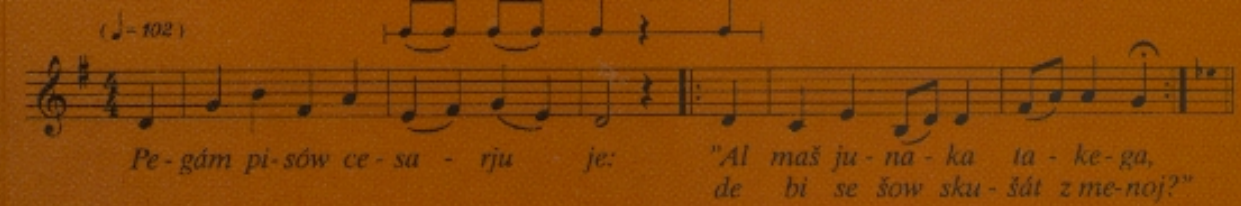
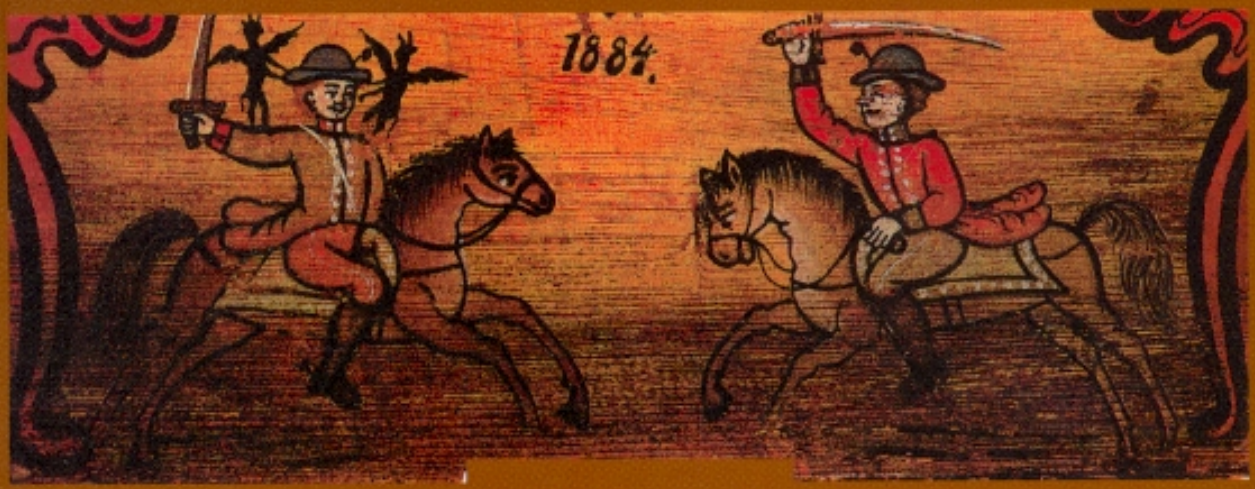
LJUDSKE BALADE

MED IZROČILOM IN SODOBNOSTJO





BALLADS

BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERN TIMES

ZALOŽBA
ZRC

Uredila/Edited by: Marjetka Golež

Prevod predgovora, štirih razprav v angleščino /
English translations of Preface and of four papers
(Kumer, Golež, Terseglav, Vrčon): Franc Slivnik
Prevod spremne besede in lektoriranje angleških besedil/
Translation of Foreword and language check of English texts: Amidas
Prevod angleških povzetkov v slovenščino /
Translation of English abstracts in Slovene language: Amidas
Notografija/Music notation by: Boštjan Perovšek

Oblikovanje/Design: Milojka Žalik Huzjan

Ilustrativno, fotografsko in drugo gradivo je iz arhiva GNI in Fotolaboratorija ZRC SAZU/
Ilustrated materials and photos are from Archives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology
and Photolaboratory SRC SASA

Založil/ Published by:
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti/
Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences & Arts
Založba ZRC/ZRC Publishing
Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU/Institute of Ethnomusicology SRC SASA
Zanj/Represented by: Oto Luthar
Urednik založništva/Editor of publishing: Vojislav Likar

Tisk/print: Tiskarna knjigoveznica Radovljica d.o.o.

Tiskano s pomočjo Ministrstva za znanost in tehnologijo Republike Slovenije/Published with the support of the Ministry of Science and Tehnology of the Republic of Slovenia

Printed in Slovenia

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

398.87(100)(082)

LJUDSKE balade med izročilom in sodobnostjo = Ballads between Tradition and Modern Times
Zbornik referatov 27. mednarodnega posvetovanje raziskovalcev balad (SIEF - baladna komisija), Gozd Martuljek, Slovenija, 13 - 19. julij 1997 = Proceedings of the 27th International Ballad Conference (SIEF Ballad Commission), Gozd Martuljek, Slovenia, July 13 - 19, 1997 / uredila, edited by Marjetka Golež. - Ljubljana : Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, Založba ZRC : Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU, 1998.

ISBN 961-6182-60-9

1. Gl. stv. nasl. 2. Vzp. stv. nasl. 3. Golež, Marjetka.
78464000

https://doi.org/10.3986/9616182609

LJUDSKE BALADE MED IZROČILOM IN SODOBNOSTJO

BALLADS BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERN TIMES

ZBORNIK REFERATOV 27. MEDNARODNEGA POSVETOVANJA RAZISKOVALCEV BALAD (SIEF BALADNA KOMISIJA)
GOZD MARTULJEK, SLOVENIJA, 13. – 19. JULIJ 1997

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 27TH INTERNATIONAL BALLAD CONFERENCE (SIEF BALLAD COMMISSION)
GOZD MARTULJEK, SLOVENIA, JULY 13 – 19 1997

UREDILA /EDITED BY
MARJETKA GOLEŽ

LJUBLJANA 1998

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PREDGOVOR

Baladno raziskovanje se venomer giblje med preteklostjo in sodobnimi časi. Tokovi preteklega, odsevi zgodovinskih časov, arhetipske zgodbe se prepletajo z vdorom naših kulturnih in družbenih razmer tudi v nastajanje, odmiranje ali ponovno oživljanje balad, tako da tudi njihovo raziskovanje prinaša neizogibne spremembe. Še vedno se raziskovalci balad ukvarjajo z baladami, ki ponekod še živijo, drugje pa se izgubljajo in ostajajo ostaline preteklosti ali postajajo del literature. Pri nekaterih narodih se je baladna ustvarjalnost še obdržala, balade se še pojejo, tradicija še ni podlegla inovaciji ali pa je inovacija že postala del tradicije, drugje pa raziskovalci balad črpajo gradivo za svoje raziskovanje iz tiskanih virov in je terensko delo že zelo okrnjeno. V nekaterih nacionalnih baladnih tradicijah lahko na terenu še vedno posnamemo variante balad v melodijah enoglasnega ali večglasnega petja, ali pa opazujemo njihovo oživljanje, poustvarjanje ter literarizacijo. V baladnih vsebinah se znanstveniki zapredejo v svetove etičnih norm baladnega sveta, ki odsevajo moralne kodekse ljudi, ali raziskujejo kako se posamezni etnosi razlikujejo v nacionalnih baladnih korpusih. Raziskovalci se lotevajo najrazličnejših tem klasifikacije balad, spreminjanja balad, odnosa med baladami in drugimi žanri, preučujejo balade kot posebno zvrst ljudskih pesmi, razvoj gradiva regionalnih zbirk, balad kot okruškov ali vprašanja nacionalnih baladnih izročil. Vse to se v tej knjigi prepleta s potjo baladne komisije (Ballad Commmission - Société International d'Ethnologie et de Folklore), v okviru katere so mogoča razpravljanja o prej navedenem. Baladni raziskovalci se vedno gibljejo med časovnimi določili preteklosti in sodobnimi dogajanji, ki so ostro zarezala v baladno raziskovanje, saj bo potrebno v prihodnosti raziskave balad razširiti na nove tokove v sodobnih družbah, kjer je čas sodobnih občil povzročil, da se ljudska pesem (balada) prepleta z novimi tokovi glasbe, idej in vsebin, se je dotikajo novi mediji in nanjo vpliva sprememba življenja ljudi tako na podeželju kot v mestih. Zato lahko sledimo temu, da se v Evropi ponekod balade na novo oživljajo s t.i. poustvarjalnimi načini, da pa se razumevanje baladnega izročila po različnih nacionalnih baladnih tradicijah dotika preteklosti ter poskuša vzpostaviti sodobnost.

Prav zaradi prej navedenega se je zdelo smiselno, da Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU pripravi 27. mednarodno posvetovanje raziskovalcev balad, ki je bilo v Gozd Martuljku - Slovenija, od 13.-19. julija 1997. Zbornik, ki je sedaj pred nami, je zapis znanstvenih pogledov na baladni svet, uglednih strokovnjakov z vsega sveta. Vsi prispevki, razen treh (avtorji: Tatjana Kaličanin, Blaže Petrovski, Oleg V. Nikitin, ti se niso mogli udeležiti posvetovanja), so bili prebrani in se je razpravljajo o njih v zbornični dvorani Hotela Špik.

Preden pospremim to knjigo na pot branja in premišljevanja, bi se rada zahvalila vsem tistim, ki so pomagali, da je zbornik izšel.

Najprej se prisrčno zahvaljujem direktorju ZRC SAZU doc. dr. Otu Lutharju, ki

je s svojo širino za vse vrste znanosti in globokim razumevanjem za vrednost baladnega raziskovanja, tako moralno kot finančno omogočil, da je ta knjiga sedaj pred nami. Zahvala gre tudi Znanstvenoraziskovalnemu centru SAZU, ki je iz svojega raziskovalnega sklada prispeval finančni delež za izdajo tega zbornika, prav tako se zahvaljujem založbi ZRC SAZU, ki je v svoj program vključila to knjigo in jo oblikovala za tisk. Zahvala gre tudi Glasbenonarodopisnemu inštitutu, v okviru katerega je delo nastalo. Moja globoka zahvala gre tudi avtorjem prispevkov: Zmagi Kumer, Luisi Del Guidice, Marku Terseglavu, Robertu Vrčonu, Tatjani Kaličanin, Blažetu Petrovskemu, Thomasu A. McKeanu, Ildíkó Krizi, E.Wyn Jamesu,Geraldu Porterju, Svetli Petkovi, Katji Mihajlovi, Simoni Delić, Nijoli Sliužinskienė in Rimantasu Sliužinskasu, Nicolaeju Constantinescuju, Mary Ellen Brown, Frances J. Fischer, Olegu V. Nikitinu, Hansu Kuhnu, Johnu D. Nilesu, Mary Ann Constantine in Davidu Atkinsonu. Njihove razprave so izjemni interdisciplinarni in nacionalno-primerjalni prispevki k raziskovanju balad med izročili preteklosti in novimi spoznanji sodobnosti.

Uredniško delo te vrste je težavno, vendar navdihujoče, ob prebiranju razprav se zgosti vsa pisanost baladnih tem, idej, melodij različnih kultur in narodov sveta. Zato si želim, da bi to bogastvo novih zamisli in odkrivanj različnih znanstvenih vidikov na raziskovanje balad, ki je v tem zborniku, vzpodbudilo novo zanimanje za skrivnostni svet baladnih zgodb, ki skupaj z melodijami razveseljujejo, opominjajo, poučujejo in razkrivajo tančice preteklosti ter nas povezujejo med seboj. Želim si, da bi ta zbornik dosegel namen širjenja in poglabljanja vedenja o ljudskih baladah, ki se venomer pretakajo med tradicijo in sodobnostjo.

Marjetka Golež
Ljubljana, junij 1998

PREFACE

Ballad research moves continually between the past and the present. The trends of the past, reflections of historical times and archetypal stories, through their invasion of our cultural and social circumstances, also determine the emergence, decay or revival of ballads, so that researching them also brings about unavoidable changes. Ballad research continues to be concerned with ballads that are in some places alive, or are elsewhere disappearing, remaining a remnant of the past or becoming a part of the literature. In some nations ballad creativity is still being maintained, ballads are still being sung, the tradition has not yet been overcome by innovation or innovation has already become a part of the tradition, whereas elsewhere ballad researchers are drawing upon printed materials for their studies, with field work already becoming rather scarce. In some national ballad traditions, variants of ballads can still be recorded in the field, since folk singers are still singing them. Many nations can still trace back the lives of folk ballads in the melodies of one part in multi-part singing, or in their revival, re-creation or literary treatment. With regard to the topics of ballads, scholars concern themselves with the different ethnic norms of the world of ballads that reflect the moral codes of the people, or they study how ethos differ among the national ballad corpora. Ballad researchers are becoming involved in a great number of topics, such as the classification of ballads, changes of ballads, the relation between ballads and other genres; they study ballads as a specific genre of folk songs, they trace the development of the material in regional collections, of ballads as fragments, and they deal with the issue of national ballad traditions. All of this is interlinked in this book with the work of the Ballad Commission (Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore) within the framework of which a discussion of the topics mentioned above is made possible. Ballad researchers keep moving between the temporal indications of the past and contemporary developments which have cut sharply into ballad research, since in the future the study of ballads will have to be extended to new currents in contemporary societies, where the era of modern mass media has brought about a situation in which the folk song (ballad) is being combined with new trends in music, ideas and subjects, is being transmitted by new media, and is under the influence of the changes of the lives of people in the countryside as well as in towns. Therefore we can witness a situation in Europe in which in some areas ballads are being revived in the so-called re-creative manner, where the understanding of the ballad lore, depending on the different national ballad traditions, touches on the past and seeks to establish the present.

With respect to the above stated, the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts decided to organize the 27th International Ballad Conference, which was held in Gozd Martuljek on July 13-19 1997. The

collection of papers now in front of us is a record of scholarly views on the world of ballads by noted professionals from all over the world. With the exception of three authors who could not be present (Tatjana Kaličanin, Blaže Petrovski and Oleg V. Nikitin), all of the papers were presented and discussed at the meeting, which was held in the conference hall at the Hotel Špik.

Before concluding the preface and offering the book to the readers' perusal and reflection, I would like to express my gratitude to all those who helped us in producing it.

First of all, my sincere thanks are due to the Director of the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dr. Oto Luthar, who with his openness to all types of science and his deep understanding of the value of ballad research has given this book both moral and financial support. Our thanks are also due to the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, which from its publishing fund has contributed financial support for the publication of the present work, as well as to the publishers at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, who included the present publication in their programme and provided its graphic design. My deep thanks are due also to the Institut of Ethnomusicology and to the authors of the papers: Zmaga Kumer, Luisa Del Guidice, Marko Terseglav, Robert Vrčon, Tatjana Kaličanin, Blaže Petrovski, Thomas A. McKean, Ildikó Kríza, E. Wyn James, Nicolae Constantinescu, Gerald Porter, Svetla Petkova, Katja Mihajlova, Simona Delić, Nijolė Sliužinskienė and Rimantas Sliužinskas, Mary Ellen Brown, Francis J. Fischer, Oleg V. Nikitin, Hans Kuhn, John D. Niles, Mary-Ann Constantine and David Atkinson.

Their papers constitute an extraordinary interdisciplinary and nationally comparative contribution towards ballad research between the traditions of the past and the new insights of modern times.

Editorial work of this kind is difficult but inspiring; while absorbed in reading the material to be edited, one is treated to the full variety of ballad themes, ideas and melodies of various cultures and nations of the world. Therefore I do wish that the wealth of new ideas and discoveries of scholarly views as regards ballad research which is presented in this volume will stimulate fresh interest in the mysterious world of ballads, which along with their melodies give us pleasure, warn and instruct us, unveil our past and foster interrelationships. It is my wish that this volume will achieve its end - to expand and enrich our knowledge of ballads, which continue to flow all the time between tradition and the present.

Marjetka Golež
Ljubljana, June 1998

SPREMNA BESEDA / FOREWORD

*»Kje so tiśte **balade**, k ̑so včasih bile?«*

*»Where are those **ballads** of yeśteryear?«*[1]

From the Re-creation of Ballads to Individual

[1] The title is a paraphrase of the firśt verse of a Slovenian folk love song *Staro ljubezen ponovim* (*Old Love I Repeat)*, which runs: »Kje so tiśte śtezice, k ̑so včasih bile?« »Where are the paths of yeśteryear?«. The song can be found in: Štrekelj Karel. *Slovenske narodne pesmi II*, Ljubljana: 1900-1902, reprint (Š 4048-62.) The laśt known version was recorded in the Štajerska region in 1988 and is preserved in the archives of GNI ZRC SAZU.

Aspects of Ballad Research

Marjetka Golež

Ballads have always been the most attractive genre of world folk heritage for scientific research, as its cathartic stories are a magnet for listeners, singers and researchers. Everything from the archetypal themes, classical motifs, broadsides, and in Slovenia »sloves«,[2] to the transfer of ballads to the literary heritage or re-creation of ballads in a new way arouses even the weariest of researchers, causing them to surrender to the whirlpool of ballad research, regardless of whether the songs speak of terrifying stories or sing tender melodies. And there is nothing one can do about it; once you start exploring, you never stop.

Scientifically speaking, ballad research moves constantly between dialogue and ideology. Ballads reveal the historical, social and ideological conditions of the ballad world, together with the creative impulses of singers and re-creators, characteristic features of the words and melodies, differences and similarities with other types of folklore tradition. Researchers caught between the past and the present face various difficulties, such as how to include all motifs and themes in research, how to classify ballads, why a certain ballad motif appears in several national ballad traditions while some other motif is characteristic only of one nation.[3] We study the way stories travel and the environment in which ballads emerge, disappear and re-emerge.

Is the present time damaging for the ballad tradition or does it again encourage the search for national identity through ballads, as it was in the 19th century? Will we encounter new Herders, Percys, Childs or Štrekeljs or is the world truly sliding into the media and technological whirlpool which expels from its centre everything that is not modern? The 27th International Ballad Research Conference in Gozd Martuljek in 1997 has proven that it will not come to the latter, since there is a strong group of folk heritage researchers, and the number of those interested in the mysteries of the text, texture and context[4] of ballads, which develop differently within different nations, is on the rise. At the present time, as the awareness of national identities is re-emerging, individual nations are reawakening and demanding

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[2] »Slovesa« are memorial songs and are characteristic of the north-eastern Štajerska (Styria) region (north-eastern Slovenia), where (until the mid 20th century) a habit was kept that on the occasion of tragic death, a song was written which described the event in great detail (including names of people, places and sometimes even dates). These songs were long obituaries with a distinctive narrative epic character and were sung during the wake. Today, these songs have lost their original character and have turned into ballads, such as for example the song entitled Smrt iz ljubosumja/*Death Caused by Jealousy*.

