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Index: 26843

The New

Hungarian Quarterly

Impatient Youth

László Bóka

Latin American Diary

Iván Boldizsár

Imre Madách's "The Tragedy of Man"

István Sőtér

English Writers in the 1930's

Stephen Spender

Death of a Painter

(Passages from a Diary)

Imre Ámos

Work and Leisure Time-Budgets

Sándor Szalai

A Hungarian Notebook

Joan Rodker

emphatically declared that the Austrian labour movement very soon turned its attention to dualism, taking note of the dangers involved in the *Großraumtheorie* partly within Austrian social democracy itself. He quoted Leopold Wienarsky when at an Austrian party meeting in 1903 he stated that he was decidedly against dualism, because the abolition of dualism implied the end of Austria. This would mean that the road was open to self-government and to the liberation of the proletariat. Wienarsky declared that it was the international duty of Austrian social democrats to fight for the complete political emancipation of all the peoples of the monarchy, first and foremost for Hungarian enfranchisement.

The Heidelberg professor Hans Hommsen discussed the policy of the Austrian social

democrats concerning national minorities (the subject of his major work, published by the Vienna Europa Verlag in 1963). Zwitter, the Yugoslav historian, handled the same topic. Jules Droz reported on his studies dealing with relations between the monarchy and France.

Many other scholars, Czechoslovak, Austrian, and Yugoslav, took part in the debate, which became so animated that the congress was prolonged one day.

Apparently western and eastern, Marxist and non-Marxist historians alike departed from the congress with satisfaction and in the conviction that the continuing, increasingly clarified, impartial discussion of these extremely significant problems was of profound interest for the scientific progress of all Europe.

ZOLTÁN HORVÁTH

FRENCH FOLK-BALLADS IN HUNGARY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

by

LAJOS VARGYAS

Studies for over a century and a half devoted to the subject of European folk-ballads have revealed that it connects the different peoples through numberless analogies and similarities in theme and style. For a long time researchers have been interested in these similarities, their origin, the direction of their spreading, and though they might have controversial opinions concerning origin, depending on their nationalities, most authorities have agreed that the borrowed material must have passed on from neighbour to neighbour. For instance, it has been generally accepted that the French-Spanish and the French-Italian analogies are due to the contiguity of language and that the Western

elements in the folk-poetry of the Eastern-European nations must have come to the latter through German sources. On the same grounds Hungarian researchers concur in the view that some of our ballads, containing elements well known elsewhere on the Continent too, must have reached us from the common repository, either through the Germans or our Southern-Slav neighbours.

However, puzzling issues still remained unsolved. A few Polish ballads, for instance, contained indisputable French elements, the intermediaries of which—since Francis James Child—have been discovered neither in the neighbourhood nor by means of some other supposition.

Recent studies of Hungarian ballad literature have for the first time led to the discovery of similarities existing between two non-neighbouring peoples. In the light of detailed analysis and by comparing our ballads with their analogues, the previous assumption concerning German and Slav origin has proved erroneous, and it has been established that many Hungarian ballads have reached us directly from French sources. French origin without the intermediary of some other people has been ascertained for a continuous and substantial layer of our ballad literature containing so far twenty-three ballads or ballad fragments, while it can be reasonably assumed for some eight or ten other examples. These results, however, do not involve a new theory as to the diffusion of the ballads, but rather point to a historical lesson, for underlying these analogies there yet exists some form of contact. During the Middle Ages a number of significant French-Walloon settlements—among them sizable villages—had been established in Hungary, scattered all over the country. The largest of these settlements was formed close to the Hungarian-Polish border, also allowing a direct French-Polish contact and the infiltration of French motifs into Polish territory. In most cases, however, the French elements were handed on both to the Poles and to the other Eastern-European nations from Hungary, as owing to their close contact with the French settlers, the Hungarians were first to acquaint themselves with ballad style along with a good many French ballads. Until quite recently all this was still unknown not only to international ballad research, but even to Hungarian investigators. It may therefore be of interest to outline a few of the parallels that have been established.

In front of her house Biró Szép Anna ("Bonny Ann Biró") catches sight of three young hajduks* who know her lover and

* Hungarian foot-soldiers in the army of Bocskai (17th century). (Also spelled "heyducks").

undertake to escort her to him. In spite of ill omens and disregarding her mother's expostulations she sets off with the three youths after having dressed in her finest clothes and taking along her rings and money. On their way they stop for a rest under a briar. Here the tragedy begins.

The older hajduk lad he spoke and said
these words:

"Let's kill and gar her die, aye, Bonny
Ann Biró."

The other hajduk lad he spoke and said
these words:

"Let's do and gar her die, well worth it is
think I."

The younger hajduk lad he spoke and
said these words:

"Don't kill the maid, poor thing, but
let her come with us."

"If you don't kill we'll kill you too,
without more ado."

The girl then pleads for her life and she
offers her money and jewels in exchange.

The other hajduk lad he spoke and said
these words:

"We have your money all, we have your
body too."

They kill her, taking possession of her
clothes and belongings, and according to
one version of the ballad:

They buried her in straw and covered
her with leaves.

In the majority of versions the three robbers then meet the girl's lover, who recognizes the robbed belongings. Only a single version mentions that they enter an inn.

"Look sharp about that wine, fair mistress
of the bar!

If need we'll give you gowns, if need we'll
give you gold."

The mistress of the bar she spoke and
said these words:

"Where hae ye taen my good lads, this comely clothing all?"
The older hajduk lad he spoke and said these words:
"I have a sister dead and she had clothing fine."
The younger heyduck lad he spoke and said these words:
"They killed and gar her die, aye,
Bonny Ann Biró,
And these her garments were."

Hearing of the death of his beloved the lover asks the youngest heyduck to lead him to her dead body, and there he falls on his sword.

