also does a valuable work by collecting Hungarian folk ballads in Transylvania.

Although not comparable to the results of Hungarian researchers in Romania, considerable is the work conducted in Slovakia and Yugoslavia as well. In the former country, *Tibor Ág* has excelled by tracing up all the Nyitra-county variants of The Walled-up Wife **(2.)** and of The Wife Taken at Her Word **(21.)**. The researchers in Yougoslavia have succeeded in finding the prose variants of The Walled-up Wife **(2.)**, The Mother Kidnapped by the Son **(42.)** and the only sung fragment of The Enticed Wife Forsaking Her Child (Type **5**).

As a matter of course, unknown types and rare variants have turned up at other places and in other researchers' collections, too. The Wife Kicked to Death **(39.)**, Emperor Fülöp **(55.)**, The Bewitched Son **(62.)** and The Murdered Sister **(61.)** turned up from old manuscript collections which have so far escaped the

researchers' attention. Fortunate circumstances are responsible for the coming to light of The Brother Pursuing His Sister's Betrothed **(40.)**, The Wife Longing to Go Home **(41.)**, The Two Captive Lasses **(50.)**, and The Holy Virgin Searching for Her Son **(90.)**, all represented by a solitary text, and finally the only sung variant of The Mother Kidnapped by the Son **(42.)**.

Recent extensive research has produced, in addition to many ballad tunes and variants recorded with tunes, at least one or two variants of melodies for most of the ballad types which had been known to exist earlier as tuneless texts. Of course, there are such types, too, which researchers have failed to associate with their one-time tunes. Thus we have to acknowledge the fact that Types **13, 15, 29, 30, 33, 34, 39, 40, 46, 51, 52, 53, 61** and **87,** that is 14 types of the 134, will never meet their adequate melodic counterparts.

Our survey of the history of Hungarian ballad research would not be complete without saying a few words about the other branch of investigation, which is scientific elaboration of the material.

As early as the first appearance of the Old Székely ballads in 1858—when The Unfaithful Wife Burnt to Death stirred up the Hungarian intellectual life—*János Erdélyi* published his study on this same ballad, valuable even today, starting thereby the course of aesthetical analysis. (Cf. *Szépirodalmi Közlöny* (Belletristic Bulletin, 1858). Comparative examinations soon followed. A powerful impetus had been given to such analyses by a Romanian of Transylvania, *Julián Groza,* who brought forward his censorius opinion that the ballads of The Walled-up Wife and The Enticed Wife were nothing but counterfeits transcribed from the Romanian original texts *(On Some Székely Wild Roses)*. The untenability of this malicious statement was soon proved not only on the basis of other Hungarian variants but of variants exposed from the balladry of other nations, too. Hungarian researchers began to look for international correlations consequently. The Notes in MNGY provided the first point of orientation, then *Lajos Abafi-Aigner* did much in this respect by his thorough investigations into the German, English and French ballads, in the course of which he recognized numerous parallelisms significant particularly in our days (mainly for their French implications). As a matter of course, it would be too early to speak of any real, scientifically founded conclusions in connection with the comparative studies of those times, but they have merit on their own inasmuch as they called attention to the existence of parallels or similar ballad subjects. It goes without saying that the two ballads called into doubt by the Romanian author promted the thoroughest comparative examination: connections in respect of the first were demonstrated from the Balkans, of the second from West Europe. A favourable turn in the history of Hungarian ballad research ensued with the publication of the periodical *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn* (1887–1905), which made foreign scholars acquainted with the results of Hungarian investigations and incited Hungarian ethnologists to acquire international information.

After the studies of *Abafi,* the most weighty informative material was contributed by *Gyula Sebestyén* in the Notes to Volume VIII of MNGY. He also gave a detailed list of variants and comparative data to supplement Vols XI and XII of MNGY (containing *Kriza's* ballads).

After World War I *Róbert Gragger* furthered the comparative work. The Notes to Hungarian ballads translated for a German edition, then in his posthumous book published in Hungarian one can find all the results Hungarian ballad comparatists had achieved up to the end of the twenties of our century.