[3] The song *Desetnica* or *The Tenth Daughter* is for example known in ballad form only in Slovenia, while the motif itself is known throughout Europe, although in prose only. The song was also known in the German community of Kočevje, but they adopted it from the Slovenian population. This means that the memory of the tenth daughter who must leave her home was so alive in the Slovenian folk heritage that it entered balladry. It is a known fact that according to folk tradition, the tenth child was regarded an oddity which could harm the family, particularly if the child was a girl. According to folk beliefs, tenth children had supernatural talents. Why the motif did not enter the ballad tradition of other nations is left to speculation.

independence and recognition of their independence, a committee of researchers from all over the world met in Slovenia, a newly independent and internationally recognised state, in order to present their ideas about how different ethnic groups are portrayed in ballads, how ethnic elements are included in individual stories, what are the elements of children's tradition in ballads, what characterizes individual collections of ballads, what are the characteristic features of the ballad as a genre, what individual aspects of ballads belong to different nations and last but not least, the present state of ballads - whether ballads are on the decline or are being revived, how they »live« today, in what forms and what environments. All this is presented in a book which is extremely heterogeneous as far as the individual papers are concerned, but nevertheless very homogenous in its scientific findings. Reading the individual articles allows constant comparison of different nations and their ballad traditions. In addition, through these papers, scientists can acquire a very clear image of the national and international. Individual ballad stories and related ideas arise like palimpsests which hide the past and the lives of people, and are flanked and covered with layers of tradition which itself lies underneath new strata of innovation and modernity.

Allow me to present the most essential information from each paper and compare, by means of footnotes, some of the ballads in question and folkloristic conclusions with the situation in Slovenia.

So, let us examine the contributions. The collection begins with two papers which speak about ballad conferences, the history and development of the International Ballad Commission of the *Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore*, which has existed for the last thirty-two years and has contributed considerably to the research and popularisation of ballads, this important segment of world culture and science. **Zmaga Kumer**, who is one of the founding members of the Commission, offers an overview of the Commission's work so far, starting with the first research activities of a group of folklorists and ballad researchers who met in Freiburg in 1966 and laid the foundations of ballad research. The author points out that even then it was clear that successful comparative research of ballads was possible only through a detailed insight into the entire European ballad heritage which could be achieved without having to learn all of the European languages. This would be made possible by a catalogue of ballad types of each individual nation. The author continues by presenting the period up to the year 1985. She speaks of conferences where different achievements were presented, ranging from the first meetings of what were more or less study groups to well attended international conferences. The author of the second article, **Luisa Del Guidice**, is one of the vice-presidents of the Ballad Commission. In her paper, she speaks about her personal experience of the past ten conferences and of the group which annually meets in a different place. She describes the special characteristics of each conference, which depend on the special atmosphere of the country where they meet. Del Guidice discusses the different approaches to and trends of ballad research. She touches upon some of the conferences and investigates new methods of

[4] The folk ballad is also composed of three levels: text or words, texture or melody and context which is a plethora of all influences and circumstances present in every singing of the song. Cf: Golež, Marjetka. »Razmerje med ljudskim in umetnim v sodobni slovenski poeziji.« Rajko Muršič and Mojca Ramšak, ed. *Zbornik prispevkov s kongresa Razvoj slovenske etnologije od Štreklja in Murka do sodobnih slovenskih etnoloških prizadevanj.* (Ljubljana 24-27 oktober 1995), Ljubljana (1995): 94 -103.

ballad research, which has grown from archive index cards into a cybernetic universe - from the first records to the computer age. She concludes her article with the question of whether the present state of the world, which is characterised by globalization on one hand and emergence of new national identities on the other, will eventually influence the Commission. And like in Freiburg in 1966, when the Commission started its work with the problem of how to acquire insight into individual national ballad traditions, Luisa Del Guidice again looks into this paradox: the experience of ballads as intimate locales (parts of specific national cultural heritage) is what makes the content of ballads international. As in the beginning, the Commission again faces the problem of how to connect the local with the global (national and international) elements of ballads and how to go beyond linguistic limits. One solution would be the translation of ballads into other languages, in which case it must be remembered that certain languages have certain advantages over others.

The chapter entitled ***The Re-Creation of Ballads Today*** consists of papers by **Marjetka Golež, Tatjana Kaličanin, Blaže Petrovski** and **Thomas A. McKean**, which vary greatly in the understanding of the contemporary re-creation or the contemporary role of ballads. The two Macedonian authors discuss modern changes in some folk ballads which are still sung in Macedonia. The Slovenian author presents three »lifestyles« of the ballad today. The author from Scotland ventures into modern musical genres which through contamination influenced a Scottish re-creator of folk ballads, so that she immersed traditional ballads with new rhythms, giving them a new texture while preserving the text.

Marjetka Golež discusses three different ways of life of the folk song or ballad today (the folk song preserved in its past form, re-creation of ballads in terms of a contemporary-style revival through new interpretation and literarisation of ballads).[5] According to the author, the Slovenian ballad is still very much alive in the sense that individual ballads are still sung in the old way. Nevertheless, there are individuals and groups which reinterpret these same ballads in their own way, while some ballads have found their way into works of contemporary poets and writers who include parts of or entire ballads - as quotations, motifs or ideas - in their new works of art, thus giving them a new meaning. The author also touches upon the ethnic and ethical components of ballads. According to her, these two ideological elements are revealed through the content of ballads and linguistic structures which determine one's nationality also through ballad-making. In a paper on family ballads, **Tatjana Kaličanin** mainly discusses family themes and their preservation to the present time, and the transformation or unchanging character of ballads on this subject in the present. She points out that although ballads which speak about different family relations are obviously located within the context of family relations and reflect the relations within a special social group in Macedonia, a de-

[5] Ballads represent a special genre of folk song heritage and have always proven a fertile ground for research both for folklorists and writers. In Slovenia, folk and literary creativity have been connected through folk song in all historical literary periods. All literary styles have reached a point where they have merged with folklore poetics. Writers mostly drew from ballad themes and motifs and other parts of folk heritage. In an introduction to a volume of poetry entitled *Pesmarica rabljenih besed* (Song-book of Used Words; thirty-three poems in the volume are based on folk motifs) a contemporary Slovenian poet says: »This fragment (of a folk song) attracted me immensely, so I literally consumed it.« Ljubljana 1975: 44-52. Even T. S. Eliot was aware of the extreme significance of tradition, when he wrote: »With these fragments, I have supported my ruins.«: T. S. Eliot, »Tradicija in individualni talent«, in: *Iz pesmi, dram, in esejev*, translated into Slovene by Janez Stanek, Ljubljana, 1977.

tailed analysis of the ballad structure reveals that they were created on the basis of mythical and animalistic beliefs which thus determine their source. She illustrates her claims with an example of a ballad about a murder of a woman killed by her brother because of their gossipy sister, which was recorded in 1982. According to the author, many ballads with family motifs are still sung today, nevertheless they are interpreted by individuals in a re-creative way. The majority of these ballads are sung on special occasions - family reunions, celebrations and weddings. **Blaže Petrovski** discusses ballads which contain the motif of a »wife walled up in the foundations of a bridge or building« and their contemporary transformed forms. By analysing ballads with this motif, the author attempts to present all versions, laying particular emphasis on the recent ones which were recorded in the present time. He also attempts to trace the changes of these ballads. He points out that singers add or omit parts of the text, thus emphasising emotions on one hand and increasing the tragic element on the other. At present, only a few versions with this motif exist which could be compared with the records from the past. Although these ballads are of a later date, the texts are being forgotten. The shortening of the text influences the very composition of the song. The epic breadth is gone and archaic linguistic elements are turned into contemporary ones. **Thomas A. McKean** discusses new trends in Scottish folk heritage by presenting the case of the ballad singer Elizabeth Stewart, who includes country and western music as the most recent parts of this tradition. The singer also sings and interprets classical ballads, broadsides and even rock and roll ballads. Old folk ballads (Child) are influenced by the tempo, rhythm and music of dances such as the quick step and even rock and roll. According to the author, Scottish traditional music incorporates ideas and styles, thus blending different styles ranging from classical ballads, broadsides, country and rock and roll. The singer has adapted old ballads, such as some of Child's ballads, for the modern audience. She has merged the old with the new. We must agree with the author that creators and the process of change define tradition. In this way, the singer has managed both to preserve her traditional roots and respond to new rhythms, thus meeting the needs of the dancing public.[6]

The chapter entitled ***Traces of the Ethnic in the Ballad*** also shows different aspects of national expression by means of the ballad, introducing national character into song.[7] Through folk creativity, each nation has expressed its own thoughts, experience and feelings, the creative power of which is undoubtedly original. Since nobody lives in isolation and since the spiritual level knows no borders, the motifs, themes, subjects and influences of various national traditions became intertwined, thus penetrating the folk creativity of individual nations. For this reason, we can talk about the autonomy of a certain national folk tradition on one hand and the constant flow of subjects, rhythms and motifs »travelling« from one nation to another, who may have adopted them and incorporated them into their own creativity if they were familiar to them, on the other. Nevertheless, Jung's theory of archetypes may hold true also in the quest for answers to the question of whether individual subjects, motifs and themes are indigenous or not. This means that motifs can be archetypal, without roots in a certain nation, timeless

[6] The singer could be compared with the Slovenian singer Tomaž Pengov, who in his own interpretation has preserved a connection with the tradition and at the same time modernised the ballad by means of orchestration and re-interpretation.

[7] Cf.: Pirjevec, Dušan. *Vprašanje poezije, vprašanje naroda*. Maribor 1978.

and non-territorial, originating from the human subconscious, which represents the deepest reaches of a human being. These motifs generate stories which turn into national mythologies and which are given characteristics of national authenticity by each nation.[8,9]

In individual ballad traditions, various nations meet through the migration of motifs, ideas and subjects from the heritage of one nation to that of another. We also find instances of national hatred towards neighbouring nations and nations which have unjustly occupied the territory of other nations, and even illustrations of one nation's supremacy over another. The following papers present the traces of the national identity of individual nations in ballad stories and melodies in six different ways. How ballads reflect ethnic relations and influence the thinking of people or, vice versa, how political and ethnic relations influence the making of ballads is excellently portrayed in the articles by **Maria Herrera Sobek, E. Wyn James** and **Gerald Porter**. Ballads reflecting ethnic differences along the border between two nations or within a single nation are discussed by **Marko Terseglav** and **Ildikó Kríza**, while the entire network of »southern Slavic ballads« is presented in the paper by **Nicolae Constantinescu**.

The quest for the ethnic component in the ballad is begun by **Marko Terseglav**, who highlights ethnic differences in ballads from the Slovenian region of Bela krajina, where Slovenian and Uskok elements intertwine. The author analyses the Bela krajina ballads from places which were in the past settled by Uskoks - Serbian and Croatian refugees who four hundred years ago retreated before the Turkish invasions. He presents and analyses ethnic differences and similarities on the linguistic, stylistic, content and presentation levels and concludes that more recent material has been Slovenicised to the extent that it has become part of the Slovenian folk heritage. Only the textual and musical poetics of Serbian songs from some of the Bela krajina settlements differ to the extent that they can be immediately recognised as south Slavic. That is, the texts, themes, melodies and rhythms of the Slovenian folksong heritage highly differ from other south Slavic folk traditions and can be recognised as a Central European heritage. **Maria Herrera Sobek** discusses the ethnic structure of the Mexican ballad or corrido, which emerged as a result of cultural antagonism between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans of mid-19th century southern Texas. The author analyses the ballad tradition of a nation which lived alongside a more powerful nation and was therefore under constant political and cultural pressure. This found expression in its ballads. As a theoretical background, the author uses the theories of two scientists: firstly, the construction of

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[8] Jung, Gustav Karl. *Arhetipi, kolektivno nezavedno, sinhroniciteta*, Izbrani spisi, Maribor 1995: »Even dreams are mostly composed of collective material, just as in the mythology and folklore of different nations, certain motifs appear in almost identical form. I call these motifs archetypes. With this word, I denote forms and images of collective nature which emerge all over the world as constituents of myths and at the same time as indigenous individual products of unconscious origin. Archetypal motifs originate from those original products of the human spirit which are transmitted not only through tradition and migration but also through heritage.« Jung defines archetype as a dynamic image, part of the objective psyche or original image and states the following examples: shadow, animal, old sage, anima, mother, child, etc. Cf. also: Jung, Gustav Karl / Kerény. *Einführung in das Wesen der Mythologie*, 1942: 114-115.

[9] In his paper entitled 'Some Characteristics of Oral-Traditional Poetics', Albert B. Lord states that the creator of a folk song must be a member of the same nation, for example, that a Slovenian cannot create an English folk song or vice versa, although he or she is familiar with all basic characteristics of the style, singing, rhythm, metre, etc. Cf.*: Usmeno i pisano / pismeno u književnosti i kulturi/ Oral and Written Literature in Literature and Culture*, Zbornik referatov 21.- 23. 9 1987, Novi Sad, ed. Svetozar Petrović, Novi Sad (1988) : 19.

[10] Although the author uses the term *Balkan Sprachland*, which was coined by Jernej Kopitar (a Slavic and

a nation is an imagined political community and, secondly, ethnicity is a socially constructed concept. Both in written and oral form, the term »corrido« helped to create the ethnic and political identity of the »mestizo« or the Mexican. The »new mestizo« group tried to gain legitimacy by juxtaposing the »indio« or native American, with whom it identified and in whom it saw the only authentic and legitimate inhabitant of the Mexican territory, against the European foreigners or »gringos« and »gachupins«. The ballads presented by Sobek prove that the Mexican corrido served as a bond which is a visible indication of the existence of a nation, nationality and ethnicity.

In her paper, **Ildikó Kríza** speaks about ethnic awareness in ballad research in Hungary. She analyses the emergence of ethnic awareness in the context of folk ballad research of the mid-19th century. The author presents three theories on the origin of the Hungarian ballad, which are centred around the influence of Scottish, German and French ballads on the Hungarian ones. These theories date from three different historical periods and reflect the spirit of three contradictory lines of cultural policy. The author continues with another theory, according to which Hungarian ballads are of indigenous origin. It is interesting that in all nations, the 19th century represented a turning point in the development of national awareness thanks to the research of folk heritage. The reason for this is that the aesthetic value of folk culture could be compared with elite culture and therefore European proponents of national revival searched for natural sources of creativity in pristine folk poetry.

In his article, **E . Wyn James** first compares Slovenia and Wales, which have many similarities (such as the size of the two countries, choir singing, the dragon as the symbol of Ljubljana and the national symbol of Wales, remains of the linguistic category of the dual) and many differences. He continues by discussing the ethnic antagonism between Wales and England, drawing examples from sports competitions and the related emergence of broadsides. James analyses two such ballads which speak about foot-racing competitions in which two famous Welsh runners beat their English opponents. With this, they secured for themselves a place in the awareness and memory of the people, and as a result ballads about them were created. Their achievements (from the 18th and 19th century) became the subject matter of 20th century literary ballads. The paper brings a new insight into ballads which are not literary masterpieces but are extremely important for students of history, for in a special way, they reflect relations between two nations, Wales and England, one of which is in a distinctly subordinate position.

Nicolae Constantinescu discusses heroes and related interpretations or presentations in south Slavic European ballads. He speaks about the blending of different ethnic characters in the Balkans.[10] Constantinescu analyses the type of ballad which according to the hero and motif is in his opinion common to all Balkan nations from Bulgaria to Slovenia. He discusses the ballad entitled *The Rich Latin* or *The Godfather's Song*, which is known in hundreds of

Slovenian scholar and one of the proponents of the Slovenian revival, advocator of the idea of a universal alphabet which would accordingly be introduced by all Slavic nations using Latin letters, which would renounce the »teutonic« alphabet and substitute the missing signs with letters from the Cyrillic alphabet according to the principle of one letter per sound) for all nations in the region, it is impossible to agree with him at least on the point of Slovenians belonging to the Balkan community, since our culture, temperament and character is more Central European than Balkan. Equally, Slovenia, like Ireland or Lithuania, knows no true epics and the Slovenian tradition is above all based on the ballad.

versions to the north and south of the Danube, with the exception of Slovenia.[11] By means of accessible material from Slavic countries, the author attempts to present the ethnic differences and similarities of ballad stories and how stories of similar content reflect the ethnic differences of individual nations, teaching listeners about life. If Constantinescu attempts to highlight the links between the ballad heritage of different although equal nations, **Gerald Porter** presents two nations which have been enemies both in history and balladry. He continues his paper with a series of thoughts which determine the role of folk culture in the creation of ethnic stereotypes as elements of the domination of English national identity over other nations, in our case Ireland. By means of analysis, Porter attempts to present broadsides as an example of how the development of a certain national culture depends on social and cultural events within a national and broader context. By means of the analysis of ballads which speak about the Irish (in other papers, it is the Scottish and the Welsh), he presents the mentality of the English, their idea of »subordinate nations« and their mocking of the other nation's appearance, temperament and religion. For this purpose, he analyses broadsides. The author has based his paper on a concise theoretical background, for he sets the ballads in question in a historical and sociological framework. In his article, he discusses the »negative national identity« which is conditioned by one nation's supremacy over another, in this case, English supremacy over the Irish. These ballads have not become part of the oral tradition and they have remained in written form, which due to their content is not strange. Only one, *Lilibulero*, has become part of the oral heritage. These ballads have not turned into a demand for ethnic genocide. On the contrary, some of them (*Lilibulero*) have become major sources for the emergence of Irish national songs. The author wishes to determine the role of ballads or folk culture both in the creation of a stereotype of a nation's supremacy (England) and in the emergence of the awareness of the subordinated nation's own value and significance (Ireland).