There is also a fragmentary version in which the story is continued in prose after the murder. "He buried her and returned home to the other youths. One of them recognized from the ring that she was his lover..." Only one version concludes the meeting with the lover bringing the robbers to justice before committing suicide.

The French versions are all identical in their stories. Three youths (sometimes three officers, or three robbers) are on their way home from Spain, where they have fought in the war. From afar they catch sight of a young brown-haired maid out for a walk. "Where are you going so late, young maiden brown? You cannot pass through the woods by yourself."—"Do not touch my body, you three young men, and you shall have my ring of gold."—"Your ring too and your artful heart. Here you'll die in the dark woods." The youngest of the three then says: "We mustn't do that, vengeance follows! Her blood will bring God's punishment on us. We shall suffer every torture." After killing her they discuss where to bury the corpse. "Let's bury her here in the shade, under the sweet-smelling gillyflowers." Then they take counsel where to dine. They go to an inn where the innkeeper happens to be the murdered girl's father. "Say, ye landlord, will you give rooms to us three brave youths?" "By God, why shouldn't I, seeing that I take

in everyone else?" When the youths want to pay for their dinner, the girl's golden ring drops from the purse of the youngest and rolls away. The innkeeper is quick to pick it up, recognizes it and wants to know how the youths have come by it. The eldest replies that they found it near the church. But the innkeeper insists on their producing his daughter, alive or dead. The youngest then confesses: "In the green woods, not far off, lies your daughter, her body strewn with lovely leaves." The youths are thrown into prison and tortured to death.

The Hungarian version differs from the above text only in the opening and conclusion of the story; the girl's meeting the murderers is not an accidental happening, but she deliberately takes the risk for the sake of her lover. This gives the tragedy psychological depth. Accordingly the end of the story had to be altered too. Her clothes are identified not by her father but by her lover, who true to the ballad pattern, dies over the corpse of his beloved. Otherwise the two versions are identical in every point.

The motif of the youngest murderer—who in both cases has mercy on the victim and finally confesses the deed—enables us to determine the place of the Hungarian text with respect to the French and Italian (Piedmontese) conceptions (our ballad is only known in these two places in Europe). Both in the Hungarian and in the French versions the youngest murderer's more lenient role is strongly stressed, while in the Italian version it is he who walks up to the girl and kills her (in more than half of the variants he does not figure at all). Otherwise the Italian variants closely correspond to the French versions; Italian researchers regard them as reflections of the French. The Hungarian ballad—according to the evidence of this essential motif—does not originate from the secondary Italian, but from the French only.

The honour of being the original version naturally belongs to the French ballad, as each of its variants is identical as regards

recognition of the ring, while only one of our versions contains this motif. A further uniformity of the French versions is that the crime is always detected by the innkeeper, the murdered girl's father, whereas we in Hungary know only one inn-episode, in which the innkeeper's wife appears together with the girl's lover as the discoverer of the murder. In all other variants the three murderers simply meet the lover, but no inn is mentioned. This shows that the transformation must have taken place in Hungary. The uniform and rational French version could hardly have evolved from the rare, corrupted element. The reverse case, on the other hand, is fairly frequent: the recipient party alters the ready material borrowed, but is unable to cut completely free from the original, and the adopted element remains there meaningless even after the transformation.

It is more difficult to detect links in cases where they become evident only by juxtaposition of the various French and Hungarian variants, since the related elements survived only sporadically in the different texts, and we can contrast French and Hungarian variants suggesting no similarities at all.

The ballad of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet is known to the English reader (Child's collection No. 73), yet he will find few familiar elements in the following ballad. But if we assemble certain of its incidents from the different variants and place them side by side with the respective elements selected from the French version, *Les Tristes Notes*, the latter will assist him in recognizing the connection between the three.

"Good evening, evening ma'am, good
Mistress Justice Csáti!
"Oh, Mistress Justice Csáti, good evening
to you now,
My little love, my turtle dove, is fast
asleep, I trow,
Ay, ay, she's gone to bed, back in her
chamber there,
Wrapt up from top to toe in bedclothes
crimson fair."

"Sleeps she, then wake her up and send
her to the ball,
And tell my love to wear her silk blue
dress and all!
A pair of crimson boots should fit her
tender feet.
And twice two rings of gold adorn her
fingers sweet."
"Good evening, evening, love, why did
you call me here?"
"Sit down by me awhile and I will tell
you, dear."
"I never came to sit, nor never idle be
But with my lover true to dance in
revelry."

"Play on, ye gipsy band, from eve till
dead of night,
From dead of night till dawn and then
till broad daylight!"
"O, let me rest a little, I pray you, let
me go,
To clean my crimson boots wherin the
blood doth flow."
"You ne'er must go from here, you cannot
go away,
The band must go on playing, and play
till break of day."

Let every mother, ay, and father cursed be
Who let their only girl go out in revelry.
They let her go at night, see her no more
till morn,
And when the clock strikes eight, her
corpse to them is borne.

The bells are rung for noon, they ring
their mournful sound,
Judge Csáti's daughter now they're
putting in the ground.
She wears a silken dress, she has a milk-
white veil,
Her strings of pearls are drawn across her
shoulders pale.

1) The Hungarian texts always begin with the invitation to a dance; the girl is invited either by the lover or by young men

entrusted by him. The request to appear in all her finery is ever present, or—at least—a detailed account of her clothes is presented. Sometimes it is the mother who speaks, and the occasion is a *wedding*:

"The lads are calling you, my daughter
Kate, come down,
They have a wedding feast, not far in
Sári town."

"Mother, I will not go because I full
well know
It's János Árvádi will have his wedding
now."

"My daughter Kate, put on your comely
skirt of silk."

2) Arriving at the dance the girl wants to know why she has been asked to come. Her lover bids her sit down and *offers her to drink*.

"Good evening, lover false! Why did you
call me here?"

"Sit down by me and drink, and I will
tell you, dear."