Although not underrated, these results, with their one-sided orientation, were insufficient for the detection of the full vista of the subject, and even more so for an adequate solution of the pertaining theoretical questions. To wit, *Gragger* mainly relied on those big summary editions which had been available to him (Erk-Böhme, Child and DgF I–V). Thus, first of all, the Germanic peoples' material was drawn into the orbit of comparative research; the ballads of other nations were considered only in such cases when one or another Hungarian ballad was introduced, for comparison's sake, into one or another of these large summary editions and also their versions in languages other than German were listed in the notes.

Since at the time of *Abafi* neither the Child nor the Erk-Böhme collection was at hand, he had to survey one after the other the accessible collections of other nations; thus he called attention to French, Spanish and Italian parallels which played only a very subordinated role in Gragger's compilations.

Disregarding certain articles of minor importance, the work of *Gragger* was resumed by Gyula Ortutay with his theoretical analyses and comparative notes published in 1936. (*Dános* 1938 only complemented his results, mostly with incorrect additions.) *Ortutay* based his comparative study on the results of *Gragger,* completing them with those of the professional literature after *Gragger*.

To the more recent research work conducted in Romania we are indebted not only for the collections mentioned above but also for analytical studies and organization of research work. Mention should be made here first of all of *József Faragó,* a research fellow of the Kolozsvár Folklore Institute, whose valuable contributions are manifest in many ways: besides editing old collections and digging up latent texts from manuscripts, he organizes systematic field-work; in his investigations into the history of Hungarian ballad research and the survival of this genre he complements our knowledge with useful data. At the same time, he is able, living in Transylvania, to conduct investigations in the field of Romanian and Hungarian contacts and interrelationships. Further new results are due to *János Jagamas* and *István Almási,* both fellow workers of the Folklore Institute, Cluj.

The book published by me in collaboration with *Imre Csanádi* in 1954 did not yet exceed the results of *Gragger* and *Ortutay*; at most it has modified some of their statements. It was rather aimed at developing knowledge in the folklore and artistic aspects of balladry.

The multiplicity of riddles that stand out as as many question-marks from earlier literature, however, have incited me to trace up numerous tracks undetected so far, for it has been more than obvious that without such efforts we shall never be able to say any definitive thing about the history of Hungarian balladry. To achieve this, a survey covering the ballad poetry of all European nations has been indispensable. Interrelations had to be detected throughout the entire domain of the European ballad stock. In this way, novel interconnections of Hungarian ballads with the universal European tradition, and within it with traditions of single nations, first of all with those of the French, have been demonstrated.

Part of these results were published in my *Researches into the Mediaeval History of Folk Ballad*, 1967. Now I feel time has ripened for a full-scale summarization to be launched in the hope that my work contains useful material for the final elaboration of that magnificent tradition which is termed: *European Folk Ballad.*