Ballads reflect both the social and historical elements of individual time periods and individual groups of people. Nevertheless, it can be said that the relations between people themselves form the heart of ballads. Therefore, ballads also reflect moral norms of individual groups and elements of religion which in most nations played an extremely important role both in the assessment of the world and the thinking and behaviour of people portrayed in folk ballads. Three authors, two from Bulgaria and one from Croatia, explore ethical and moral norms in the ballads from the chapter ***The Ethical in the Ballad*** in three different ways. Both **Katja Mihajlova** and **Simona Delić** discuss the question of crime or sin and punishment. The former approaches her task by means of an analysis of religious-legendary ballads, while the latter ventures into the sphere of the family and relations between close and distant kin with the help of family ballads. Both conclude that in ballads, the basic ethical corrective is the Christian God and the Christian commandments. **Svetla Petkova**, on the other hand, presents the role of supernatural beings as the ethical corrective in mythical ballads.

[11] The ballad of Duke Janko, who is supposed to be a Slovenian ballad hero, is in fact not of Slovenian origin. The author probably found this ballad in Štrekelj's volume of Slovenian folk songs (Slovenske narodne pesmi: SNP), but he could not know that the ballad in question is in fact a Croatian kajkavic version. The Slovenian collector and researcher of ballads Karl Štrekelj included the song in his volume because he was afraid that Croats would not include kajkavic folk songs from the regions along the Croatian-Slovenian border in their survey, since linguistically, they are very near the Slovenian language. This may be the cause for the present confusion. In addition, the Slovenians had no dukes. The aristocracy in Slovenia was with a few exceptions of foreign descent.

[12] Equally, in Slovenian folk legendary ballad tradition, saints and the Blessed Virgin are very down-to-earth

Katja Mihajlova analyses religious-legendary ballads as one of the main groups of Bulgarian folk ballads, which present stories from the Old and New Testament and apocryphal Christian literature and were sung as ritual songs in a patriarchal community. Her conclusion that notions from legends have been rendered concrete and saints were personified is of considerable interest and worthy of comparison.[12] The author states that the highest moral corrective of human behaviour in these ballads is the Christian God, although in many cases, we also find generally accepted everyday norms of behaviour valid for every member of a patriarchal community which over centuries was formed on the basis of folk tradition.

In her article, **Svetla Petkova** analyses another part of the vast Bulgarian ballad heritage, namely the mythical ballads which present supernatural creatures as being in constant contact with man. These supernatural beings can even judge, help and rule over people, and they have supernatural powers which are not irrational but are in keeping with the general social and moral norms. Songs with mythical motifs represent an autonomous part of the Bulgarian ballad heritage. Ethical components are in keeping with the religious system of norms - virtue and vice as ethical categories being synonymous with the right and sinful both in Christian and folk ethical norms. In a series of ballad stories, supernatural beings are guardians of the social and natural order, they protect religious laws and punish the offenders. Ethical elements have a strong influence on the dynamics of the poetic thinking and creation of ballad stories.[13]

Simona Delić presents the mechanism of immanent ethical evaluation in the plot of Croatian family ballads. In her paper, which is both a sociological and folkloristic study, Delić analyses, by means of comparative research, some Croatian family ballads against a theoretical background which she presents at the beginning. Delić holds that in the life of a certain community, one of the most important functions of the ballad is that it presents an ethical corrective. The author is interested in the type of punishment of a sinful deed and she concludes that there exist two types of punishment: divine and worldly sanctions. In addition, there is punishment by curse. More than other genres, family ballads are closely connected with everyday life. The crime is usually punished and the victim reimbursed. Delić researches ballads which were recorded in the 19th and 20th century and concludes that these have a much stronger evaluation mechanism than others as they were usually interpreted.[14]

Only one paper discusses ***Ballad Motifs in the Children's Folk Tradition***. The article is by Lithuanian author **Nijolė Sliužinskienė**, who traces ballad elements mostly in lullabies

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and personified, since this was the only way for the common man to grasp the message of biblical and other stories. As in the Bulgarian tradition, Mary is in Slovenia presented as »Fair Mary«. In addition, in the song *Tičica pestrna* (Nanny Bird; SLP II, 77/B), Mary is presented as a woman who wants to go to a wedding reception, but she does not have a nanny for the Child Jesus. So, she asks a dove to watch over Jesus. But the bird is clumsy and topples the cradle, so Mary hits her and the dove is still marked with a white spot where it received the blow.

[13] A comparison can also be drawn between Slovenian and Bulgarian tradition in the sphere of mythical and fairy tale ballads. The song *Hudič odnese plesalko* (The Devil Carries the Dancer Away; SLPI/25) serves as an example of a song in which a girl who forgot to cross herself before the dance receives divine punishment. That is, she is carried away by the devil.

[14] In Slovenian folk ballads, sin is punished with divine sanctions, such as in the above mentioned mythical song *The Devil Carries the Dancer Away*. But human punishment is also found in family ballads, such as in the ballad about a child-murdering bride (infanticide) who is beheaded because she had murdered children. Cf. Kumer, Zmaga. *Balada o nevešti detomorilki*. Ljubljana: SAZU, 1963.

[15] Štrekelj also claims that only few countries surpass Slovenia in the lyric qualities of their folk songs.

which differ in length. The balladification of children songs is relatively popular. Texts of children's lullabies analysed by the author include motifs from military-historical or family ballads. Sliužinskiene claims that in Lithuanian folklore, ballads represent a problematic genre. They are international and as such not originally Lithuanian. Similarly, they are not isolated from other local folklore influences both in terms of melodies and poetics. The author discusses the poetics of ballads, the motifs of which are transferred to children folk songs. She divides children's folk songs into children's songs sung by parents for their children and songs sung by children themselves.

The chapter ***From the Slovenian Lepa Vida (Fair Vida) to the English Ballad Tradition*** could in fact be entitled *Miscellaneous*. It encompasses nine articles which bring different views on individual ballads from the Slovenian heritage (**Robert Vrčon**), a comparison of ballads from two folk heritages (**Francis J. Fischer**), research of different genres of the ballad tradition (**Rimantas Sliužinskas**), an overview of new, still unpublished ballad material (**Oleg V. Nikitin**), material of an important Scottish collector and researcher of folk songs (**Mary Ellen Brown**), a historical component of ballad research, the 19th century revival of ballads (**Hans Kuhn**), research of regional ballad heritage (**John D. Niles**), ballad fragmentation (**Mary Ann Constantine**) and the issue of the originality of a tradition (**David Atkinson**).

In his paper, **Robert Vrčon** presents a field expedition to the Resia valley and compares and analyses the expedition's recordings of the local versions of the ballad of Fair Vida. The reason for the fact that archaic ways of singing and stories which no longer exist elsewhere still constitute part of live heritage in Resia probably lies in Resia's remote geographical position in the middle of mountainous and difficult-to-access terrain. Therefore, although Resia is now part of Italy, old archaic songs which otherwise belong to the Slovenian ethnic sphere have been preserved. The author uses a classic, ethnomusicological approach to this part of the Slovenian ballad heritage, focusing on four examples of the ballad of Fair Vida, which had been considered forgotten by singers and therefore no longer alive. Vrčon's and Sliužinskinas' contributions are the only articles in the collection to analyse the very texture of ballads, that is their musical characteristics and not only their content and form.

In her article, **Mary Ellen Brown** offers a bird's-eye view of songs and ballads which William Motherwell came in contact with. Motherwell was a Scottish publisher and collector who recorded folk songs (oral material) of western Scotland. He was already aware of the importance of melodies and recognised the connections between song and culture or context and the significance of different versions by seeing each version as an original. In this, he greatly influenced Child and Grundtvig. He claimed that in the lyrical quality of songs, few countries surpassed Scotland.[15] By means of re-evaluation and detailed study of the Motherwell collection, the author attempts to prove that all material and not only ballads is important for a nation's folk song tradition.[16] Her aim is not so much to suggest that these songs and ballads

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There is a problem of the lack of knowledge of other nations and their folklore, caused by the lack of knowledge of the language. For this reason, large nations have an advantage over small ones. A solution could be found in a pan-European catalogue of ballads, where ballads of all nations would be presented, complete with the summaries of the content of individual songs in one of the world languages.

[16] In the period between 1898 and 1923, Karel Štrekelj, Slovenian collector of songs, collected and published more than 8000 songs in four volumes (SNP I-IV), which apart from ballads included love, ritual and other songs.

constitute the true or typical folksong material of Motherwell's time and place, but to offer them as an available survey of what did exist and as material for further studies of the historical repertoire. The appendix to the article encompasses an entire overview of the songs, which serves as a presentation of how accessible song material can be used in the expanding of our understanding of the past. The author presents complete material in order to create a better and more realistic insight into the entire repertoire and not only ballads which have already been set apart by researchers while ignoring other songs.

Common elements and the blending of two ballad traditions is discussed by **Francis J. Fischer** in her comparison of two examples of the supernatural ballad: *Clerk Colvill* of Scotland and *Ólavur Riddararós* of Scandinavia, namely the Faroe Islands. The author focuses on the tracing of influences and the transfer of the motifs and content of one national heritage into another. By analysing the ballads, she attempts to present the similarities and differences between the two versions. She compares the structure, phraseology and similarities in the stories of the two ballads by means of the syntagmatic model of Vladimir Propp. She also compares stylistic similarities between ballads from Scotland and the Faroe Islands. The author tells about a Scottish musicologist who on his return voyage from Tórshavn to Scotland (1949) listened to the ship's captain singing Faroese ballads. Later, he wrote an article about the still-living ballad and dance heritage of the Faroe Islands. Influences of the Faroese tradition may have arrived in Scotland via the Shetland Islands, while some of them may have travelled via Norway. The blending of the ballad heritage of the two nations may primarily be a result of the geographic proximity and, secondly, the historical background of the two countries.

Rimantas Sliužinskas discusses ballads as a special genre of the Lithuanian folk song heritage. According to the author, there are no epics in the Lithuanian folk heritage, and most narrative songs are ballads which have in fact a strong epic-lyric character. In their content, they are mostly family or military-historical ballads. Like in other European ballad traditions, the motifs and themes of Lithuanian ballads are known all over Europe. For this reason, the question is whether ballads of Lithuanian origin truly exist, for these songs reveal numerous Russian, Polish, Byelorussian, Ukranian, Baltic and German influences. It is interesting that in Lithuania, ballads are not as thoroughly researched as in the rest of Europe. Only recently have a few researchers become interested in them. But the fact is that ballads are not as numerous as other folk songs, such as ritual songs and songs of lament. According to the author, Lithuanian ballads are a blend of lyrical and epic elements; their stories are short and laconic, while the dialogues are dynamic (12-15 or even 20 stanzas). Equally, ballads cannot be distinguished from other songs according to some special characteristics of their melody lines.

In his article *The Poetics of Gypsy Ballads from the Collection of Piotr Bogatyrev in the Context of the Russian Folklore Tradition*, **Oleg V. Nikitin** first presents the work of this famous Russian folklorist and theoretician. Bogatyrev wrote numerous articles[17] on various subjects ranging from medieval epics to the history of traditional costumes. The author presents his research methods and claims that Bogatyrev dedicated his work to the search for

[17] See Bogatyrev, Pjotr und Jakobson, Roman. 'Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens', in *Strukturalismus in der Literaturwissenschaft*. Köln, 1972.

[18] Slovenians did not lag behind either. The first collection of Slovenian songs emerged around 1775, when a monk *discalceat* from Ljubljana, Father Dizma Zakotnik (1755-1793) recorded five texts of narrative songs,

that elusive something which defines the »Slavic«. He draws attention to Bogatyrev's theory that motifs are not borrowed but co-created. Bogatyrev also explored the heritage and improvisation of folk creativity. His collections include »gypsy ballads« translated into Russian. The author analyses four ballads, but he does not comment on nor explore them: *The Gypsy Ballad* similar to the Lithuanian ballad about a sister who poisons her brother on the demand of her beloved, *Vaida and Ruska*, *Song About a Serb* and *Song About a Snake*. The article is important more for its presentation of as yet unpublished and unresearched material rather than because of its scientific value.

Hans Kuhn offers a historical overview of the development, collecting and printing of ballads in Denmark. This activity reaches back to the 16th century, while the author focuses on the 19th century, which was a period of the revival of the awareness of the folk song's value. This was the period when melodies also began to be collected and printed. Different forms of the 19th century revival appear to have swept through more or less all of Europe. The Romantic interest in folk songs was also a general phenomenon in Europe. In Scandinavia, national identity was established with the help of ballads. The author speaks about Anders Sørensen Vedel, a royal scribe who lived in the 16th century Denmark and who collected numerous ballads - mostly about Danish kings, queens and knights. These were primarily stories of love, jealousy, revenge, murder or exile. While the 18th century aristocracy amused themselves with other artistic achievements, ballads written in shorter versions on leaflets continued to survive among the rural population. In the 19th century, when Percy and Herder published folk songs in England and Germany respectively, the Danish showed fresh interest in these anonymous vestiges of the past. Between 1780 and 1784, in the period when Denmark lost a large portion of its territory and, with it, its self-confidence, a collection entitled *Remnants of the Poetry of the Middle Ages* was published, offering a historical insight into the Viking times of the Danish kingdom.[18] Systematically and with historical accuracy, the author attempts to present the time between the 16th and 19th centuries, the development of interest in ballads, their preservation, research and transformation in different time periods and the influence of folk heritage on the national identity of the Danes.

Overviews of regional repertoires by collectors and researchers of the folksong material and folk heritage in a region, area or several generations of a family are attempts at presenting folk heritage in all its variety. But, a study of a heritage of a certain folksong culture offers an insight into the creative laws of the folk song, difficulties encountered during the collecting and recording of ballads and the emergence and disappearance of ballads. **John D. Niles** bases his study of the regional folksong heritage of Cades Cove in Tennessee, USA, on the analysis of collector Mellinger Edward Henry. Until 1818, Cades Cove was inhabited by Native American Indians, who were shamelessly driven away by American settlers. The author presents the folksong heritage of Cades Cove in the 1920s. The collection includes songs

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including the songs about Pegam and Lambergar, Kralj Matjaž/King Matjaž and the Povodni mož/Water Man. The collection was a reply to the appeal by Denis, who in 1768 published a translation of Macphersons's *Ossian* and with this, invited all Slavonic nations to collect poems. Unfortunately, Zakotnik's notes have not been preserved. Cf. Kumer, Zmaga. *Vloga, zgradba, slog slovenske ljudske pesmi*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 1996.

[19] The author presents the song *The Two Sisters* (Child 10) which has a parallel in the Slovenian folk ballad heritage, although only in a single and very impaired version of *Gosli iz človeškega telesa izdajo umor* (A Violin

sung by three generations of a single family, that of Samuel Harmon, and sheds light on trends in the local folksong culture in a transitional period when the region was being vacated of its population on account of its being turned into a national park. The author wishes to present the folk heritage of a family who sang folk songs. He focuses on two generations and attempts to pinpoint differences and similarities and the various recording methods of a single collector.[19]

The content of the paper by **Mary Ann Constantine** is based on the research of ballads from England and Breton-speaking Brittany. The author focuses on fragments of ballads which have strayed far from the story, and wonders whether this may be a new example of artistic creativity. She is particularly interested in those ballad fragments which appear to be condensed versions of ballads with collapsed content. These are a result of oral transmission. The author justifies her claims on the example of a song preserved only as a fragment, *Catherin An Troadec*.[20] The article discusses the aesthetic aspects of folk ballad »fragmentation«. According to the author, those versions of ballads whose epic or narrative breadth is no longer preserved and which have been labelled as »corrupt« or »fragmentary« by editors and collectors are often not viewed in this way by their singers and should therefore be re-appraised. This is particularly important because these fragments reflect the changes, creation and disappearance of old ballads and as such are crucial for national folk heritage. »Condensed« ballads are also important for the understanding of the process of ballad variation. The author concludes that there are certain differences between national folklores, for in Lithuania or Ireland (editor's note: possibly even in Slovenia), where there is a certain absence of narrative or epic breadth, there may exist highly condensed ballads which are structurally complete, although according to the criteria valid for English ballads, they are incomplete or fragmentary for the same reason.

The author of the last article in the collection is **David S. Atkinson**, who questions Child's collection as an example of the English folk ballad heritage. Once again we can ask ourselves whether a certain heritage truly belongs to one nation only, whether it can be truly national or specifically, in this case, English, for it has spread to other countries such as Canada and Newfoundland. The author supports ballad analysis with theoretical knowledge and questions regarding the influence of the socio-historical context on balladry. He maintains that English ballads can be regarded both as specific elements of one nation's cultural tradition and as a form of a traditional expression of an international kind. In his opinion, English ballads encompass an entire national tradition which differs from others elsewhere, but nevertheless can be still termed national. A group of ballads popular in England differs from that popular somewhere else, nevertheless it still shares stylistic and functional similarities with ballads from other anglophone regions. The author also discusses Child. He questions whether ballads collected in England after Child's death can truly be part of the English tradition. He attempts to determine to what extent ballads recorded by Child are English and not Scottish both from

Speaks of Murder from a Human Body; SLP I/52). It must be pointed out that only two Central European versions of the song are known: that of the Kočevje Germans (cf. Hauffen, no. 53) and the Slovenian one (and the Hungarian one too - Vargyas II. 1982:729). But the two Slovenian variants differ from each other to the extent where it is impossible to speak of mutual influences.

[20] According to the author, the analysed song is a fragment. In the Slovenian folk tradition, ballads with collapsed narrative structure are termed impaired ballads and are frequently included among lyrical folk songs.

the sociological and historical point of view. He also speaks about the definition of tradition in the context of culture.