3) The girl's answer has survived in a few variants:

"I never came to drink... I only came to
dance."

4) In the Hungarian versions the lad generally orders the musicians to play on without stopping.

5) The girl generally asks a break in the dance. Usually this request is made only once as in the given text, but several texts present it three times.

6) Then as a moral the blame is cast upon the parents.

7) The funeral bell is tolled for the dead girl.

8) Sometimes the young man's death follows the girl's: he goes to his beloved's home and at the sight of her corpse flings himself on it and dies broken-heartedly.

It should be mentioned that our ballad

motivates the young lover's conduct in different ways. Either he is very poor and acts out of revenge for having been slighted by the rich girl or having been refused. Another explanation goes thus, "Seven times I wooed you... if you are not to be mine, let nobody have you." A frequent explanation is that the girl had two lovers and they punish her for it. Sometimes it is the devil who, in the disguise of her lover, makes her dance until she dies. A good many variants suggest no particular justification at all, and so the young lover is blamed and atones for it in prison.

Such a variety of interpretations shows that something faded away and that later a variety of sometimes obscure reasons for the tragic events were indicated in the texts.

The story will, however, become clearer if we take the French parallel and follow its episodes in the order of the respective incidents of the Hungarian counterpart.

1) In the French ballad the lovers had been carrying on their clandestine love affair for seven years when the youth is compelled by his father to marry another girl. (Maybe our "Seven times I wooed you..." corresponds with this.) The youth then tells his beloved that he has to marry another girl. "Is her beauty greater than mine?" "Not her beauty, but her wealth," and he invites her to his wedding. "Not to the wedding, but to the dance I will go." (This is why in our texts the invitation is usually to a *ball* and only in few instances to a wedding.) Then the lover bids her dress up attractively and even tells her what to wear. "Dans tous les cas que vous venez, Mettez la plus bell' de vos robes. Mettez la cell' de satin gris, Votr' beau chapeau de rose!" and the like. Some of the texts hint that the aim is to emphasize her noble birth. Sometimes it is not the lover who enumerates the clothes, but we learn about them from the girl's giving orders to the dressmaker.

2) When she appears at the ball she is taken for the bride. In some versions—though rarely—she is offered food and drink by her

lover, but she answers that she has not come for this but to have a dance with him: "De tout loin qu'on la voit, On lui présente a boire. J'n' veux boir' ni manger, Mais faire un tour de danse."—"De loin la voit venir, Lui fait rincer un verre: Buvez, belle, mangez! Je n' veux manger ni boire..."—"Galant, moi j'y viendrai pour manger ni pour boire, Galant moi j'y viendrai pour faire un tour de danse."

4) Only a few of the French variants preserve the youth's words to the musicians: "Beau musicien français, toi qui joues bien les danses, Oh! joue moi-z-en donc une, que ma mie puisse la comprendre!"—"Jouez violons, jouez! Ah! Jouez une danse!"

5) Quite a number of variants mention the girl's changing her clothes after every round of their dance: "Tout en dansant un premier tour, elle change de robe. Tout en dansant au second tour, en met encore un autre. Tout en dansant au troisième tour, la belle tomba morte."—"A tout' dans' qu'ell' dansait, La bell' changeait de robe. N'eût pas changé trois fois, La belle est tombée morte." Usually, however, the clothes-changing episode has disintegrated, and the girl dies after the first round, followed in most cases immediately by the youth—one falling to the right, the other to the left. Sometimes the youth stabs a knife through his heart over the dead body of his beloved, uttering the formula (well known in our ballads too: "Since you died for me, I will die for thee"): "Puisqu' elle est morte pour moi, je veux mourir pour elle." (This tallies with Incident No. 8 in the Hungarian ballad.) On the whole, the French ballads thus correspond to their Hungarian counterparts in structure: The French version of death after the first round parallels the Hungarian version of death after having asked once for a break in the dance.

6) The wedding-guests grieve over the death of the lovers: "Quelle tristes noces." Sometimes they blame the father: "Le père a eu grand tort de n'pas l'avoir donnée," or a general lesson is drawn: "Voilà le sort des

amoureux qui en épousent d'autres." In the Hungarian variants this is pointed out more explicitly.

7) Occasionally the tolling of bells for the dead also figures: "Marguillier, beau marguillier, Toi, qui sonn' bien les cloches, Sonn' les pitieusement!"

At the end two entwined flowers grow from the lovers' grave. In Hungarian versions of the present ballad this never occurs, though it is frequent in other types.

There is thus hardly any incident in the French ballad without some counterpart in the Hungarian one. The girl's request, repeated three times successively, for a break in their dance because her clothes are sticking to her body and her feet are bleeding in her boots, originates from the French girl's changing clothes thrice. But there it serves to stress the girl's pride, while in our versions it illustrates her growing agony. It is at this stage that the moving story of the separated lovers in the French ballad has been transformed into a staggering drama by our peasants. Though in a poetical sense the Hungarian composition is more powerful, its construction at one point is uncertain, and here the plot too lacks unity in its motivation, while the French story forms a logical unit from beginning to end, and must therefore represent the original. The Hungarian texts almost invariably omit the opening according to which the youth jilts the girl, thus removing any justification for his compelling her to dance to death. This also was the reason for reversing the rich-poor relationship: in the Hungarian versions the rich girl slights her poor lover, who revenges himself on her at the dance. Here too, the French text provided a stimulus by describing in detail the girl's rich garments.

In Piedmont the ballad—apart from a few insignificant omissions and alterations—corresponds nearly word for word with the French one. The only difference is that the reason for the girl's describing the clothes she is going to wear is to enable her lover to pick her out at once; this is manifestly a

secondary feature and deprives the story of its essential point. Further on, the youth's offering her a drink, the girl's reply, the changing of her clothes, the words of the wedding-guests and the message to the bell-ringer are all omitted. Obviously the Hungarian ballad does not stem from this version.