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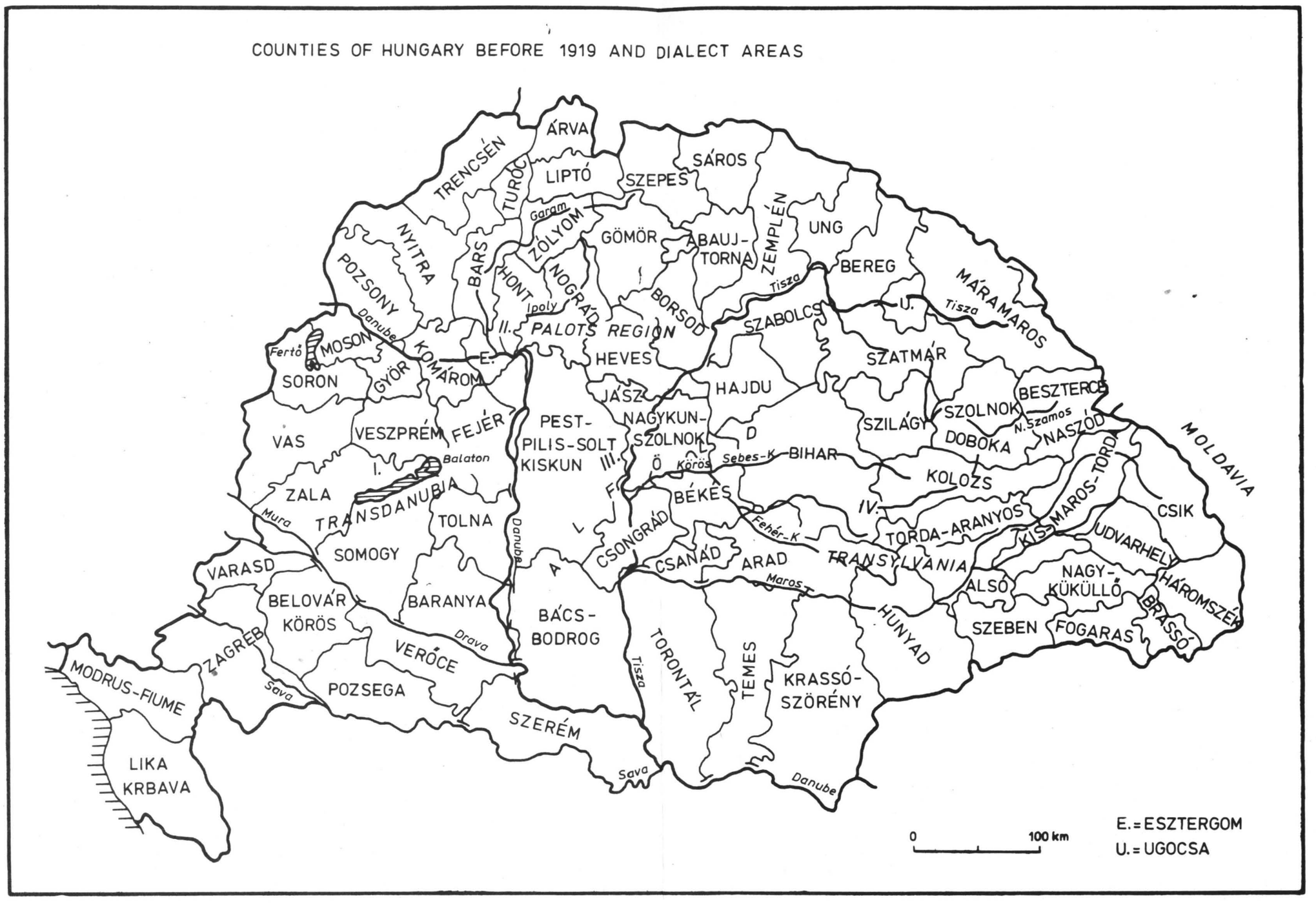
COUNTIES OF HUNGARY BEFORE 1919 AND DIALECT AREAS
ÁRVA
TRENCSÉN
TURÓC
LIPTÓ
SZEPES
SÁROS
ZEMPLÉN
UNG
BEREG
MÁRAMAROS
NYITRA
POZSONY
BARS
HONT
ZÓLYOM
GÖMÖR
ABAUJ-TORNA
NOGRÁD
BORSOD
SZABOLCS
Garam
Ipoly
Tisza
Danube
Fertő
MOSON
SOPRON
GYÖR
KOMÁROM
E.
II.
PALOTS REGION
HEVES
SZATMÁR
JÁSZ
HAJDU
BESZTERCE
SZOLNOK
SZILÁGY
N.Szamos
NASZÓD
DOBOKA
MOLDAVIA
VAS
VESZPRÉM
FEJÉR
PEST-PILIS-SOLT KISKUN
NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK
III.
D
Ö
L
Körös
Sebes-K
BIHAR
KOLOZS
I.
Balaton
ZALA
Mura
TRANSDANUBIA
F
BÉKÉS
IV.
TORDA-ARANYOS
MAROS-TORDA
CSIK
Fehér-K
KIS-KÜKÜLLŐ
UDVARHELY
TOLNA
Danube
SOMOGY
L
CSONGRÁD
CSANÁD
ARAD
TRANSYLVANIA
VARASD
A
Maros
ALSÓ-FEHÉR
NAGY-KÜKÜLLŐ
HÁROMSZÉK
BELOVÁR KÖRÖS
BARANYA
BÁCS-BODROG
HUNYAD
SZEBEN
FOGARAS
BRASSÓ
ZAGREB
Drava
VERÓCE
TORONTÁL
TEMES
KRASSÓ-SZÖRÉNY
MODRUS-FIUME
Sava
POZSEGA
SZERÉM
Tisza
LIKA KRBAVA
Sava
Danube
0
100 km
E. = ESZTERGOM
U. = UGOCSA