The book concludes with information on the authors of the articles. Its five chapters represent five contextually different points of departure in ballad research. The volume is intended to encourage the forming of new views on ballad research and inform the broader readership of the national and international elements of ballads and in an interdisciplinary way connect those segments of research which are intended by researchers to be made accessible to all those interested in ballads. The ballad is part of the cultural heritage of each nation, which helps to create and which enriches Slovenian and international folkloristic, ethnological, ethnomusicological and literary science. I hope that the book will inspire new thoughts and ideas, objections and proposals, contradiction and confirmation, encourage scholars from all around the world who are interested in ballads to begin new research and connect different nations into a whole. The knowledge that the ballad is part of global culture, that in them, we can find human dimensions and living spaces, may bring new discoveries in ballad studies, shed light on and reveal new, still unexplained issues and present equally all nations and their ballads, ranging from Bulgaria, Denmark, Croatia, England, Hungary, Macedonia, Lithuania, Mexico, Romania, Rusia, Slovenia, Scotland and Wales to the USA.

Pogled na dosedanje delo baladne komisije

Zmaga Kumer

Dobrih 30 let je minilo, odkar se je septembra 1966 v Freiburgu i. Br. zbrala majhna skupina folkloristov, raziskovalcev ljudskih balad. Gostitelj je bil Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, sklicatelj pa dr. Rolf Brednich.

Povod za konferenco je bilo spoznanje, da je uspešno primerjalno raziskovanje ljudskih balad mogoče šele, če imamo nadroben vpogled v celotno evropsko baladno izročilo, ne da bi se morali prej naučiti vrste evropskih jezikov. Vpogled naj bi omogočil katalog baladnih tipov, sestavljen po določenih načelih na podlagi katalogov posameznih evropskih narodov in objavljen v enem od svetovnih jezikov. Najprej pa se je bilo treba dogovoriti, kaj razumemo pod pojmom ljudska balada. Po temeljiti razpravi smo se sporazumeli za naslednjo definicijo, različno od literarno-teoretske: »Eine Ballade ist ein Lied, das Geschichte erzählt, die dramatisch pointiert ist« (Balada je pesem, ki pripoveduje zgodbo z dramatičnim poudarkom). Nato je bil narejen načrt za vrstni red vsebinsskih skupin balad, po katerem naj bi se ravnali katalogi posameznih narodov. Za poskušnjo naj bi najprej katalogizirali balade s temami iz družinskega življenja.

Ob koncu konference je prof. Roger Pinon, takrat generalni sekretar S.I.E.F. (Société International d'Ethnologie et Folklore) povabil, naj udeleženci pristopijo k tej organizaciji kot posebna skupina. Tako se je rodila Študijska skupina za raziskovanje ljudskih balad, sprva imenovana Kommision für Volksdichtung, današnja Ballad Commission. Vodstvo sta prevzela R. Brednich in O. Sirovátka iz Brna. Komisija naj bi po možnosti zasedala vsako leto v drugi deželi, obravnavala vsakokrat eno skupino balad in tako pripravljala katalogizacijo vsega evropskega baladnega izročila.

Drugo zasedanje je bilo 1969 v Cikháju pri Brnu na Moravskem (ČSSR), ko smo obravnavali balade šaljive vsebine. Sprejet je bil tudi predlog, naj bi začeli izdajati letno bibliografijo izdaj in literature o baladah z naslovom »Jahresbibliographie der Volksballadenforschung«. Urednik naj bi bil O. Sirovátka, ki pa zaradi nastalih političnih razmer v njegovi domovini naloge ni mogel sprejeti. Uredništvo in objavljanje bibliografije je prešlo v moje roke. Od 1970 (s podatki za 1968) je v Ljubljani izšlo vseh 19 letnikov, zadnji 1990 s podatki za 1989. Potem je bilo sklenjeno, naj se baladna bibliografija vključi v mednarodno etnološko bibliografijo.

Na 3. konferenci 1970 v samostanu Utstein pri Stavangerju na Norveškem so bila na dnevnem redu najprej poročila o poteku katalogizacije, nato pa določena naslednja skupina, balade z magično-mitološko vsebino.

Ko je 1971 v Parizu zasedal evropski etnološki kongres, je naša skupina porabila to priložnost za svojo 4. konferenco. Tokrat so bili poleg poročil o delu prebrani štirje referati, ki so se ukvarjali izključno s problemi katalogizacije, analize in vsebinskih skladnosti balad raznih narodov.

5. Konferenca je bila 1972 v Sloveniji, v mestu Škofja Loka. Tokrat smo razpravljali o katalogizaciji balad z biblično vsebino. Čez dve leti, 1974, smo se zbrali v Helsinkih (Finska), kjer pa je že bilo nekaj referatov o različnih vprašanjih pri raziskovanju balad.

Na 7. konferenci 1975 v Breukelen (Nizozemska) so veliko časa zavzela poročila o izdajah baladnih zbirk in literature, vendar je bilo še vedno v ospredju zanimanja katalogiziranje.

Podobno je bilo na 8. konferenci v Kobenhavnu na Danskem.

9. konferenca 1978 v Esztergomu (Madžarska) je prinesla novost, da se je večina referatov nanašala na vnaprej objavljeno temo »Socialni konflikti v ljudski baladi«. Medtem ko so poročila o konferencah dotlej izhajala le razmnožena in v majhni nakladi, so referati 10. konference, ki je bila 1979 v Edinburghu (Škotska), prvič izšli v tisku. Objavo je prevzel časopis Lore and Language v Sheffieldu. Vprašanja katalogizacije so tokrat stopila v ozadje, narastlo pa je število referatov na različne teme.

Na 11. konferenci 1980 v Janinni (Grčija) je bila osrednja tema »Balade v zvezi s šegami in delom«.

12. konferenca 1981 v Alden Biesenu (na Flamskem v Belgiji) je imela za predmet razprav Broadside - Ballad oziroma Bänkelsang.

Vse bolj in bolj je kazalo, da načrt, za katerega je bila študijska skupina, današnja Baladna komisija, ustanovljena - izdelava evropskega baladnega kataloga - ne bo nikoli uresničena, čeprav so bili v nekaterih deželah katalogi deloma ali v celoti vendar izdelani in so sčasoma tudi izšli v tisku (npr. romunski z letnico 1974, slovenski 1975, skandinavski in judovsko-španski 1978, nemški 1985, poljski 1990).

Po letu 1981 je bilo težišče dela na konferencah Baladne komisije preneseno na referate, ki naj bi z vidika baladnega izročila posameznih dežel prispevali k osvetlitvi neke splošne teme. Tako je bila npr. za 15. konferenco 1985 v Dublinu (Irska) izbrana tema »Pojav tujca v ljudski baladi«, na 17. konferenci 1987 v Rovinju (Hrvaška) pa že odnos balade do drugih pesemskih zvrsti.

Na nekaterih konferencah v zadnjih letih je bilo predlaganih kar več tem, s čimer se je večalo zanimanje za sodelovanje in seveda število udeležencev. Poseben čar je pomenila možnost, da se s konferenco združi spoznavanje raznih krajev in dežel, tudi turistično zanimivih. Leta 1983 je bila 14. konferenca v Monte Sant'Angelo v južni Italiji, 16. konferenca pa 1986 na Kreti.

Prvotno prevladujoči, četudi ne edini uradni jezik konferenc, nemščina, se je umaknila angleščini in kraj zasedanja ni več nujno v Evropi, čeprav je balada pesemska zvrst evropskega izročila. Leta 1988 je bila torej 18. konferenca v Montrealu (Kanada) in 23. konferenca 1993 v Los Angelesu (USA). Prvotna oznaka strokovna evropska konferenca raziskovalcev ljudskih balad je z leti postala širokopotezen mednarodni simpozij in prvotna skromna poročila so prerastla v zajetne zbornike.

Od tistih, ki so sodelovali na prvih konferencah, mnogi niso več med živimi, nekateri so se usmerili na druga področja ali pa se preprosto umaknili. Zato pa prihajajo mladi z novimi pogledi, z novim zanimanjem, novim delovnim zanosom in z novimi možnostmi. Ko danes začenjamo zasedanje 27. konference, po 25 letih drugič v Sloveniji, želimo, da bi bila uspešna kakor dosedanje in da bi tudi vse nadaljnje, tja v 3. tisočletje, pomenile obogatitev naših spoznanj o ljudski baladi.

An Overview on the Work of the Ballad Commission to Date

Zmaga Kumer

It is a good thirty years since September 1966 when a small group of researchers of folk ballads assembled at Freiburg in Bavaria. The host was the Deutsches Volksarchiv and the convener Dr. Rolf Brednich.

The occasion for the conference proceeded from our understanding that a successful comparative study of folk ballads is possible only when we have detailed insight into the entire European ballad tradition, without first having to learn a series of European languages. The insight could be made possible by a catalog of ballad types, compiled according to accepted principles on the basis of the catalogs of individual European nations and published in one of the world languages. First it was necessary to reach agreement on what we understand by the concept of folk ballad. After a preliminary discussion the following definition was agreed upon, even if it differs from the literary theoretical one: »Eine Ballade ist ein Lied, das Geschichte erzählt, die dramatisch pointiert ist« (A ballad is a poem which tells a story that has a dramatic point). After than a sequential order was worked out for groups of ballads according to content, which would be followed by the catalog of individual nations. To test the results, the first to be classified were ballads with themes from family life.

At the end of the conference, Prof. Roger Pinon, at that time Secretary General of S.I.E.F. (Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et Folklore) invited the participants to join this organisation as a special group. In this way the study group for researching folk ballads was born, first called the Kommission für Volksdichtung, and today the Ballade Kommission. The leadership was assumed by R. Brednich and O. Sirovátka from Brno. The Commission should, circumstances permitting, meet every year in a different country, each time to deal with one group of ballads, and in this way work towards a classification of the entire European ballad tradition.

The second meeting was held in 1969 at Cikháj near Brno in Moravia (Czechoslovakia), where we dealt with ballads of a humorous nature. A proposal to bring out an annual bibliography as well as literature on ballads entitled »Jahresbibliographie der Volksballadenforschung« was also adopted. O. Sirovátka was to be the editor, but because of the political circumstances in his country he could not accept the job. The editorial work and the publishing of the bibliography was passed on to me. Since 1970 (with data for 1968) all of the 19 annual publications have come out in Ljubljana, the last one in 1990 with data for 1989. At the time it was decided that the ballad bibliography should be included in the international ethnological bibliography.

At the third conference, held in 1970 in the Utstein monastery near Stavanger in Norway, the agenda included first the reports on current work on classification, and then the next group was agreed upon - ballads with magical or mythological content.

When the European Ethnologic Congress was being held in Paris in 1971, our group availed itself of the opportunity to have its 4th conference there. Reports on current work were presented on this occasion as well as four papers dealing exclusively with problems of classification, analysis and congruity of the contents of ballads from different nations.

The fifth conference was held in 1972 in Slovenia, in the town of Škofja Loka. On this occasion we discussed the classification of ballads with biblical content. Two years later, in 1974, we met in Helsinki (Finland), where some of the papers were already dealing with various questions emerging in the research on ballads.

At the 7th conference, held in 1975 at Breukelen (Holland), a great deal of time was occupied by reports on editions of ballad collections and literature, although issues related to classification continued to be in the foreground of interest.

The situation at the 8th conference in Copenhagen in Denmark was much the same.

The 9th conference, held in 1978 at Eszetergom (Hungary), brought a novelty: most of the papers dealt with a theme that had been announced beforehand »Social Conflicts in the Folk Ballad.«

While up to that time reports on conferences were issued in duplicate form and had small circulation, the reports presented at the 10th conference in Edinburgh (Scotland) for the first time appeared in printed form. The publication was undertaken by the journal Lore and Language, published in Sheffield. The question of classification was in the background on this occasion, but the number of papers dealing with a variety of themes had increased.

At the 11th conference, held in 1981 at Janinna (Greece), the central topic was »Ballads Related to Customs and Work«.

The 12th conference, in 1981 at Alden Biesen (in Flanders in Belgium), dealt with the topic of the Broadside-Ballad, or Bänkelsang.

There was increasing indication that the plan for which the study group, the present Ballad Commission, had been founded - the composition of a European ballad catalog - would never be realized, even if in some countries catalogs were nevertheless partly or completely finished and were over the course of time appearing in printed form (e.g. Romanian in 1974, Slovenian in 1975, Scandinavian and Jewish-Spanish ones in 1978, the German one in 1985, and the Polish catalog in 1990).

After the year 1981 the focus of attention at the Ballad Commission conferences was shifted onto papers intended from the viewpoint of the ballad traditions of individual countries to contribute towards the elucidation of a general topic.

Thus, for instance, at the 15th conference, in 1985 in Dublin (Ireland) the selected topic was »The Phenomenon of the Stranger in the Folk Ballad«, and at the 17th conference, held in 1987 in Rovinj (Croatia), the relation of the ballad to other kinds of songs.

At some conferences during recent years quite a few themes have been suggested in order to increase the interest in co-operation and the number of participants. A special attraction was offered by the possibility to combine attendance at the conference with learning more about various places and countries interesting also for tourism. In 1983 the 14th conference was held at Monte Sant'Angelo in southern Italy, and in 1986 the 16th conference in Crete.

The originally predominant, although not the only official language of the conferences,

German, has ceded its place to English and the place of meeting is no longer necessarily in Europe, even if the ballad is a type of song originating in the European tradition. In 1988 the 18th conferences was thus in Montreal (Canada), and the 23rd conference, in 1993, in Los Angeles (USA). The original designation of a professional European conference of students of folk ballads has over the years grown into a sizeable collection of papers.

Among those who have participated at the conferences many are no longer alive, some have moved on to other fields, or some have simply withdrawn from the professional sphere. But in turn new people, with fresh views, new interest, new elan and also new opportunities are coming. When today we are starting the 27th conference, being held for the second time in Slovenia after 25 years, we wish that it may be as successful as the previous ones and that it may continue to enrich our knowledge of the folk ballad right into the third millennium.

The International Ballad Commission (SIEF - Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore): 1985 - 1997

Luisa Del Guidice

When our colleague Marjetka Golež requested that I introduce the International Ballad Commission (Kommission für Volksdichtung) to the assembled company here in Gozd Martuljek, I wondered what a 3rd-generation (counting academic generations in 10-year cycles) Commission member like myself might say about the group as a whole, about who we are, and what we do. I immediately contacted our president Stefaan Top, only to learn that, as I speak, he would be celebrating his 30th wedding anniversary in Indonesia (but sends his regards). On the other hand, our president helped celebrate the 30th anniversary of the IBC at the Swansea meeting in 1996 by giving an overview of the association's first 20 years. Let me now continue his example by offering my reflections on the past decade or so, with a few forward projections, as we begin, in 1997, our next 30 years. But first, I wish to take this opportunity to thank our generous hosts for welcoming the IBC to Slovenia, where we officially begin our fourth decade together.

Certainly my institutional memory is much shorter than Stefaan Top's, or that of our Slovenian colleague, Zmaga Kumer, or of other colleagues here present who participated in founding the association in Freiburg, 1966. To you I apologize for what may appear a newcomer's partial view. Rather than attempt to trace the IBC's official history, as Professor Kumer has most ably done for its early years, here I prefer to give a somewhat more impressionistic account of the IBC as I have experienced it.[1]

Ballad Conferences and »Cultural Tourism«

My initial encounter with the Commission goes back to a *most* memorable Dublin conference in 1985 which featured – alongside its sober academic program – rich experiences of live ballad singing. Those songs, and the people who sang them, have kept me coming back. Why am I focussing on song performances rather than on the analyses of such performances? I happen to think they are the main event. Indeed, many new scholars in the IBC, I believe, have been converted to ballad studies as a result of experiencing ballad and folksong *directly*, either through personal, familial, or community experience, or through folksong revivals, »World Music« and »Cultural Ecology« movements. Some are performers themselves. Hence, while many have entered the ballad world through the door of literary studies, for many others, the primary *field* experience – wherever that *field* where *live* sound *in performance* – may actually be, proved irresistible.

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[1] For a complete list of IBC conferences and proceedings, I refer the reader to Cheesman/Rieuwerts 1997.

[2] Merely by way of example do I recall how I was first attracted to ballads on two fronts. At UCLA, one of my assign-

And so we have tended to take the performance side of our conference »tourism« quite seriously – I know that I have. An international ballad conference is unlike many professional meetings where the countryside and its inhabitants are mere background. Our conferences normally provide an intimate window into the host culture, because our organizers are, characteristically, well informed and intimately connected to the culture. Ballad meetings provide performances by professional folksingers, by field singers, or by our own members in informal sessions, and are precious features of our meetings.

At each conference we learn a little more about the far-flung (ballad) world. At the Los Angeles meeting it was the *corrido*, a contemporary Mexican narrative song form, still a part of a vital, living tradition (and often a vehicle of political discourse). In Mellac, Brittany, minority cultural politics gave Breton balladry and oral traditions special urgency, as we learned of the great investment of energies that went into the teaching of folklore to younger generations in order that it live and thrive. Over an entire year, school children from all over Brittany worked on a night's performance of song, dance, drama, for an audience of 700. It was only the torrential rains (and the risk of electrocution from stage lights), that brought the evening to an early end. From ballads sung in smoky Dublin pubs to professionals on the concert stage, to an entire mountain village in Crete re-creating a feast at which we were included as guests of honor – our meetings have featured performance. Some of the singing has even been our own, such as a hilarious performance of a dueling ballad between David Buchan and Sheila Douglas in Québec during the 1989 meeting, or the comic ballads penned by our own bards: Kevin O'Nolan (†) (»Das Lied von Kolympari«), and Sheila Douglas (»Swansea Ballad«), or the »open mike« Swansea session going late into the night. These are some of my fondest memories.

Are such lively events merely a diversion from the serious business of our paper panels? I don't believe so. In an oblique way, they demonstrate how the IBC's interests may be evolving or, at least, how new elements are claiming our attention. That is, the direct experience of the creation and transmission of song, as well as song as a vehicle for understanding broader social concerns, are issues which increasingly have taken center stage at our meetings.

The IBC is one of the best kept secrets in academic circles! Wonderful colleagues and great conferences. Just listen to where we have been in the past decade or so: Dublin, Ireland (1985), Kolympari, Crete (1986), Rovinj (Katarina), Croatia (1987), Québec, Canada (1988), Freiburg, Germany (1989), Bergen, Norway (1990), Stockholm, Sweden (1991) Belfast, Northern Ireland (1992), Los Angeles, U.S.A. (1993), Tórshavn, Faroe Islands (1994), Mellac, Brittany, France (1995), Swansea, Wales (1996), and now Gozd Martuljek, Slovenia (1997). From the sun-drenched Mediterranean to the sweeping vistas of the Faroe Islands, to urban and Alpine settings, Ballad meetings provide an opportunity for the best sort of cultural tourism. »Study ballads and see the world« (might be the headline on an IBC brochure)!