The English story is even more remote. Here too the youth invites his sweetheart to his wedding with another girl; in some variants she is asked to dress up in her finest clothes, while in others she does it on her own. The bride becomes jealous on account of the former sweetheart's beauty, picks a quarrel with her and stabs her to death. Then she herself is killed by the bridegroom, who commits suicide afterwards. This framework of the story is taken over by the Scandinavians.

The French ballad makes it clear that the Hungarian text is related to the Western story, and it is equally obvious that the Hungarian ballad is directly linked only with the French one. At the same time, the story recited in Gottschée (a German enclave within a Slovene-language territory in Austria near the Hungarian border) and corresponding in some parts word for word to the Hungarian text, must evidently originate from the Hungarian ballad, the more so if we bear in mind that the inhabitants from this region frequently came over for seasonal work to the Hungarian Trans-Danubian counties, particularly at harvest time.

For a third parallel let us choose another type, again well known to English readers: "Willy's Lyke-Wake" (Child, No. 25). Child was already well acquainted with the "pretty Hungarian ballad" *Pálbeli szép Antal* ("Fair Anthony from Pál"), and the ballad of *Görög Ilona* ("Helen Görög") has since become known to English audiences from Kodály's opera "An Evening in the Spinning-Room."

"Aye die I must, I wiss, my mother,
mother dear,

For Görög Ilona, her small and slender
waist,
Her small and slender waist, her full
round sweet lips' taste,
Her full round sweet lips' taste, her ruddy
cheeks and face."

"Don't die, don't die, my son, Bertalaki
László,
For I a wondrous mill will order for you
made,
And of this mill one stone will turn out
milk-white pearls,
The other stone unceasing silver farthings
hurls.

This wonder for to see will come fair
maids and girls,
And with them yours will come: fair
Görög Ilona."

"Let me go, let me go, my mother,
mother dear,
That wondrous mill to see, that wondrous
mill to see!"

"Don't go, don't go, my daughter, for the
net is cast,
The fishing net is cast, they catch a barbel
fast.

"Aye die I must, I wiss, . . ."

And then they try to lure her with a
magic tower so broad that its edge reaches
down to the river Tisza and skims with its
top the very skies. But again they fail.

"O die, o die, my son, Bertalaki László,
They will come they will, I know, this
wondrous dead to see,
And with them yours will come: fair
Görög Ilona."

"Let me go, let me go, my mother,
mother dear,
That wondrous dead to see, that
wondrous dead to see,
Who did die for my sake and gave himself
to death."

"I will not let you go, my daughter,
daughter dear,

The fishing net is cast, they catch a
barbel fast."
At that she ran by stealth into her room
to dress
And slipped into her kirtle that never was
home-made,

An apron tied in front, as it becomes a
maid,
And on her feet she put new boots of
crimson suede.

"Rise up, rise up, my son, Bertalaki
László,
For there I see her come, fair Görög Ilona,
For whom you died, for whom you gave
yourself to death.

Rise up, rise up, my son, Bertalaki László
For right in front of you stands she for
whom you died."

"I've seen the dead before, but never one
like this,
Whose legs do seem as if they were
ajumping like,

Whose arms do seem as if they were
ahugging like,

Whose lips do seem as if they were
akissing like."

Bertalaki László thereon sprang to his
feet.

However, neither the Child collection, nor the *Gesamtausgabe* prepared under the direction of John Meier elucidate the reason for the peculiar duality in the diffusion of this ballad. In the northern, i.e., Saxon-Scotch and Danish versions, the young lover shams death for the purpose of enticing his beloved to come to him, and he succeeds in winning her. In the South-Eastern, i.e., the Italian, Serb-Croatian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Slovakian and Ukrainian ballads, we find a three- or fourfold gradation: the magic tower (or garden of stones or iron-bridge, etc.), then the magic mill, and only in the third instance does the lover resort to shamming death and the ballad end with

the lovers' merry union. There is no explanation for the difference in composition between the two versions, and there is no territorial connection either.

There are Danish variants, known from 16th-century records, in which the youth lures his beloved from a nunnery. Sometimes this incident is incomprehensibly blended with another solution: the girl departs from her mother attractively dressed to see her dead lover, but later appears to live in a convent. Evidently, an earlier uniform Scotch-Danish version had become incongruously blended with a subsequent form.

The "missing link" is provided by the convent motif. For there is a widely spread French ballad, which must have escaped the notice of students of ballad-lore and in which the youth shams death to entice his beloved to leave the convent. But this cannot be regarded as the earliest form of the ballad in French either. In Provence and among the Canadian—i.e., Northern—French emigrants, there is a very rare ballad, where the convent is not mentioned and the youth shams illness to lure the girl to him in spite of the father's prohibition, thus making the girl his sweetheart. This story was used among various other epic elements in a Dutch drama written in 1385–1400. And the same version also travelled to Greece, where a lot of French songs had become popular during the 14th and 15th centuries, in the days of the Cypriot kings. It should therefore be regarded as the primary form of this theme, which after several transformations approached the French-Danish conception of enticement by shammed death and elopement from a convent.

The presence of French settlers in Hungary throughout the Middle Ages would be an explanation for the link between the two non-contiguous territories. However, what conclusive evidence is there to prove the French origin of this Hungarian ballad?