Approaches to Ballad Research

The Dublin meeting was also where I first heard David Buchan speak. *That* was an inspiration. Here was a man who lived and breathed ballads, was passionate about them, and understood that ballad singing was a major key to understanding Scottish culture more gener-

ally. His book, *The Ballad and the Folk*, I think, was a primal text for converting many of the younger generation to ballad studies. But here then, was the ideal: someone as much at home in the field as in the archive, someone who had as much a sense of ethnographic and historic realities as textual philological acumen. In this intelligent balance, he showed that there is no text/context dichotomy, but rather that they form a continuum, and that only a fieldworker who had listened to ballads in their »natural« habitat, but who also had a broad sense of cultural history, could begin to understand the richness and complexity of their interplay.[2]

When in 1966 the Kommission für Volksdichtung was formed, first affiliated with the International Folk Music Council's text group, and then with the Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore, one of its prime objectives was the classification of ballads and other narrative songs, according to an international system (on the model of Aarne-Thompson's *The Types of the Folktale*, or Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*), in order to facilitate comparative research – truly global endeavors, in other words. The Commission was to devise standards of classification, and produce a national song catalogue for each country, before cross-cultural work could be attempted. Much debate followed on just *how* to accomplish such a monumental task. If I'm not mistaken, these battles too (e.g., Freiburg vs. Los Angeles; Brednich vs. Wilgus/Long), formed part of what has affectionately been referred to as »The Ballad Wars.«

The Ballad Wars seem to be over. Perhaps because these grand schemes have tacitly faded, leaving us with no specific goal and therefore freedom to pursue many avenues of research. The IBC is a rather democratic association and fashionably decentralized. A plurality of approaches may be found at any conference, although many find their critical sources primarily in anthropology or literature (the progenitors of folkloristics in general). Yet we tend to be theory-deficient *without* apologies and consider the IBC a sort of refuge from terminally chic literary discourse. Feminist and Marxist theory, psychoanalytical, structuralist, post-structuralist and post-modernist tendencies have left few marks, as will perhaps Oral Theory, as well as Performance, Communication, and Cultural Studies. A truer portrait of our group would have to paint a picture of scholars generally preferring the concrete to the theoretical. If theory is not held in high esteem, so generally, is musical analysis. In this respect, we have an ethnomusicological blind-spot. While the entire gamut of approaches to the ballad that have existed since the group's inception, persist in full vigor (philological, literary, historical, and ethnographic), the appearance of contemporary phenomena such as karaoke, gangsta rap, blues, pop and folk revivals, while more sporadic, have not been totally ignored.

The »text is [no longer] the [only] thing« (to misquote Wilgus) – if every it was. And yet, we are still empirically-oriented – a certain concrete sense of the thing we hear, its history,

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ments as a research assistant with the Medieval and Renaissance Center was to work on D.K. Wilgus and Eleanor Long's Irish Ballad Catalogue. While I became increasingly fascinated with the phenomenon of song variants, the truth is I didn't quite appreciate the point of the endeavor: boxes and boxes of three by five cards and how to get a hold of the material? At the same time I was exposed to Italian folksong through sound recordings and began to listen to ballads and come under their sway. It was the power of the sung word, and the stories told, which were at the heart of the matter for me. But there was no way around the philological and taxonomic questions when ballads become the object of academic enquiry. Situating texts in the larger socio-cultural, psychological, historic, ethnographic settings required first assembling and then understanding the contours, contents, and structures of those texts. I don't know that many of my peers would go back to a strictly formal approach to ballad texts, but I do know that a serious study of ballads must begin there.

its uses, its connection to real people, real audiences – whether in the field, archive, or library, guides most of us. It is logical therefore that many continue to be interested in the primal activity of collecting, editing, and producing *useable* text editions and sound recordings. (And it gives me pleasure to note the CD of Slovenian field recordings, produced by the Ethnomusicology Institute, included in our registration packets.) On the other hand, many here are folklorists who have made the transition from an item-based discipline of *folklore*, to a focus on the interconnectedness of culture in *folklife* and have thus become seriously interdisciplinary. Some indeed, are currently merging their identities with the *emerging* area of »Cultural Studies.«

Ballad conferences since the 1970's have been thematically organized, with the host generally free to frame the topic (in addition, of course, to the standard, fieldwork and classification panels – although few have contributed to the latter since 1990). Here are some themes treated since 1985: The Stranger in Ballad Narrative (Dublin); Death and the Otherworld in European Folksong (Crete); Ballads and Other Genres (Rovinj); Ballads and Computers, Historiography, and other Oral Expressions (Quebec); Women in the Folk Ballad, Ballad Language and Style, Research History (Freiburg); Ethnography of Writing: The Ballad and Print Culture (Bergen); Comparative Study of Child 42: Clerk Colvill, Le Roi Renaud, Deutsche Volkslieder 41: Madchenmorder, Halewijn), Ballad as Song (Stockholm); Ballads in Relation to Images, Identities and Ideologies (Belfast); Ballads and Boundaries: Ballad Singing in an Intercultural Context (Los Angeles); Ballads in a National Context (Tórshavn); From Oral Performance to Written Text, The Voice of a Minority Culture in the Shadow of a Majority Culture (Mellac); Folk Ballads and/as Literature, Ballads and Post-Colonialism (Swansea); Ballads and Children's Folklore, Ethnicity, Ethics and Ballads (Gozd Martuljek), and many have expressed an interest in the topic of Ballads and Translation for next year's meeting in Hildesheim.

IBC Membership: Geographic and Cybernetic Shifts

But who are we individually, how would one describe our constituents? Despite our »post-colonial« theme of 1996, we are still primarily (northern) European, and European-derived. Southern Europeans are rare as hen's teeth, noticeably lacking are the large number of Romancero scholars, and Asian and African cultures almost not at all, although efforts have lately been made to expand our boundaries, resulting in sporadic input on narrative song forms from China, Japan, Egypt, Israel, and the Caribbean, for instance.

From an informal survey conducted at the Swansea meeting which posed the questions of institutional affiliation, occupation, languages used, e-mail, and internet connections, I gathered the following information: Overwhelmingly we are affiliated with universities, research institutes, and archives. We are professors and graduate students, but also archivists, curators, performers, and »public sector« folklorists. For some, ballads have *no connection at all* to their prime occupation. Among academics, the vast majority are linked to literature departments (not surprisingly, judging from the many papers in our conferences concerning: orality/written culture, classification, textual philology, textual analysis, narrative, social and cultural history), a few to ethnomusicology, and many to folklore or ethnology programs. And, of the roughly 50 respondents: 36 have e-mail and 23 have access to the internet.

The fact is though that the Commission has a very rapidly changing membership. At a guess, about half of all participants are new at each conference. We add new friends and colleagues at every conference – some are passing acquaintances, others join to stay. But we have never been a particularly large association, as such groups go, and this may be precisely one of its attractions: from a handful of scholars in 1966 to approximately 200 in our official roster today – though conferences remain small, and a conference with concurrent sessions is considered unwieldy. The largest in our history – thanks, in part to Tom Cheesman's zealous electronic solicitation – was the Swansea conference where approximately 70 papers were presented (Los Angeles followed with about 55 papers, but without concurrent sessions).

We have lost members partly because some were unable to sustain a long-term academic focus on ballads, or developed broadening interests, or were burdened with teaching assignments which took them ever farther from the folksong fold, or were forced by bleak economic necessity to look to more remunerative exercises. We have also lost many illustrious scholars to death. The last decade has been particularly harsh in that respect: D.K. Wilgus, David Buchan, Edson Richmond, Kenneth Goldstein, Alan Bruford. David Buchan, our recently deceased first vice-president, is especially mourned, for he was always at the center of all our proceedings.

For a variety of reasons, we are currently experiencing growth, increased internationalization, as well as significant organizational realignments. This growth is partly due to the electronic media, capable of reaching ever wider audiences. Folksong revivals, and cultural ecology movements may be attracting other enthusiasts to our group. We have also experienced a shifting axis of operations: more North Americans have been added to the predominantly European membership; and for the first time in its history, the IBC met on the other side of the Atlantic: Quebec in 1989, and Los Angeles 1993. The name itself, from the German »KfV,« is slowly shifting to its Anglicized version, the »IBC,« as the general language of communication within the conferences has been steadily reduced to English – not at all a positive evolution, and I welcome the fact that this meeting and the Hildesheim meeting will redress this imbalance. The IBC executive too is reflecting this new North American input: taking David Buchan's place as vice-president (Newfoundland, Canada) in 1995, I am affiliated with UCLA at Los Angeles, while Barre Toelken, co-executive secretary, treasurer and editor of our newsletter, teaches at the University of Utah, Logan. Reinforcing the IBC's American arm, many members also belong to the Music and Song Section of the American Folklore Society, whose current convener, William McCarthy, is an IBC member. Europeans: our longtime president, Stefaan Top (University of Leuven, Belgium), now serving his 3rd 5-year term until the year 2000, Ildíkó Kriza, our second vice-president from Budapest, and Jürgen Dittmar, our co-secretary from the German Folksong Archives in Freiburg (which, incidentally, celebrated its 75th anniversary in 1989), and a large part of the membership, however, still predominate on *this* side of the Atlantic.

As far as the marketing side of our organization is concerned, we are currently seeking a logo (and will treat the best entry to free drinks – with a two drink limit), we are in the process of producing an official brochure, have recently created a website (thanks to Duncan Large and Tom Cheesman), and will increasingly proceed electronically (at least as far as the newsletter and general communications are concerned). We have also become a dues-paying association, not only reflecting our harder economic times perhaps, but our consolidation as a professional association.

Coming Full Circle: From Card Catalogues to Ballads in Cyberspace

It was the Swansea conference which best demonstrated the electronic possibilities even to ballad-types, who are notoriously backward-looking. Tom Cheesman was able to gather a large number of eclectic participants to the conference (performers, academics, archivists, enthusiasts, old and new), and was actually forced to restrict registration for the first time in our history. A website for the conference was created, frequent communication came over cyberspace, and Tom Cheesman became the informal clearing house for much news regarding folk music and song-related conferences, publications, and events. At a stroke we were connected to a worldwide (but mostly European) folksong web. At the Swansea conference itself, our first-ever digital presentation demonstrating the possibilities of hypertexts, databases, and other assorted treats, were laid out before us by Duncan Large. There was some resistance and I suspect that it may be years – but perhaps not too many – before this group (which still prefers »face to face« communication), takes full advantage of these possibilities. We do thank Tom Cheesman for taking the first, bold step, however.

One may believe that the classification arm of the group has atrophied but, in reality, it may merely be changing media. The centenary of Child's ballad edition, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, is approaching in 1998. There are signs that a 21st century equivalent, the digital *Traditional Ballad Index (An Annotated Bibliography of the Folksongs of the English-Speaking World)*, as of July 17, 1996, containing 1400 song types and some 3000 references, is in the making, according to David Engle's reports. And there are other such projects sprouting in every field. The advent of computers at many institutions, but particularly in archives, have brought questions of classification to the fore once again. It will be interesting to learn from Professor Kumer, who, according to Stefaan Top, produced the first European regional catalogue, *The Slovenian Ballad Catalogue*, in 1974, how this group has made the digital transition.

It is clear upon »surfing« the internet, that folksong databases are coming online as we speak, and computer applications of folksong material growing, but it is not being guided by us. Enthusiasts, folksong revivalists, and performers, *not* academics, seem to be expressing this need. Electronic websites such as DIGITRAD (*Digital Tradition* – a database of several thousand English song texts and tunes), and the *Traditional Ballad Index*, are gathering momentum and making questions of classification relevant once again – although the devising of any one system may still be unrealistic. Given the history of the IBC, should we not be guiding the effort or at least, lending it our support? Such projects require international cooperation (and resources), and organizations such as ours are poised to make the greatest impact. It is in the electronic age that such large-scale projects make sense or are feasible. Had this technology been available in 1966, when enthusiasm for such projects, were at a peak, the goals of the Commission may actually have been realized by its original enthusiasts. Comparative work may finally become more easily attainable on the internet. Imagine, for instance, regional folksong guides, along the lines of Lomax', *The Global Jukebox*, where one could not only access a text, its contexts, bibliography, and commentary, but *hear* the song itself – all through a hypertext card. The IBC might even investigate the possibility of gaining the support of granting agencies for such projects. Will these projects provide new focus for the IBC, restore our original *raison d'être*? Perhaps we do not need such formal projects to unite us.

Our group thrives, continues to meet yearly in far-flung places, publishes collectively and individually, and enjoys a high level of collegiality. As far as I am concerned, the IBC is one of the more congenial scholarly groups I know, and I remain loyal even now that ballad research *per se* has become only one (smallish) part of what I do. It appears to be the case for many others as well, according to our 1996 survey. This fact speaks volumes in itself. Whether the IBC has any specific and grand projects ahead may not be the point. We may no longer argue over questions of classification, we no longer compile bibliographies. These may not necessarily be positive outcomes, but such is the case. Truly, it is the meetings themselves –but mostly our combined love of balladry, which binds us together.

Ballad »communities« change. Ballads may ideally have begun their journey in small groups around a hearth, but ballads flourished as well on the street corners and squares where balladeers hawked their broadsides. They continue to thrive in mass folksong revivals, in literature, and in film of recent times, and they will go boldly into the digital future, I am certain.

In the official call for papers for this conference, our Slovenian colleagues worried that a common and negative perception of »balkanization« prevented many from appreciating the cultural ties that bind. I believe we are globally experiencing such paradoxes. Berlin Walls crumble, Cold Wars come officially to an end, Economic Communities are formed – yet globalization and fragmentation come in pairs, for we seem to cherish what is unique and local while embracing what unites, and therein lies the best of all possible worlds. These are some of the greatest challenges we face today and folklorists have long understood this.

And here too is a *folksong* paradox: while ballads are perceived as intimately local, they are also often international. How *does* the local and the global come together in balladry? How do songs cross linguistic and cultural boundaries? How are ballads translated? For they indeed do cross historical, linguistic, cultural, and national boundaries. We will turn to such topics at upcoming meetings perhaps, but in the meantime, during this conference where communication may be a challenge, do not let linguistic barriers stop *you*. We are here to learn from one another, and not merely about ballad texts. We come especially to learn about Slovenia's ballad traditions but also about Slovenia itself as a historical as well as emerging entity. But I am particularly eager to hear its songs. Let us begin. *Pa začnímo*.

Mednarodna baladna komisija (SIEF – Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore): 1985–1997.

Povzetek

Članek je pregled desetletja delovanja Mednarodne baladne komisije (IBC), njenega članstva, dosežkov in prihodnjih ciljev – tako geografskih kot tehnoloških. V nasprotju z uradnim zgodovinskim pregledom referat obravnava bližnjo preteklost s stališča osebne izkušnje. Osredotoča se na baladna srečanja v okviru »kulturnega turizma« ter z oceno zbirk podatkov na internetu zaokrožuje pregled raziskav balad in IBC. Referat se konča z razmislekom o baladah in paradoksu globalizacije in fragmentacije.

RE-CREATION OF BALLADS TODAY/ POUSTVARJANJE BALAD DANES

Ljudska pevka Katarina Zupančič iz Vinj pri Dolu, Gorenjska, r.1860.
Pevka pesmi Pegam in Lambergar. / Slovene folk singer Katarina Zupančič, b. 1860, from Vinje, Dol - Gorenjska region. Singer of famous Slovene folk ballad Pegam in Lambergar.
(fotoarhiv GNI/548 - Photoarchives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology /584)

Re-creation of Ballads – Individual Reflections in Contemporary Literature and Contemporary Life in Slovenia

Marjetka Golež

Introduction

The folk ballad or the narrative song is a form of poetry which brings a dramatically emphasized event irrespective of whether it has a joyful ending or finishes in catastrophe. In Slovenia, this term has a tradition reaching back to Štrekelj. The merging as well as the decaying of ballads can be traced through all historical periods. In modern times the ballad lives on among us only within a limited scope, mostly where group work is still preserved or where keeping vigil over deceased persons is still customary. The concept of contemporariness is used here to denote the time when the context of life inside which the ballad occupied an important place starts to die away, for it is generally understood that the song can pursue its true, original course only when it is related to the life and work of people and has its role within it. As it exists at the present time the Slovenian folk ballad can be studied in three forms which represent three different ways of living.

First, in its continuing forms of folk singing of individual ballads currently still alive.

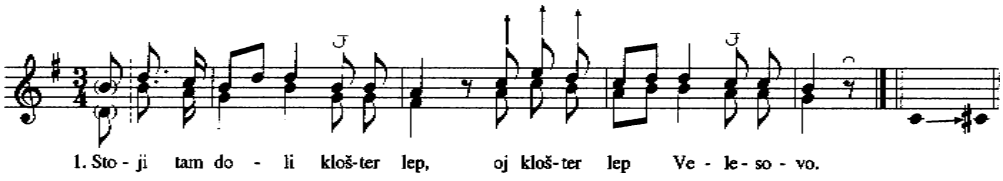
Second, in the interpretative form adapted for the modern public; and third, in the »literary form«, in the new life of contemporary poetry which in different ways brings together and merges art and folk elements in a way that instils to the folk song in its contents, formal aspects and musical characteristics another »contemporary« life in the body of most widely different songs, by the producers of contemporary poetry (Golež 1993: 246).

Why can we actually speak about re-creation as a mass phenomenon at the present time? The circumstances of living and the changed way of life, contemporary mass media and the exchange of information are factors that have led to the revival and re-creation of folk ballads. Already since 1965 young singers throughout Europe have been re-discovering and reviving older narrative songs in the media. But the transfer has continued to be an oral one. In Slovenia this phenomenon has been present since 1975 (Terseglav 1987: 84). This process was started by educated people, and so »old songs« are currently being spread into towns as well as into other social environments. There is another interesting point here: both re-creators and the authors of contemporary poetry are reaching out, in addition to folklore and lyrical poetry, also most commonly for the folk ballad tradition. It is specific of Slovenia, if compared with western European nations, that beside the reviving and re-creating of folk songs there is still a living folk tradition which here persists but has completely died away in western Europe. This is why there (e.g. in Scandinavian countries) the reviving of the folk tradition is primarily a reconstruction of what has died away and is now a part of the past, continuing only as a relic, while in the life of the people the folk ballad no longer exists.

1. *The Slovenian folk ballad* or, to use a more technical term, the Slovenian folk narrative song, is a living thing, still present in contemporary life. Live folk singing is not only preserved, but through appropriate stimulation on the part of those asking pertinent questions can be again brought back to life. Accordingly, we can offer here three instances of live folk singing recently recorded in the field:

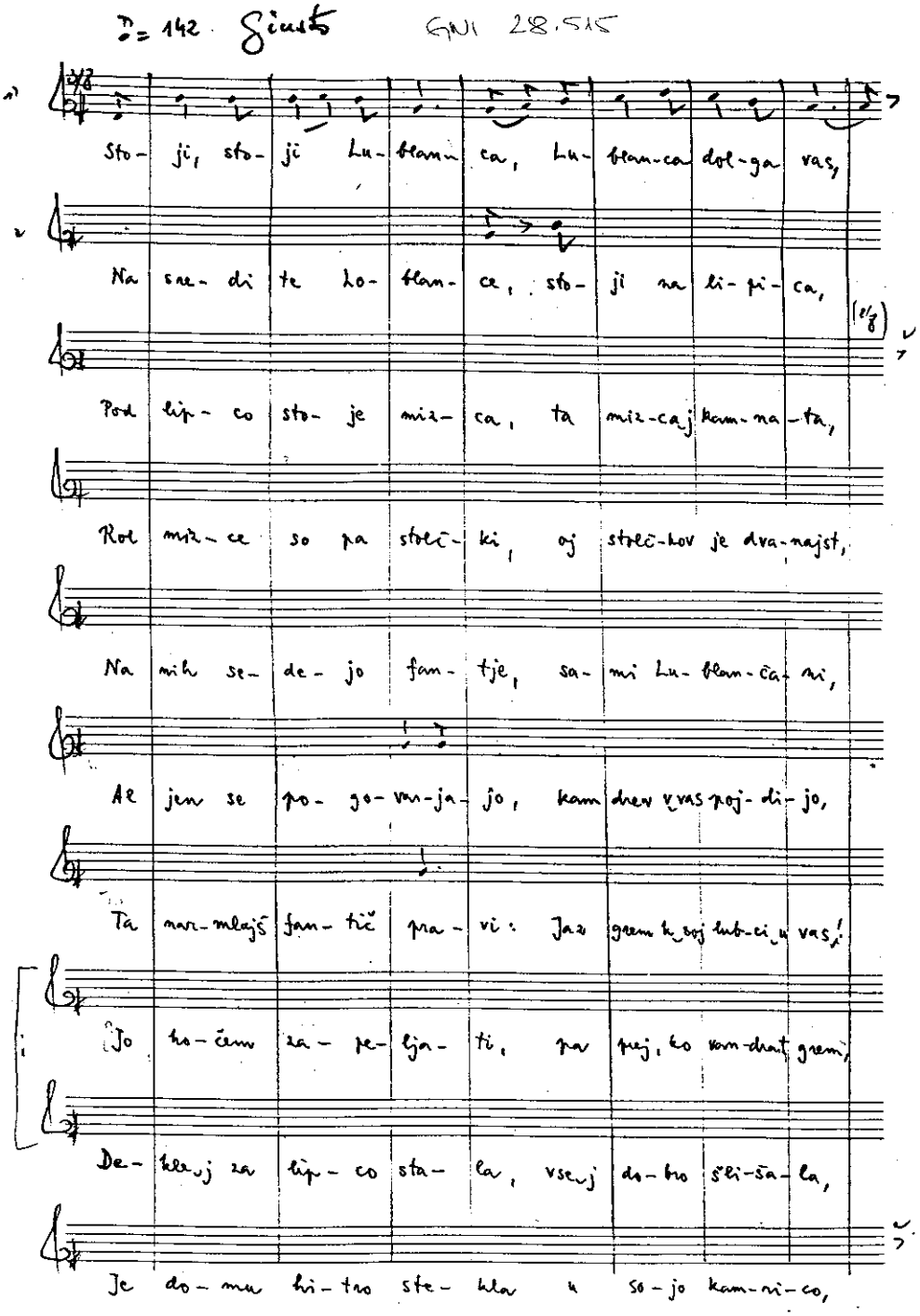
a) In 1995: Samomor nune zaradi nesrečne ljubezni/The Suicide of a Nun because of Love

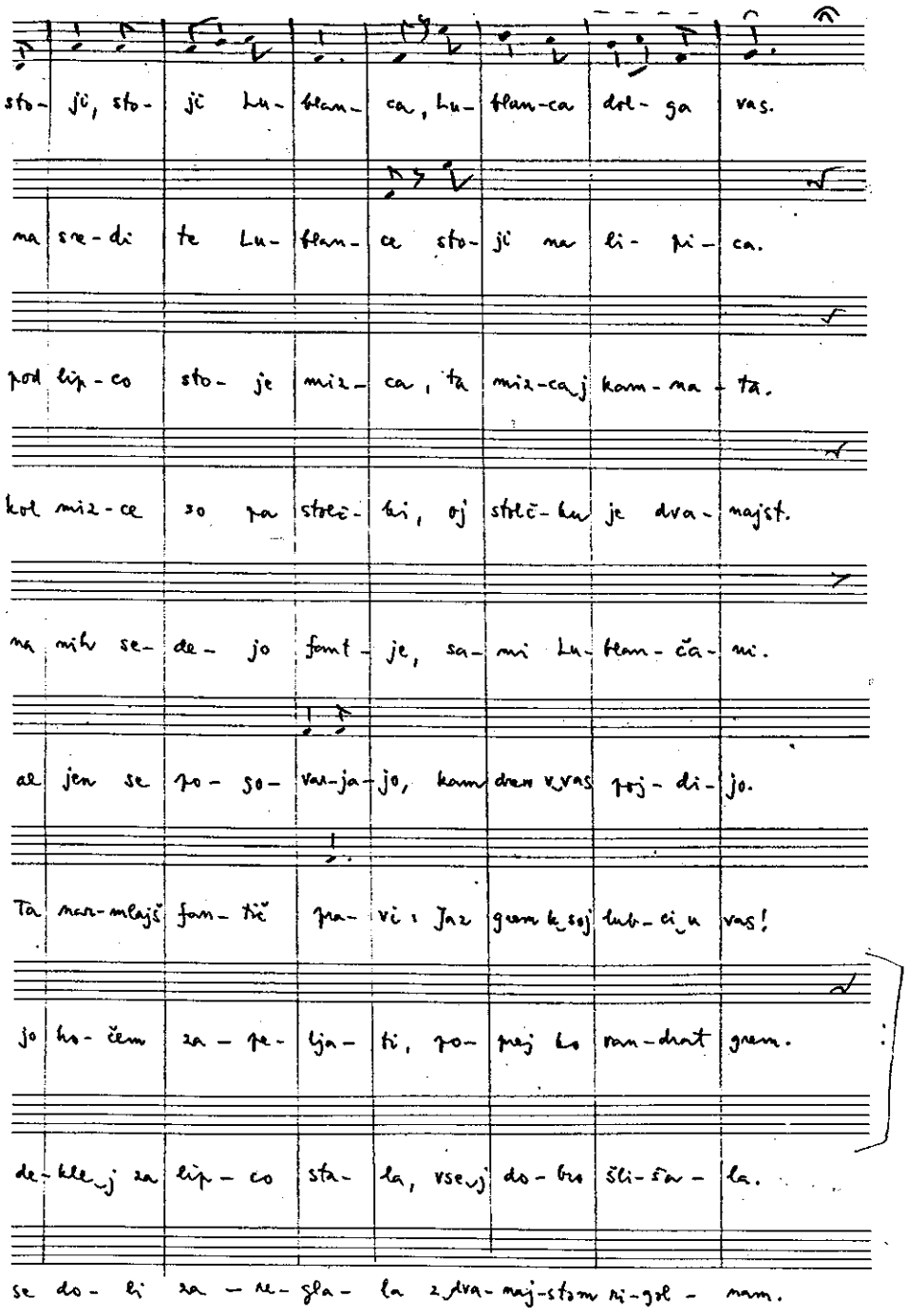
It was recorded at Britof near Kranj, and sung by two sisters. The song can be divided into seven subtypes. All of them have in common the tragic fate of a girl who was sent by her parents against her will to a nunnery after she had already tasted the world outside. The background of the song is medieval. We may assume that it might have been first sung in the 16th century, judging by the slight anti-monastic tendency which is expressed in the condemning of the action of the parents who force their daughters to enter a nunnery at an early age. The tragic ballad is widespread in Slovenia, especially in central Slovenia. The last variant, recorded near the original site (Velesovo) of the nunnery (Britof near Kranj) in an almost composite form (24 stanzas), and was sung by two women, shows the exceptional popularity of this song which is still a part of a very much alive folk tradition, although in an urban environment. As many as 147 variants of this song have been identified, and therefore we can say that it is widespread throughout the Slovenian territory. The story is timeless, the theme a current one, and therefore there is little wonder that the song is still alive today (Notation of the song : GNI M 46.344).



b) In 1996: Stoji, stoji Lublanca/There Stands Lublanca

It was recorded at Veliki trn in Dolenjska (Lower Carniola), sung by a male group. This song again is known all over Slovenia. The nucleus of its story probably comes from the German song »Der schwatzhafte Jungeselle« (DtVldr.: 1979), in which village lads are talking about their sweethearts over a drink: one of them brags that tonight he will pay a visit to his sweetheart; the girl overhears this, runs home and locks herself in. When the boy comes, she refuses to open the window, saying that she had heard him talk about it. The first written records of this ballad come from the 16th century. It is known throughout the German-speaking territory and also among German immigrants elsewhere in Europe, in Holland, Denmark, and in France. On the Slavic territory it is sung only by Lusatian Serbs and by Slovenians. The oldest Slovenian written recordings are from the middle of the 19th century. It seems that the story of the ballad must have come to Slovenia as early as the 17th or 18th century, hence at a time when folk creativity was still considerably alive. Therefore it could become acclimatized in detail and subsequently transferred here when the action was re-located under a linden tree in Ljubljana. Probably this is that very »song about the linden tree at Stari trg (Old Square)«


♩= 142 Giusto GNI 28.515
Sto- ji, sto- ji Lu- blan- ca, Lu- blan-ca dol-ga vas,
Na sre- di te lo- blan- ce, sto- ji na li- pi- ca,
Pod lip- co sto- je miz- ca, ta miz-caj kam-na-ta,
Rol miz- ce so pa stolč- ki, oj stolč-kov je dva-najst,
Na nih se- de- jo fan- tje, sa- mi Lu- blan-ča- ni,
 Al jem se po- go- var-ja- jo, kam drew v vas poj- di- jo,
Ta nar-mlajš fan- tič pra- vi: Jaz grem k svoj lub-ci v vas!
Jo ta- čem za- pe- lja- ti, pa pej, ko zm-dnaj grem,
De- klcuj za lip- co sta- la, vsemj do- bro šli-ša- la,
Je do- mu hi- tro ste- kla u so- jo kam-ni-co,


sto- ji, sto- ji Lu- tlam- ca, Lu- tlam-ca dol- ga vas.
na sre-di te Lu- tlam- ce sto- ji na li- pi- ca.
pod lip-co sto- je miz- ca, ta miz-caj kam-na-ta.
kot miz-ce so pa stolč- ki, oj stolč-ki je dva- najst.
na mih se- de- jo fant- je, sa- mi Lu- tlam- ča- mi.
ak jen se po- so- vaš-ja- jo, kam drem v vas poj- di- jo.
Ta nar-mlajš fan- tič po- vi: Jaz grem k soj lub- ci u vas!
jo hs- čem za- pe- lja- ti, po- poj ko nan-dnat grem.
de-klcuj za lip- co sta- la, vsecuj do- bro šli- šan- la.
se do- li za - ne- gla- la z dva- naj-stom ri-gol - nam.

which was noted down around the year 1775 by Dizma Zakotnik, the record of which has been lost.[1] (Transcription of the older variants of this song) (Transcription is on the pages 49,50)

c) In 1997: Umor iz ljubosumja/ Murder out of Jealousy

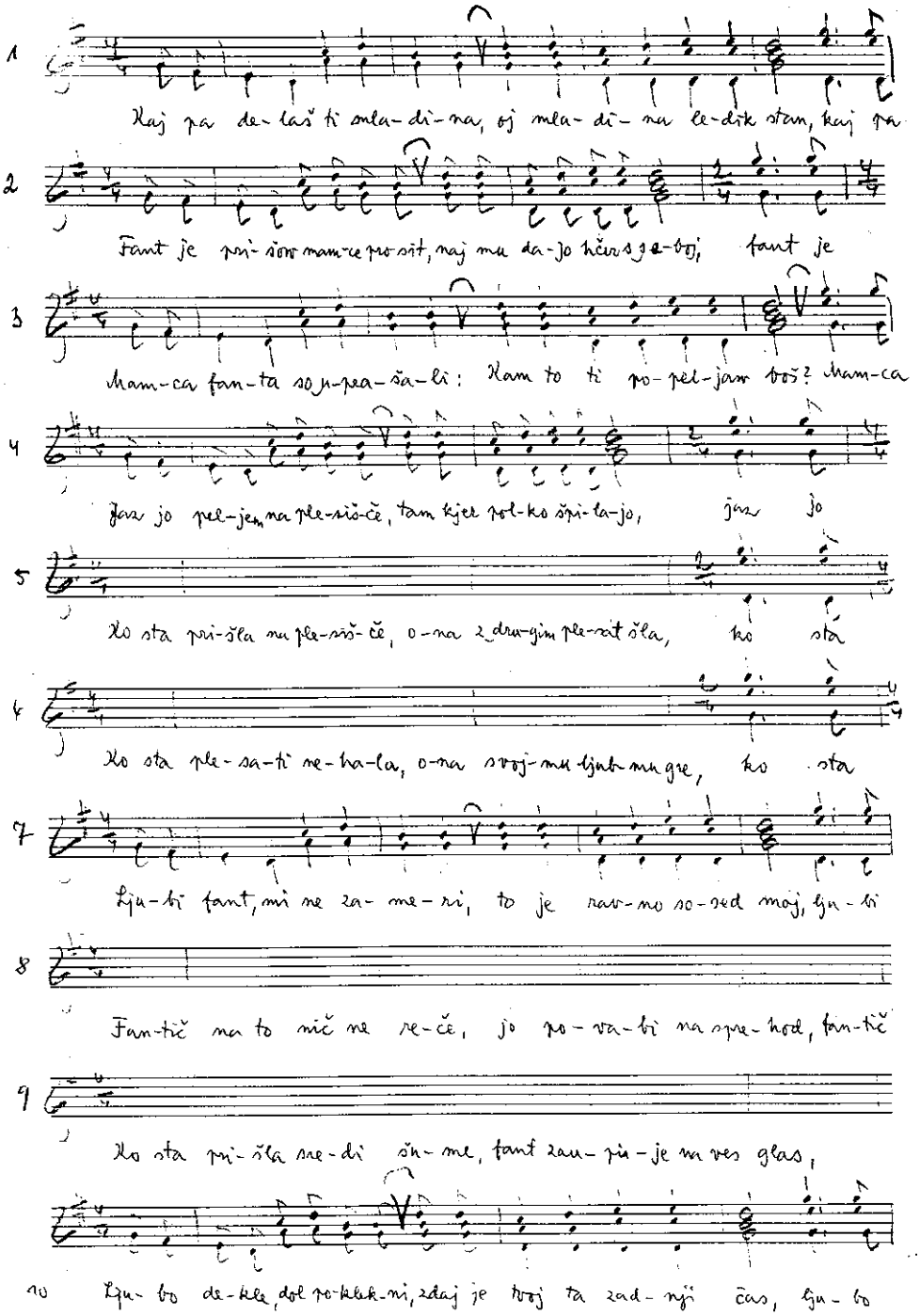
It was sung by a woman from Brkini in the western part of Slovenia. The ballad is designed as a song of commemoration, such as were characteristic in particular of north-eastern Styria, where it was (until about the middle of the 20th century) a custom that when somebody died a sudden tragic death, a person from the neighbourhood would write a song giving a detailed description of the event (including names of the persons afflicted, and also stating the time of the accident). In the course of time some of these songs, i.e. the singing of them, reached out into the narrower and wider surroundings. Here the details got lost, and thus also the reality of the story, and so in the memory of the singers the song was becoming on a par with all other narrative songs. Already in 1899 this song was written down in Gorenjska (Upper Carniola), at Ihan near Domžale, and around the year 1908 at Kozana (Goriška Brda); after World War II sound recordings of it were made in the Kanalska dolina valley (Ukve), in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and in Carinthia. And in 1997 it was recorded with a new melody (that is, only a fragment) at Brkini, which was a surprise also for the Institute.[2] This is yet another proof that the song traveled a lot and also that in Slovenia the ballad tradition is still alive and present all over up to the present. (Transcription of one of the older variants of this song: GNI M 29.986). (Transcription is on the pages 52, 53)