The French ballad contains another common feature with the Hungarian one which does not appear in the north-western group:

it is the magic mill. There is a merry French ballad about *Le Petit Tambour* ("The Drummer Boy") who woos a princess and being refused by the king, he vaunts his great riches, boasting of his three mills, of which the first grinds gold, the second grinds silver, and the third the love of his beloved. Now let us contrast this with a Transylvanian-Székely variant: one stone of the mill grinds pearls, the second grinds silver coins and the third grinds kisses. The similarity is obvious, the more so, since the same image appears only in a somewhat blurred form in the neighbourhood of France, where the mill grinds only some exotic condiments. The development of our ballad is thus clear: the elements of two French ballads were merged, and to make up the obligatory triplex form of folk-poetry another enticement was added to the shammed death and the magic mill. This additional third element seems to support our conclusion: it takes a variety of forms, e.g., a tower reaching up to the skies, an iron bridge, a stone garden and the like. Sometimes these can be missing and the gradation is achieved only through the golden, silver, etc., mill. But the two features borrowed from the French, the mill and the shammed death, are always present.

Afterwards the transformed ballad became very popular among our neighbours. The modifications during transmission indicate the direction of its spread: the farther it travelled from Hungary the more indistinct the framework and genre characteristics became. The Gottschee Germans still adopt the mill, but in a realistic form already: the village girls have the corn ground there. Similarly, the magic tower is given a realistic meaning: it appears as a church, where the village young go to worship. In the Slovenian and particularly in the Italian variants the mill is omitted, the enticements increase in number—often there are four of them—and become more realistic—e.g., a grape gathering, a well, a church, a ball—in colourful variety. Thus a French-Hungarian concept, stylized according to the requirements of ballad po-

etry, becomes gradually less stylized and ballad-like with the growth of distance from Hungary. The reverse case would be hardly conceivable: the mill accidentally crops up at our borders, the Hungarian stylize it into a magic mill, which incongruously becomes exactly like the one in a French ballad.

Northwards, particularly in the Slovakian and Ukrainian ballads, the church and the pub are the enticement; in the latter ballads the two lovers even die. In the Yugoslav and Bulgarian ballads, there appears, on the one hand, a structural disintegration, for example, that of a characteristic feature of the European ballad form—the "incremental repetition"—which has remained constant in all the Hungarian texts; some parts are omitted, continued as a prose narrative, or curtailed, and the whole story turns into an epic. On the other hand, the frame-work of the plot itself is considerably changed by stories merged into one another, especially among the Serbs. The further south we go in retracing our story, the fewer the ballad features and the more predominant the epic strain.

It is in the Hungary of the Middle Ages that the French-Walloon settlers close the gap between the Scotch-Danish and the Eastern-European variants. The peasants wandering from the Rhine districts towards the Danube transfer to us elements of Western culture that but for them might not have reached our country; or if they had, it would have taken much longer to pass through the intervening territories. In this way the Hungarian people came in direct and more intensive contact with the culture flourishing on the further side of the Rhine than the peoples living further westwards. Thus it is not only eastwards that we have spread the motifs from beyond the Rhine, but also in a return direction, westwards. So far we know of four Hungarian ballads of French origin that have, entirely or partly, found their way also into German territories. Sometimes they entered from two directions at the same time: from the French to the

Western provinces and from the East to regions along the Hungarian and Czech borders. This is the case with the beautiful ballad of The Three Orphans whose laments are answered by the dead mother in the grave. In Eastern Europe, there are themes that have spread over vast territories because they had a strange fascination for the popular imagination, like the story of the "Porcheronne," the young wife who is degraded by her cruel mother-in-law to tend pigs. In the Hungarian version she is eventually killed by her mother-in-law, and the story has been traced in this form as far as Archangel.

In fact we are now in a position to pay off our debt to the French for what we once received: the material, preserved by us, but entirely lost in its original home, can now be returned. The Hungarian ballads, placed in European perspective, can prove the existence and even the French origin of many themes of which no trace remains in France, such as "The Revenant" here analysed, and of which a late transformation and remnants of an earlier conception have survived.

There is a still rather popular Hungarian ballad that has preserved both the original story and style, the story of *Angoli Borbála* ("Barbara, the English Maid") whose skirt is getting shorter and shorter in front and longer and longer in back. And when she is called by her mother to account for it, her excuse is that

"The tailor cut it wrong, the seamstress
sewed it wrong,
This chambermaid of mine, she put it on
me wrong."

Eventually she confesses that she has been pregnant for seven months. She is thrown into prison and condemned to death. She is visited by her brother, or by the cruel mother herself. The girl asks permission to write a letter. Sometimes she writes it with her finger and for ink she uses her blood or her tears. She asks a bird to carry her letter to her lover.

"If you get there at noon, do put it by his
plate,
If you get there at night, do put it on his
bed.
He'll read it, that I know, and drench it
in his tears
He'll weep so thick and fast, won't see
the letters clear."

"My coachman, my coachman, o swiftest
coachman mine,
Six horses for the guest, and every one the
best,
As quick as lightning's flash along with
you I'll dash
Angoli Borbála still living for to find."

But the girl is executed before he arrives. The mother dares not tell him where she is. She sends him to the brooklet and then to the meadow but at last tells him that his beloved is on the bier. The bridegroom commits suicide over her dead body.

Actually it was the name of the heroine that first suggested to me the French origin of this ballad and of several others in which the heroine is called *Angoli Borbála* (Barbara Angoli; Angoli in old Hungarian idiom means English or of England) or in some versions *Londonvár Ilonka* (Helen Londonvár = of London Castle), also *Londonvári Dorka* (Dorit of London Castle) and like names, more or less deformed. According to the general experience concerning names appearing in ballads the "outlandish" heroes, as a rule, bear the names of neighbouring peoples. In Hungarian ballads (in keeping with conditions in the late Middle Ages) the outlandish bridegroom is either German or Turk, while in Transylvania he is Moldavian and in Moldavia, Polish. In French ballads the foreign hero or heroine is usually either Spanish or English. (For instance, the French princess who is married to an Englishman and apostrophizes her fiancé as "abominable Englishman" right up to the bridal night, when he is accepted as her "darling Englishman".) Occasionally the "son of the English

king" is mentioned in West-German variants and here and there also in Italian ballads borrowed from the French. But never once does "English" or "French" appear as a name in an English or French ballad, respectively. So the name *Angoli* in the Hungarian ballad suggests French-Dutch origin.

What are the conclusions that may be drawn from the distribution of this ballad?

Among the Germans the epic and formal elements of our ballad appear distributed between three types. One of these, *Der König aus Mailand* ("The Milanese King"), has been found—in three variants—only along the French border and along the Rhine and its tributaries, between Zweibrücken and Zurich. The second, known as *Ritter und Magd* ("The Knight and the Maid"), has spread all over Germany; the third, *Schwabentöchterlein* ("The Swabian Maid"), represents a South-German type.

From the point of view of content the first type is more important for us. There is a feast at a king's court. One of the guests becomes the lover of the princess and then returns to his country. The princess secretly gives birth to a child. Her brother would be willing to keep the secret, but somehow the queen learns about it. She persuades her husband to execute their daughter. The girl writes a letter to her lover—according to one of the versions, with the blood of her finger. Her brother takes the letter to her lover. At the sight of her message he bursts into tears and is hardly able to read through the letter. He summons his knights and rides with them to rescue his beloved. The girl asks the hangman to delay the execution as she hears the clatter of her lover's horse. The hangman takes pity on her; they await the bridegroom, who saves his beloved and kills the cruel mother. Later the king visits his son-in-law, and they are reconciled.

It is hardly credible that this story should have reached us from the far Rhine region skipping all the other German regions. Moreover, in spite of all the analogies, there are a number of decisive differences. The charac-

teristic shortened skirt is missing, the child is born before the execution, and instead of the tragic conclusion the story ends in reconciliation. Slighter differences are that the opening part is more extensive, the ballad does not begin *in medias res* as in our version, and the letter is not sent with a bird.

The second German type has travelled all the way up to our borders, so that the transmission could have taken place without hindrance, yet the story is quite different, except the single incident of the shortened skirt. In this ballad a knight makes love to a peasant girl, and in the morning he offers her money or one of his servants. She refuses his offer and sadly starts for home. Her mother meets her outside the town and from afar calls to her girl: "How did you fare, daughter? I see your skirt is getting too long at the back and too short in front." The girl dies during her confinement. The knight sees his beloved in a dream. He sets off to visit her but only meets the funeral procession. He kisses the corpse and stabs himself to death. As we see, this ballad, widely accepted by the German and Latin peoples, represents a very different type, and the mentioning of the shortened skirt is a foreign element. The theme of the shortened skirt also crops up in the midst of another story, the ballad of the *Bauerntöchterlein* ("The Young Peasant Girl").

In English ballad literature we come closer to the Hungarian version. Lady Maisry (Child, No. 65) has many suitors but refuses them all. At last, it turns out that she has become pregnant through a knight. Her father examines her and wants to execute her. "O whare will I get a bonny boy, To help me in my need!" she cries. "To rin wi hast to Lord William, And bid him come wi speed?" Her page is willing to go. The knight gets into his saddle at once. The girl at the stake hears the approaching clatter of the horse's hoofs, but she appeals in vain to her cruel brother to subdue the flames. The lover having arrived too late, takes revenge on his beloved's family.

In a single variant the girl's brother observes her condition in the following terms: "What's come o' a your green claiting, Was ance for your too side? And what's become o' your lang stays, Was ance for you too wide?" And in the girl's defence we can observe some vague reminiscences of the Hungarian girl's excuse, laying the blame on the ill-fitted clothes: "O he that made my claiting short, I hope he'll make them side; And he that made my stays narrow, I hope he'll make them wide." This incident, similarly to the German texts, has also passed into other ballads. But here we are closer to the Hungarian ballad to the extent that at least one variant contains this formula in the original story too; furthermore, the girl does not give birth to her child before her execution, and the story ends tragically with the lover arriving after her death.

An even closer resemblance can be detected—in certain features—in the Portuguese and Spanish ballad. It has a varied, long introduction, telling of the night the lovers spent together, ever of the earlier scene in which the young lover made a bet to seduce the girl. In several variants the heroine's pregnancy is attributed to the water of a certain spring (but in these too, it is her lover who comes to rescue her). Sometimes these preliminaries are omitted. This shows that the introductions were secondarily affixed to the original story. In their absence the events immediately begin with the shortened skirt, just as with us. But here not only is the ill-fitting skirt mentioned, but also the girl's excuse, laying the blame upon the tailors. The girl—to give an instance—is sitting at a table with her father, who keeps gazing at her: "Dona Areira, I see you're with child." "The tailors are guilty, my skirt is not well-cut!" He summons the tailors into a closed room. They look at each other and say: "There's nothing wrong with the skirt, in nine months it will sweep the ground again." The father has the girl taken prisoner and the stake is prepared. The girl sends

a page with a letter to her lover: "If he sleeps, wake him; if he's awake, give him my letter," or: "If he's dining, call him from the table; if he's strolling, at once hand it to him," etc., in variations similar to the Hungarian ones. On reading the letter, the youth bursts into tears. He gives orders to have his horses shod and saddled. At that point the Iberian version takes a different turn: the lover dresses up as a friar and appears at the execution. Under the pretext of hearing the sinner's confession he helps her to escape. These events are enlivened with elaborate descriptions and here too the tragic end is replaced by a happy one.

In a few Catalan versions the motif of the letter written in blood crops up again. The German *Gesamtausgabe* regards it as an unconnected "Wandermotiv" on account of the remoteness of the German analogy. In general it denies any relationship between the ballads cited and admits of no distant, indirect links because they diverge so greatly and because territorial contact is hardly imaginable.