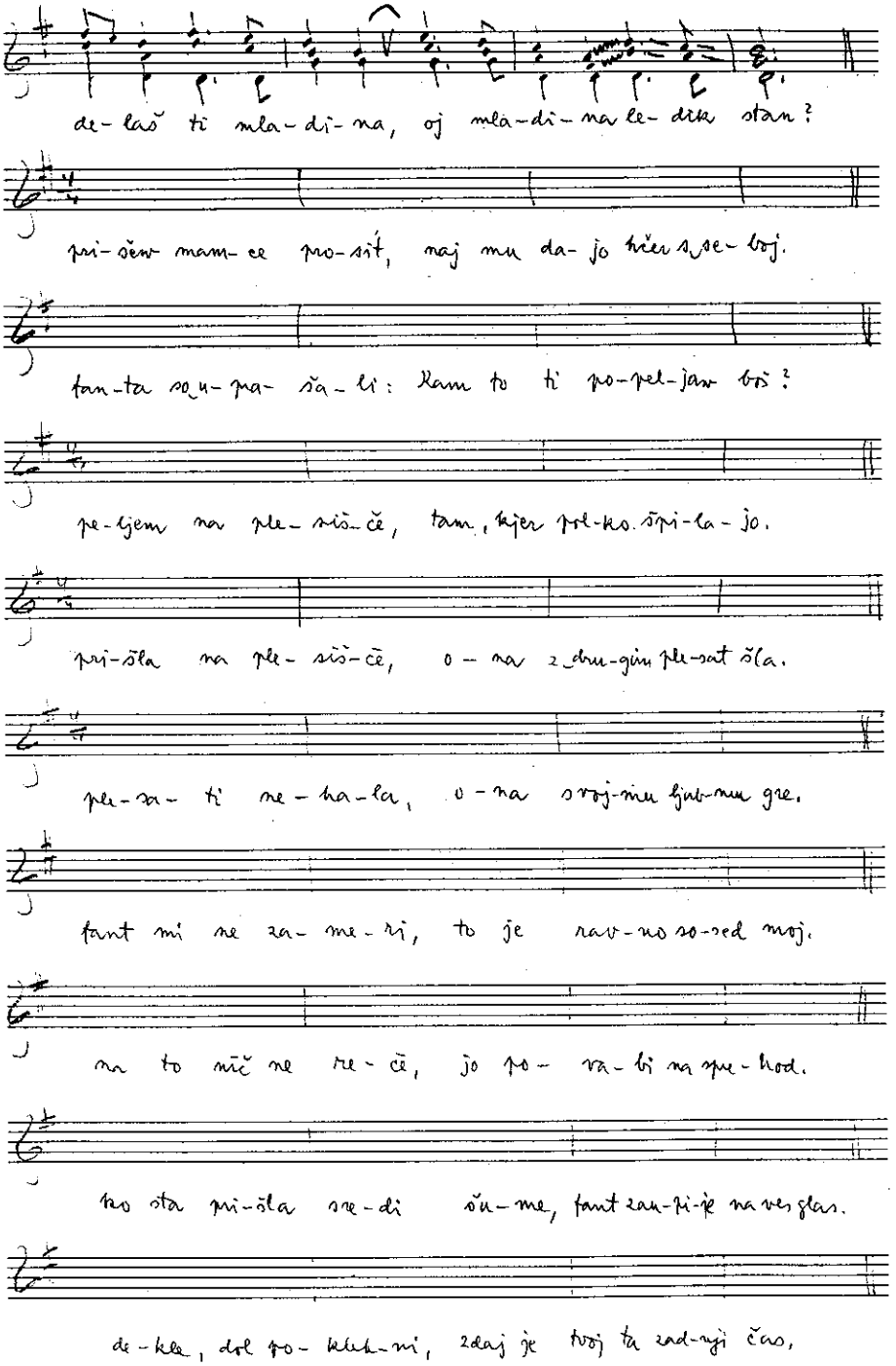
2. *The folk ballad in the interpretative form of the re-creation of ballads*. In the contemporary world of today we note a great increase of individuals and groups who are either reviving folk songs (also the customs of carol-singing, the celebration of St. John´s Eve, St. George´s Day and others: ceremonies in which the songs first found their proper place) or in their own way interpret individual ballads or instrumental tunes. Regarded from the sociological viewpoint it is interesting to note that most often these songs are being revived above all by intellectuals, since they are aware of the value of folk songs, but also folk songs are generally well represented in the repertoires of singing societies. The national aspect is likewise important as the re-creation of ballads at the time when Slovenia has gained independence and become an independent state has been allowed given full support. The re-creation of folk ballads also serves the function of keeping up national consciousness, which was in the past, before the art song, the only way of maintaining the national identity of the Slovenian nation. The re-creators are: the group »Sedmina« (Funeral Repast), Tomaž Pengov, Bogdana Herman, the groups »Kurja koža« (Hen´s Skin), »Hrušiški fantje« (The Boys from Hrušica), »Istrski mužikantje« (Istrian Musicians), and others.

The re-creator Bogdana Herman is one of the individual singers who renders folk ballads in her own way. She is known for her singing of ballads in a manner exploiting vocal music

[1] The male group from Dolenjsko (Lower Carniola) sings it very melodiously. The song is recorded at night, out-of-doors, and in the recording one can also hear the singing of crickets, which imparts a special field feature to the recording.

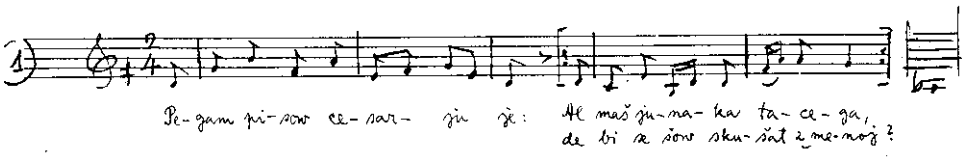
[2] The song was recorded in the begining of 1997 in the field, in the vicinity of Ilirska Bistrica. It was recorded by Danijel Cek, head of the group Hrušiški fantje, a group dedicated to reviving folk songs. It is particulary interesting and precious because its melody (atlough only a fragment) has so far been unknown, new. On the basis of this ballad sample Hrušiški fantje learnt the song, added the missing stanzas, and again revived it.


1
Kaj pa de-laš ti mla-di-na, oj mla-di-na le-dik stan, kaj pa
2
Fant je pri-šou mam-ce pro-sit, naj mu da-jo hčer-s ga-boj, fant je
3
mam-ca fan-ta so-u-pea-ša-li: Kam to ti po-pel-jaw boš? mam-ca
4
jaw jo pel-jem na ple-siš-če, tam kjer pol-ko ši-ta-jo, jaw jo
5
ko sta pri-šla na ple-siš-če, o-na z drug-im ple-sat šla, ko sta
6
ko sta ple-sa-ti ne-ha-la, o-na svoj-mu ljub-mu gre, ko sta
7
Ljub-i fant, mi ne za-me-ri, to je rav-no so-sed moj, ljub-i
8
Fan-tič na to nič ne re-če, jo po-va-bi na spre-hod, fan-tič
9
ko sta pri-šla sre-di šu-me, fant zau-pa-je mu ves glas,
10
Ljub-ko de-kle, dol po-klek-ni, zdaj je tvoj ta zad-nji čas, ljub-ko


de- laš ti mla- di- na, oj mla- di- na le- dna stan?
pri- šew mam- ce pro- sit, naj mu da- jo hčer s se- boj.
tan- ta so u- pra- ša- li: kam to ti po- pel- jaw boš?
pe- ljem na ple- siš- če, tam, kjer pet- ko špi- la- jo.
pri- šla na ple- siš- če, o - na z drug- im ple- sat šla.
ple- sa- ti ne - ha- la, o - na svoj- mu ljub- mu gre.
fant mi ne za- me - ri, to je rav- no so- sed moj.
na to nič ne re - če, jo po - ra- bi na spe - hod.
ko sta pri- šla sre - di vu - me, fant zan- ti- je na ves glas.
de - kle, dol po - klek- ni, zdaj je tvoj ta zad- nji čas,

and occasionally adding individual dramatic emphases to it. She differs from other folk singers through her individual interpretation of the songs, making conscious use of dramatizing whereas other singers sing wholly evenly from the beginning to the end.

As a good example of the singing of one´s own compositions we can take the song Pegam in Lambergar,[3] performed by Tomaž Pengov. This singer integrates the folk basis into his interpretative rendering of the song in a special way. Through this interpretation he presents his own experience of the hero´s struggle with the giant,[4] the hero being a Slovenian nobleman who was called for help by the »Emperor from Vienna« himself. The sound recording of the first stanza of *Pegam in Lambergar*, which was sung by Franc Kramar and recorded by Valens Vodušek in 1958, is the only instance of a sound recording of this folk song. F. Kramar, who wrote down a number of folk songs, sang it by memory of how it was sung by the most well-known folk singer of ballads, Katarina Zupančič - Živčkova Katra, who sang it for him in 1910. (Transcription of the first stanza of Pegam in Lambergar: GNI M 30.043).



It is interesting to note how according to his feeling Tomaž Pengov incorporated the melody of the folk ballad into his own orchestration. His interpretation is fresh and modern, but one senses that the artist respects the folk song; he has come close to it through the inclusion of the folk melody as well as through the instrumental accompaniment, which is not intrusive but modern and fresh, it does not bury the folk melody and does not distort it.

A very good re-creative group is Hrušiški fantje from Primorska; they are trying genuinely hard to come to pure folk singing and thus to revive the folk song. The group takes its material directly from the field, from the surrounding villages, and so they are reviving those folk songs that are still being sung in the villages in the surroundings of Ilirska Bistrica. (For instance, *»Marija z Ogerskega gre/ Mary is Coming from the Hungarian Side«*, which they are singing in the dialect). The re-creation of folk ballads differs from folk singing in the style of singing, in individual interpretations, in the selection of songs according to the taste of the re-creator, and the dramatizing and emphasizing of the individual segments of the re-created folk songs is also possible. But re-creation is different from arrangement, as in arranged compositions or songs there are frequent incursions into the folk song and even the motif only may remain. Good re-creators combine the awareness of the value of the folk ballad with the freedom of personal expression.

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[3] The bee-hive front with this motif was the *fils rouge* or the logo at the conference at Gozd Martuljek, as it appears on all the publications.

[4] The Babylonian motif of the hero´s fight with the giant, which has left a trace in the Hebrow tradition (David and Goliath) is generally well-known, and has spread all over Europe in prose and in song. Its traces in Slovenia are found in the song about Pegam and Lambergar.

3 »*Literarisation« of the Slovenian Folk Ballad.* Various different procedures in the folk elements in contemporary poetry have demonstrated that the search for inspiration is frequent in living sources of folk creativity. Therefore it may be said that it is the folk song which represents one of the basic canons of contemporary Slovenian poetry, that it is a continued activity and for that reason very suitable for getting transplanted into new environments in contemporary poetry. Folk singing is the only system (the »key system«, according to Smirnov) which continued through all literary-historical periods, is relatively unchanged, and still living on today. This system may develop or rather continue in both directions: within itself by creating variants in the process of »re-creation«, and within the system of art poetry as a meaningful or formal reference point, which is evident in the permanently recurring motif-thematic and stylistic canon of folk poetry in contemporary poetry and in contemporary life. Hence some ballads reappear again and again in the »circulation of meaning« (Genette: 1982). The folk song being a syncretic unit with music as a communication channel also has a life of its own. The text, texture (melody) and context[5] extend the life of the folk song into the field of music and the role in a given context. The integral nature of the folk song has been compatible with the search for the integrity of contemporary poetry. The folk song is being built into the contemporary song as an association of melody and words, in the variability of the poetic procedure (this procedure has been taken directly by Vito Taufer and Milan Vincentič) as a mnemonic formula. The third form of the folk song or its life is to be found in the »literary form«, which has become very prominent in contemporary Slovenian poetry, where ballads in their individual parts or in their entirety, through quotations, motifs or ideas, are incorporated into new artworks by individual contemporary Slovene poets, thus by Svetlana Makarovič, Gregor Strniša, Veno Taufer, Milan Vincentič, Iztok Geister, and others. It can be claimed of all these writers that they were encountering the stories and the forms of folk songs like eternally circulating elements that had emerged from memory, tradition or the subconscious and had palimpsestically (Genette: 1982) united with the new form and content of the individual song. Circulating time brings along contents and with them forms because of a specific moment or an emotional agitation in the creative process of a particular work of contemporary Slovenian poetry. Each of the above mentioned writers has chosen a certain dimension of his own towards the folk song, thus summing up in contemporary poetry the past, present and future memory.

Perhaps it would be best now to take a look at some examples of songs where the incorporation of folk ballads into contemporary poetry can be seen: Svetlana Makarovič, Gregor Strniša, and Milan Vincetič, *Lenora*; Veno Taufer, *Godec pred peklom* (*The Fiddler before Hell)*, *Pegam and Lambergar*; and Iztok Geister, *Pegam and Lambergar*. S. Makarovič has transformed the folk song of the type *Mrtvec pride po ljubico* (*The Dead Man Comes to Lead Away His Sweetheart)* (One of the strophes of a Slovenian folk ballad runs, in translation, as follows »Al živ si, Anzelj, al mrtev,/po pušeljc vender boš prišel.« - »Are you alive, Anzelj, or dead, / we'll still come to fetch the bunch of flowers«) (SLP I 1970: 59/1-9) (*Lenora*)[6] so

[5] In view of the specific Slovenian feature that we use the same expression for both the song written and the song sung it means that the musical element is powerfully impressed also into art poetry, and that because of this Orphic feature art poetry is so frequently related to the folk song.

[6] Burger´s Lenora, which is generally well-known in Europe, however, goes back to a folk song, as European and Asian poetry already contained the motif of a dead man returning long before Bürger. The motif of a dead rider

that she preserves the architectonic form of the folk song and superimposes new contemporary meanings and overtones. »Ko luna vzide za goro,/ grobovi se odpro,prišel bo k meni ljubi moj,/ da bo še bolj hudo.«(»When the moon rises behind the mountain / the graves open up and my beloved will come to me / and so it will be all the worse.«) (Makarovič: 1973, pages not given). The folk element is felt in the rhythm and in the melodiousness of the song, while the contemporariness is achieved through the evoking of old meanings and associating them with new ones. In the poem *Želod* (Acorn) Strniša (Strniša 1983: 38-42) transforms the folk song in a different way. According to his own words he is concerned with presenting »the manner and tone which come closest to the tradition of folk songs« (Strniša 1983: 8) but in content Strniša is already a long way from the folk song. The motif of the dead man who comes to fetch his sweetheart is very much obscured. Strniša expands it into cosmos no longer spatially or temporally limited down to two persons and the tragic love between them, but the poem brings the interaction of day and night, of life and death. Strniša seeks in the folk elements new, unidentified meaning and primeval sounds. Hence his poetic form: the popular four-line songs with assonance at the end of the verse (Pretnar 1974: 75). The sound of the folk element is hidden behind the meaning of the word. A deep ethnicity is present in this song, a universal dimension, while national elements are felt in Strniša´s constant recourse to the Slovenian folk song and his awareness that the folk song is a true treasure. »Mrtvak jezdi po svetu/čez reke in goščave,/ jezdi po prvem snegu/naprej v zeleni marec.« (»The dead man is riding across the world / across rivers and through dense forests / he is riding over fresh snow / going on into the green March.«) (Strniša 1983: 38-42). Vincentič writes his Lenora differently, again preserving the external form, while the content discloses but traces of the folk element. »Pri tebi je tako tesno/ z grudvico postlano/kaj naj dam ti pod glavo/ s sekirico razklano.« (»Your place is so narrow / with little clods laid down / where shall I rest my head / split with the little axe.«) (Vincentič 1988: 47-53).

Taufer likewise explicitly says that his Pesmarica rabljenih besed/Song-Book of Used Words, in which he has published as many as thirty songs entitled after well-known Slovenian folk songs (ballads), are »the author´s variants on the pattern of old Slovenian folk songs« (Taufer 1875: 43). The author »circulates around a nucleus in the motif« (Taufer 1975: 43) using various procedures and different poetic views. In his *Godec pred peklom(Fiddler before Hell)* (a fragment of this folk song: »Šel je deveti kralj v en lepi smenj,/ je kupil gosli pa črn lok,/ šel je pred peklenska vrata gost.« (»The ninth king went to a beautiful fair, / he bought a fiddle and a black bow, / he went to play the fiddle before the gates of hell.«) we see that he has taken over the postmodernist quoting and assembling way of incorporating folk reference points into his poems. The condensation of meaning and clear multi-level meaningfulness is noticeable, and in this way he accelerates the rhythm in his songs, which comes very close to folk conjuring.[7] It may happen that the musical elements of the folk song become transferred together with the text into the new context of the verbal work of art, thus imparting to it musicality. With their meaning some of Taufer´s words are really singing and playing: »igra/

coming to fetch his beloved is known in German, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, Bulgarian, Albanian, Czech and Slovenian ballads.

[7] The musical quality of folk elements in Taufer´s poems is to be found in the use of a kind of recitative or recitative singing which is occasionally found also in the folk song, e.g. in the *Zlati očenaš* (Golden prayer). See also the paper by Golež, Marjetka. 'Muzikalnost ljudskega pesništva v sodobni slovenski poeziji'. *Glasba in poezija* .(Music and Poetry/ Musik und Dichtung) (1990): 47-58.

duša na štiri na tri/ na eno in več/ in več...deveti kralj/ okrog prazen/ votlo znotraj« (»there plays / the soul on four on three / on one more / and more ... the ninth king / around empty / inside hollow«.) (Taufer 1975: 5-9). In the poem *Pegam and Lambergar* he uses rhythm and a gasping tone of words to evoke the struggle between the two heroes, but already in a way introducing a wholly modern overtone: »oko oko ošine/blisk ostrine/ gib bliskne/bliskovita misel.« (»one eye glances at the other / the flesh of sharpness / the movement flashes up / flashing thought.«) (Taufer 1975: 29-30). On the other hand, Geister´s Pegam and Lambergar is a part of »reification« and is only through the title, names of persons, and the quotation from the folk *Marko skače* (*Marko is Jumping*) related to the folk song. The meaning is quite the reverse. The hero of the folk song Lambergar is put into the modern, empty world where he turns into a drunkard. The verse is also wholly free. The doubt about the contemporary world is thus mediated through an ironic picture of two heroes from the world of folk song, which would be in the opinion of the poet deeper, more purposeful. »Lambergar/ gre pijan z gostilne/ Pegam ga podpira/«(«Lambergar / comes drunk from the pub / Pegam keeps him from falling /« ...) »Na zidu piše z velikimi črkami:/Pijte mojga brata konja/« (»On the wall it is written in big letters: / Drink, my brother´s horses /....«) (Geister 1996: 57-58).