This link is, however, established by the existence of *Angoli Borbála*, which contains all the elements that appear singly or dispersedly in the Portuguese-Spanish, French and English versions, and in the three divergent German ballads. Even the motif of sending a message through a bird is comprehensible, considering that this has been a generally applied cliché in French lyrical songs and ballads. The only possible assumption is that there once was a French ballad—now lost—which must have contained all the elements figuring in the Hungarian ballad, with a construction nearly the same as ours. Thus it must have started with the shortened skirt, as the French ballads have a masterful knack of restricting the story to its essential elements and of increasing its effect by beginning it *in medias res*. From France the ballad passed to the neighbouring peoples with more or less transformation, omission or expansion; and from France it arrived directly in Hungary, where it has

survived to this day with little modification and certainly without any omission.

A Hungarian variant combining all the elements could not have emerged without a French intermediary. The various elements could not have been picked from so many sources! Take the opening scene, for instance: textually the German skirt motif, embedded in another story, is closest to the Hungarian: "Your skirt is long in back and very short in front." But an excuse such as: "The tailor cut it badly," exists only in the Portuguese-Spanish version. It should be noted here that in a considerably obscured form the same motif appears in a French ballad-like song. Here the parents have a gown made for the girl, "short in back and long in front." Of course, it makes no sense here, but it undoubtedly proves the former existence of the motif on French-language territory, a fact corroborated by its appearance among the Greeks. Now, if we disregard the possible existence of a corresponding French ballad, we Hungarians would have been faced with making the following selections in taking over the various versions: we would have had to borrow the framework of the German variant existing only along the Franco-German border or rather that of the English versions, which on the whole, appear to be closest to our texts; omit from these the introductory part and begin the story, in imitation of certain Iberian variants, with the discovery; continue it, however, with the formula of the mother's inquiry, coming from an entirely different German ballad; then add a reference to the tailors and a message—both taken from the Iberian variants—by means of a bird that plays no part in any of the versions; conclude with the tragic end of the English variant, but previously interpolating the attempt to send the lover away. Obviously, this is impossible. But with the intermediate French ballad everything can be satisfactorily explained. The great variety of elements to be found around the French territory in itself should have called attention to the one-time exist-

ence of such a central variant. The Hungarian ballad requires this even more, since its adaptation can only be supposed through French intermediary by way of the settlers. That the original French ballad should have completely disintegrated, while it was preserved by us and by several other peoples, is not surprising in view of the great corruption and the 18th-century transformation of the French ballads.

It stands to reason, then, to assume—and the names derived from English names in the various Hungarian versions are also indicative of this—that this story must also have been borrowed from a French ballad, like a number of others the originals of which still survive in French.

From parallels like those cited above, as well as from a large number of analogies in other genres of folk poetry, there emerges in a convincing measure a substantial and coherent group of ballads of French origin, which have become an integral part of the treasure chest of Hungarian ballads. It is only natural that this vast influence should have left its imprint on the compositional features of the genre as well. One of them is line iteration. Some authorities assert that we have borrowed this feature, typical of neo-Latin peoples, from the Rumanians, because it has been found mainly in regions with a mixed Hungarian and Rumanian population. To some extent this is true, since a consistent duplication of lines appears in the lyrical texts in certain parts of Transylvania and Moldavia. But this is a general feature of ballads in parts of Hungary where there is no trace of it in lyrical or other texts and where Rumanian influence is out of the question. It is, moreover, remarkable that a similar iteration is to be found in a good many Slovakian and Russian ballads that must have originated with us.

Apart from the simple form of the iterated line, the Hungarian ballad manifests a special form in which the last line of a stanza forms the opening line of the subsequent verse, e.g.,

Angoli Borbála
Had a kirtle cut her,
Afore it got shorter,
Behind it got longer.

Afore it got shorter,
Behind it got longer,
Her willowy waist
ever got broader.

In the case of a long verse the text is split up into 12-syllable lines in which the second half of the last line of a stanza becomes the opening of the next line. The ballad of *Görög Ilona* cited above is an example. This ballad exists also in Denmark, where it is known as the "linked stanza." Yet in spite of its many French characteristics its French origin has not been identified there. Nevertheless all these features are typical of French ballads. Most frequently it takes three forms: the simplest one is when a stanza consists of two pairs of reiterated lines, as in the "complainte"-type, usually consisting of eight syllables and sung to a slow tune; the second form is when the iteration consists of various opening, interior or closing refrains; the third form is when two lines constitute a verse with or without refrain, the second line forming the opening line of the next verse, e.g.,

Derrière chez nous y a-t-un petit bois.
Nous y allions cueillir des noix.
Nous y allions cueillir des noix.
J'en cueillis deux, j'en mangis trois . . .

etc.

In this respect Hungarian investigations provide confirmation of the fact that English and German folk-poetry—particularly the ballads—has been strongly influenced by French forms.

Concordance in tune and wording has been proved in few cases only, as very few authentic French folk-song scores are known in Hungary. If a substantial body of the manuscripts collected could be studied, fur-

ther links between the folklore of the two peoples would most likely be revealed.

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In conclusion we shall dwell briefly on the historical background of the aforementioned French influences. There were large French settlements in Hungary from the 12th to 16th centuries. The most important and largest of these were to be found in the northern parts of the country; a smaller number existed in the south-east region of the Great Plain, while minor settlements were scattered nearly everywhere. We possess data on the use of the French (Walloon) language as late as from the beginning of the 16th century.

Of even greater significance is the fact that for a time, owing to the intercourse of our French-Walloon settlers with their Western relatives, lively contacts developed between Hungary, on the one hand, and France and Belgium, on the other, traces of which may be found also in the West. Based on records of Liège Province, one of our investigators has proved that during the 14th century there used to be localities, streets and individuals, some of them in high positions as town councillors and burgomasters, carrying the name "Magyar" (Hungarian). This shows that rather close contacts must have existed between the Hungarians and the citizens of Liège. There are still expressions in the Walloon vernacular hinting at such connections, for instance, "hanke" or "hongre," which once meant something like "to speak Hungarian," while in today's use it signifies "to speak in a foreign, queer language, to falter." Those who interpreted this term in such a way must have heard spoken Hungarian.

This link can also be revealed in Hungary, e.g., in the 13th-century life of the town of Esztergom. Students of medieval life in Hungary have brought to light data from 1272 telling of a merchant of Ghent—referred to as "podgy Jean"—who agreed to accept a vineyard in settlement of his claims from a

Hungarian citizen of Esztergom (Strigonium); about the same time, a new kind of broadcloth was popularly called "ganti"—i.e., from Gant (Ghent)—and the name found its way even into our Latin records as a Hungarian word. At the beginning of the century in the social life of the town one of the various religious social movements of Flandres that of the "Beguiques," appeared in its most typical national form.

The chapel of Louis Anjou (1342–1382), King of Hungary, built in Aachen, for the Hungarian pilgrims, is another proof of this close contact.

These contacts remained close until the end of the 14th century, but considerably slackened during the 15th, so much so that in 1447 a group of pilgrims of Walloon origin from the Hungarian town of Eger caused a sensation in Liège through their perfect knowledge of the local French vernacular; a hunt for their origins was made in old records. In principle, however, the French influences continued up to the beginning of the 16th century. Only the chaotic state of affairs of the ensuing epochs, the demographic changes brought about by the Turkish conquest and the absorption of the French language enclaves put an end to further borrowings.

It is important, therefore, to keep in mind these considerations in attempting to determine the time-limits for the adoption of the French ballads. Theoretically, ballads from our French settlers could have passed on to the Hungarians by the end of the 15th century, but, from France itself, they must have come to Hungary not later than the end of the 14th century. Occasional, rare contacts during the 15th century would not have provided sufficient opportunity for the transmission of so vast a material.

The correctness of the upper limit can be proved by the fact that ballads appearing in French manuscripts at the end of the 15th century, which must have been the most popular pieces of the time and remained among the most popular of French ballads,

e.g., "Roi Renaud," "Pernette," "La Fille du Roi Louis," cannot be found among the borrowed ones. It is quite inconceivable, moreover, that in the case of such large-scale borrowing as is to be found among our ballads, the most popular ballads should not have been passed on to us by our French countrymen, if their repertory had already included them. On the one hand, this proves that those 15th-century scripts did not include texts already extant for one or more centuries, but, at most, only originating and popular in the 15th century, and on the other hand, that the texts we borrowed, must have existed already in the 14th century. This verifies the opinion of French authorities that "Porcheronne," a ballad also familiar in Hungary, is an earlier version of the same story that was later elaborated in "Germinie" and in this later form was not passed on to our peasants. Very early origin of the borrowed material is suggested by the fact that a large number of these ballads, both in French and Hungarian folk-literature, have survived only in one or two corrupted versions; in some cases their existence in France can only be inferred.

On the basis of what has been said, French researchers too may place the formation of their ballad literature nearly two centuries earlier than has been the case on the part of some of their authorities, who have considered it as dating from the end of the 15th century, i.e., from the appearance of the first records. Hungarian research stands to gain even more, since our previous dating, which connected our ballads to the 17th century, restricted our experts' imagination to such an extent that they hardly dared to attribute a text to the 16th century. Nor have they been stimulated by the general opinion of European ballad researchers that the ballad is a genre of the late Middle Ages and that it flourished all over the Continent between the 13th and 15th centuries. We now have a solid basis for tracing back the majority of our ballads to the Hungary of the Anjou kings in the 14th century.

Following the international links of our ballads we can sense the great unity that existed in the Europe of the late Middle Ages. Trade connections, pilgrimages, interchanging dynasties, settlements, migrations—all these closely connected the peoples. Their intercommunication, including the exchange of cultural values, was astonishingly rapid—even in the lowest social strata, considering the technical facilities of those days. No sooner had some novelty been born in an advanced society, than those from the farthest regions sought to have a share in it. Hungary, owing to her specific situation and connections, was an advance post of

this cultural exchange. Thus many cultural products reached us from the West skipping considerable areas, and the new fashions spread from our country, backwards and forwards, in every direction.

This advance post was crushed by the Turkish conquest, when all borrowing and further diffusion suffered a long interruption. May these few results help to bring about a belated resumption of our interrupted co-operation in this sphere. They could be obtained only through acquaintance with our traditions and history, and without them the path of the European ballad would have remained obscure at some points.

PROBLEMS OF ADULT EDUCATION

During the winter of 1963 a three-day conference attended by three hundred experts discussed adult education at one of the largest cultural centres of Budapest. At present adults are taught at various organized institutions in Hungary; they may attend schools and acquire primary, secondary and higher education, at evening classes or in correspondence courses. Factories, offices, farmers' co-operatives and state-owned farms provide for technical classes. Finally, various academies for workers and for members of agricultural co-operatives are also noteworthy institutions. In the year 1963 approximately 300,000 adults received a scholastic education and the number of those who went in for technical training amounted to another 100,000.

Of course, these figures are relatively insignificant to the foreign reader who has no precise knowledge about the economic and intellectual backwardness of Hungary under Horthy's regime, until the liberation in 1945. One should understand that the

country inherited 700,000 unlettered inhabitants from the previous system. The lively and avid interest evinced by adults for the sciences, for art, and culture is graphically illustrated by an extremely instructive fact: in Hungary there is a type of economic secondary school, whose evening classes were attended in 1960–1961 by 20,000 adults, while regular classes numbered no more than 17,000 students of school age. And this is not the only type of institution where the population of adult evening classes heavily outnumbered that of the ordinary morning school.

Those aware of the difficulties, cares, and family responsibilities, as well as other problems raised by study pursued after daily working hours, can understand the heroic efforts of these three-hundred-thousand adults, mostly of peasant and labourer stock, when they came to the great decision and threw themselves into study to get through the curriculum of eight-grade primary school, secondary school, or a university. György