In this connection we could ask ourselves whether in all three forms of folk songs ethic elements also appear. Perhaps we might just mention these questions and discuss them at greater length on another occasion:

1 Can ethical and ethnic elements be very distinctly identified in folk songs?

We can say that some of these elements can be seen in the stories of particular ballads, as the folk song being the only creative canon before art poetry is already by its role nationally determined, or rather expresses national elements: thus these are directly expressed in the songs *Pegam in Lambergar* (*Pegam and Lambergar)*, *Turki pred Dunajem* (*Turks before Vienna)* and others. The national element as an element which should define the folk song in the sense that it should demonstrate its ethnic outlines is in the opinion of Z. Kumer[8] admittedly a significant one, yet it is characteristic of folk songs that the way of expression is supra-national inasmuch as formulas, stories and style etc. are international, although there are some special motifs and the way of singing that are characteristic only of the Slovenian folk tradition (e.g. *Desetnica*/*The Tenth Daughter*, sung in several parts) that essentially determine its ethos. It may be said that the language itself and the way of thinking are those which determine the ethnic dimensions of folk poetry. Therefore we can agree with A. B. Lord who also considers that the originator of a given folk song must necessarily be a member of the same nation, e. g. that a Slovenian cannot create an English folk song and vice versa, even if he knows the basic characteristics of the style, singing, language - hence that the national element in folk singing is not negligible. (Lord 1988:19) What about ethical elements: in the selection of the three songs in question there is a strongly expressed moral in all of them, either implicitly or in the verses at the end of the song. The songs give warning with the story, they are moral provisions, reflecting the moral code of the people and of the time when the particular song emerged.

[8] Kumer, Zmaga. *Pesem slovenske dežele*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 1975.

2 Do we in the re-creative process, in the selection of songs by contemporary artists, also find strongly ethnically and ethically marked songs? Do the artists consciously make their selection according to these criteria or do they use some other criteria - interesting content, regional framework, attractive melody, way of singing etc.? It might be said that the latter suggestions are valid, nevertheless a national or ethnic element may be hidden in the selection, for those songs which contain such dimensions are also invariably interesting. The re-creative artists are mostly educated people, therefore the awareness of the special value of the folk song and folk tradition is expressed already in the fact that they do select and cultivate folk songs in their own way. An examination of the repertoire of an individual re-creator or group would possibly lead to a clearer answer to this question.

3 As regards contemporary poetry it can be safety claimed that the artists themselves choose motifs and ideas and indirectly also ethic and ethnic elements, since contemporary artists draw on »old« stories which could in an admixture of new ideas built into contemporary poetry elucidate existential, essential, ethical and ethnic questions of contemporary artists. Tradition and memory as categories determining the transfer of the folk element into the contemporary poem are likewise elements which regulate contemporary poetic procedures to preclude the possibility of merely copying the folk element. It is because the artists are aware of the tradition that they can adopt a standpoint to the folk element that can be positive or negative. Memory and tradition make it for the contemporary artist possible to choose elements by means of which he will impart sense to his message. By taking our reference points from the folk element, individual artists are returning to the element: to the national element, as an individual would find it hard to survive in a vacuum. (Pirjevec: 1987, 113)

The re-creation of ballads unites tradition with innovation. By means of traditional elements the individual folk singer calls forth the context of the song (where, how, and why a particular song was sung), the re-creator elicits from memory the whole background of a particular folk song, and the contemporary poet uses the motifs, the theme or the entire folk song to evoke in the listener a folk song, and awaken the memory of the already forgotten folk ballad. But individual reflections of folk ballads have in contemporary poetry and in contemporary life the dimensions of ballads. The re-creation of folk ballads also serves the function of maintaining and calling attention to the national dimensions of musical creativity which was in the past, before the art song, the sole preserver of the national identity of the Slovenian nation. Individual ballads possibly contain also ethical elements, as they sing about tragic stories about unhappy life, murders, manslaughters, suicides, etc., which all, willingly or not, heighten our moral consciousness.

Concluding remarks:

In this paper we have tried to touch on three themes of the conference at Gozd Martuljek: we brought together the question of the living folk song tradition today, of contemporary re-creation of folk songs in the interpretative form, and in the literary environment. On this basis we proceeded to the question of the ethnic, which is through folk songs reflected in the forms mentioned and determines also the choice of themes in contemporary re-creation and in contemporary Slovenian poetry. All of these forms are equally valuable and are strongly present in Slovenian life, naturally in different circles of listeners and readers, and give rise to

different responses. But the basic insight from the present examination is that the Slovenian folk ballad through its presence of various forms has marked and continues to mark contemporary Slovenian creativity.

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Marjetka Golež

Poustvarjanje ljudskih balad - posamezni odsevi v sodobni literaturi in v sodobnem življenju v Sloveniji

Povzetek

Osnovno izhodišče je, da imamo danes v Sloveniji tri različna življenja slovenske ljudske balade:

1. Petje ljudskih balad na način kot so ga poznali v preteklem času, še danes živo ljudsko petje posameznih balad - primer Nuna - posnetek iz Britofa (1995).

2. Poustvarjanje balad z novimi interpretacijami sodobnih slovenskih poustvarjalcev, ki poskušajo na novo oživljati posamezne balade kot posamezniki, ali pa kot skupine (npr. Bogdana Herman, Tomaž Pengov, Hrušiški fanti...)

3. Novo življenje ljudskih balad v sodobni slovenski književnosti - predvsem poeziji, kjer balade v posameznih elementih ali v celoti - citatno, motivno, idejno vključujejo v svoje nove umetniške izdelke posamezni sodobni slovenski pesniki in pesnice: npr. Svetlana Makarovič, Gregor Strniša, Veno Taufer idr.

Poustvarjanje balad združuje tradicijo z inovacijo. S tradicionalnimi elementi posamezni ljudski pevec prikliče kontekst pesmi (kje, kako in zakaj se je neka pesem pela), poustvarjalec prikliče v spomin celotno ozadje neke ljudske pesmi, sodobni pesnik pa z motivi, temo ali s celotno ljudsko pesmijo prikliče v spomin neko ljudsko pesem ter prebudi spomin na že pozabljene pomene ljudske balade. Posamezni odsevi ljudskih balad v sodobni poeziji, sodobnem življenju pa imajo razsežnosti balad, saj se je prav v sedanjem času, ko se je Slovenija osamosvojila in postala samostojna država, poustvarjanje ljudskih balad zelo razmahnilo. Poustvarjanje ljudskih balad je torej tudi v funkciji vzdrževanja in opominjanja na nacionalne razsežnosti ljudske pesemske ustvarjalnosti, ki je bila v preteklosti še pred umetno pesmijo, edini ohranitelj narodne samobitnosti slovenskega naroda. Posamezne balade pa morda v sebi združujejo še etične elemente, saj pojejo o tragičnih zgodbah s tragično ljubeznijo, umori, uboji, samomori idr., kar poslušalce hote ali nehote moralno osvešča.

Macedonian Folk Ballads about Family Relations Today

Tatjana Kaličanin

It is difficult for researchers to take an objective stand on the study of folk (or popular) ballads because of the fact that scholars usually have different approaches to this problem. Some scholars see them as a purely poetic and cultural national product, others take a phenomenological approach in the study, while a certain number of them mainly search for elements of the already died out cultural and mythological segments, as derivatives of the cosmogonic, pagan and Christian traces.

Because of the lack of written records relating to the genesis, the development and the transformation of numerous motifs of the Macedonian folk ballads, many attempts at a reconstruction of the mythological and fundamental elements of the most widespread type of folk poetry are left with some persistent ambiguities. There are a few written records (from the 7th century onwards) that originate from this region and explain that the Slavs from the Balkans sang songs and carried string instruments instead of weapons.[1] To a certain extent, this can reconstruct the image of 'song singing', and since there is a lack of written records it can imply that the complexity of Macedonian ballads as well as folklore in general were created in accordance with a system developed to keep conformity with notions and representations of the already existing deities. Aspirations of modern researchers to explain the interpretation of cosmogonic and cosmological representations as well as the genealogical records of ballads give evidence of a number of deities which existed in folk mythology in this region.

Without a further elaboration of the aforementioned methodological approaches and classification of folk ballads, we need to point out their complexity, expansion and specific quality which distinguishes them from all other types of folk poetry in a particular ethno-cultural region. They are firmly located in folk poetry with certain organic elements that differentiate them from other forms of the oral tradition.[2]

It has already been emphasized that in accordance with the formal criteria, domestic folk ballads have already been placed in an analogical arrangement between ballads about personal relations and ballads about family relations. If we analyse the latter subgroup, which

[1] Vizantiski izvori za Istoriju naroda Jugoslavije 1. Beograd (1955): 103; See: Gjurić, Vojislav. *Antologija narodnih junačkih pesama.* Beograd (1971): 693; V. Jagič. *Građa za slovensku narodnu poeziju* 37. Zagreb (1876):33-137; P. Dinekov. *B'lgarski folklor*. Sofia (1972): 169-180

[2] Dr.Tatjana Kaličanin. 'Macedonian domestic folk ballads today'. 26th International Ballad Conference, University of Wales, Swansea. Gorff. 19-24 juli 1996. *Advance papers*. Swansea (1996): 205-215; See: Krstič, Branislav. *Indeks motiva narodnih pesama balkanskih Slovena*. Priredio Ilija Nikolič. Beograd: 1984; Penusliski, Kiril. *Makedonski narodni baladi*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1983; Popova, Fanija.*Makedonska narodna balada*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga,1990; Sazdov, Tome. *Usna narodna književnost.* Istorija na makedonskata književnost. Skopje: Detska radost, 1996

this paper focuses on, i.e. ballads concerning the relationships among family members, we may conclude that in many examples still current in the field in Macedonia the dominating motifs are: ballads about the evil mother-in-law, the walled-up wife, the faithful and unfaithful wife, the mother who killed her son, the incestuous marriage between a brother and sister, the daughter married in a faraway place, the sister killed by her brothers as the victim of a plot woven by their wives etc. The general conclusion is that, although located in the most immediate family circle, which can be observed as an image of a particular social class of Macedonian society, it becomes clear for most of these ballads when looked at from the inside that they have been created upon mythological and animistic representations which determine their origin. This is confirmed by the archaic motifs as well as the pagan character of the songs lacking Christian elements. Therefore, if these indicators can help us to locate the period of their creation, we would most certainly place them in the period of the early feudalism.

The following contemporary recording, which belongs to this group of family ballads, is a particularly interesting one. It was recorded in the Radovis area in 1982:

Neda drank nocturnal water
nocturnal water, on Sunday night
she drank and gulped down an evil snake
with three heads, with nine tails,
Neda's heart has grown up
but nobody believes her
her sisters-in-law start gossiping:
-Our Neda is with child!
Fair Neda heard them
and it made her sad
so she told her brothers:

-Oh my brothers, dear brothers,
take your sharp knives
take me to the village
tear out my damned heart
to see what am I.
Neda's brothers obeyed her,
and took her to the village
and tore out her damned heart.
They took out the evil snake
with three heads and nine tails,
whoever saw her, tears shed
whoever heard her, astonished remained. (T.b. 2.526, 2.893)

Even though in the example the snake functions as a typical transformed form for the realization of the execution on behalf of the brothers as a result of the family conflict, nevertheless one cannot deny its adverse meanings of demon and myth which are present in the civilisations of the world, beginning with the Far East, going as far as the mythologies of the American Indians from Mexico to Peru (the Aztecs, for instance, sacrificed them for the sake

of humankind). Before the advent of religion the snake is the first idol we come across at the start of a huge number of cosmogeneses. For the humans the snake was the symbol of the soul and libido »as one of the most important archetypes of the human soul.«[3] This is evident in the aforementioned example of a typical Macedonian family ballad relating to a conflict between the sister and her brothers with their wives, where the snake is the cause of death in order to pave the way for a rebirth.[4] Therefore, here we have a combination of two basic motifs: the initiation motif and the motif of the sacrifice of the young girl, which confirms the conclusion that »all snakes joined together form a unique primeval undivided multitude which constantly disentangles, disappears and is born again.«[5] The snake lives in its own latency. It is both the source and the generator of all phenomena, since »the snake as a symbol is closely connected with the idea of life.«[6]

In a great number of differences related to the motif of the snake, a modern example for the completion of the initiation act is the ballad about »the snake under the arm«, in which the phenomenon of the snake as a symbol seen from a diachronic perspective passes through all kinds of temptations and transformations of the initiation act to come to the point of complete maturity.

It is a very popular ballad in Macedonia. It is sung at different occasions during festivities and weddings. It is concise, with a small number of verses and it is without the usual tragic ending. The song begins in a dramatic way:

Izvikna Stojan, provikna,	Stojan cried out,
od visokata planina:	he yelled out from the mountain high:
-Zmija mi vleze v pazuva!	-A snake has got under my arm!

Afterwards Stojan calls out his parents (his mother and father) to help take out the snake. Then he calls out his sister. Their answer is:

the mother:	Bez sina možam,	Without a son, I can do
	bez raka ne možam...	Without a hand, I cannot..
the father:	Bez sina možam,	Without a son, I can do
	bez raka ne možam...	Without a hand, I cannot..
the sister:	Bez brata možam,	Without a brother, I can do
	bez raka ne možam...	Without a hand, I cannot..

His devoted wife puts her hand under his arm because:

bez raka možam,	Without a hand, I can do
bez Stojan ne možam.	but without Stojan I cannot.

She takes out »a pouch full of gold coins« or »countless riches« instead of a snake.

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[3] Bacherlard, Gaston. *La terre et les reveries du repos*. Paris (1965): 212.
[4] Girard, Raphaël. *Histoire culturelle des Maya* - Guiché. Paris (1954):269.
[5] Keyserling H. de. *Méditations sur-americaines*. Paris (1932):20.
[6] Réné, Guénon. *Symboles fondamentaux de la Science Sacrée*. Paris (1962):159.

In the ballad the snake is set within the existing framework, but even here we may identify an archetypal layer of initiation which emphasizes a new state of maturity in the relation of woman - snake - phallus. Although it does not have a tragic ending this Macedonian ballad, which is also found among other Slavic nations, includes typical ballad elements such as: tendency towards dramatization, antagonistic state in the exposition etc.

Folk ballads about family relations dated from the later period, i.e. the period of Turkish rule in Macedonia are frequently connected with the Turks. The Turkish reign of terror in the Balkans is expressed in a separate group of family folk ballads. It is more than obvious that social confrontations found their own place in family ballads and were expressed through the motifs of capturing and tormenting the local population. An example of this would be the ballad about the mother who leaves her own child in the forest, or the one who leaves it drifting down the river, but of course there are many more examples of ballads containing barbaric elements.

The ballad about the marriage between a brother and sister is a very popular one in this group. The incest is discovered by the enslaved mother. While rocking their baby she sings a song foreseeing the tragedy that is to happen. The child, as a symbol of innocence, simplicity and spontaneity without any ill will within itself, is put into a position which precedes the sin, i.e. the Edenic state which identifies the tragic solution of the conflict expressed in the following lines:

živi se pregrnale,	they embraced alive,
mrtvi se razdelile.	they separated dead.

In connection with the motif related to the child we like to point out that apart from the aforementioned example of a child conceived between the brother and sister, in Macedonia one can frequently hear the ballad about a barren woman and her longing for offspring. In it we may find a segment of the life of a woman in a patriarchal family, where she has an inferior status not only in relation to her husband but also towards his parents, brothers and sisters. She is an object for human reproduction and if she is barren she is the greatest evil for the home.

Macedonian ballads about family relations reveal different reasons for the infertility. Most commonly a woman became infertile because she had been cursed by her mother:

Rasti Jano, aman, Jano,	Grow up Jano, alas, Jano,
golema da staneš, Jano,	a big girl become, Jano,
od srce dete da nemaš,	Jano, alas, with no child
(T.b.3.080)	of your own, Jano...

In one of the modern versions recorded in v. Kuklis, Kratovo, in 1984 there is an interesting dialogue between the spouses:

Alas Netke dear, whenever I come home,
Alas Netke dear, you are always ill,
you cannot even move your head;
Alas Netke dear, don't we have
Alas Netke dear, a big house

Alas Netke dear, a spacious yard
cellars deep?
-But we do not have, Pavle dear,
a gift from God, Pavle dear,
a child of our own.
-I'll buy you, Netke dear,
a golden child, Netke dear,
a silver crib.. (T.b. 3.078)

In the example instead of a child the husband offers her a »golden child, a silver crib«. In another version the barren wife carries a stone on her chest for nine months.

In mythology the stone has acquired a special meaning. It was believed that there was a close connection between the soul and the stone. The story about Prometheus, the father of humankind, is a very famous one, according to which the stone has preserved the scent of the humans. This phenomenon of a human being given birth from a stone is also found in the Semitic legends, and according to some Christian legends, Christ, too, was given birth from a stone.[7] Stones and rocks are the personification of spiritual power and therefore they have become cult objects: newly-married couples pray for offspring, women rub against it to get pregnant (maybe from the ancestors) and sometimes they are afraid of them because they think of them as guardians of death, or they beg them to protect their home and people.[8] The stone, however, is believed to consist of three main characteristics: wetness, tangibility and fiery power. Wetness protects it from decay, tangibility makes it real, and the internal fire makes it solid.

The analyses of the stone elements impose some hypotheses that the ballads about the child of stone in fact have very deep roots in the mythological representations of the people from this region.

The formal side of the problem of infertility can be explained by the mythological beliefs in the stone, but the psychological side of the woman remains unsatisfied because she does not want to accept her destiny to have a child of stone (»a stone, a stone again« says the ballad«).

As regards the curse that appears in the ballad's exposition, its influence is a famous one in Slavic mythology since it leaves a trace up to the ninth generation. The curse appears as a product of the charm of words and actions, and the most dangerous ones are the curses invoked by parents. In this group of family ballads as a result of a parent's curse, children are often transformed into birds (a cuckoo, a falcon) stones etc.

In general, whatever types of ballads we analyse, or whatever motifs are present in their structure, the elements of family and personal relations of the patriarchal family members have an exceptionally important and primary role. These elements are not only characteristic of ballads about family relations, as one of the most widespread types of ballads in Macedonia today, but they are also characteristic of other types of ballads which consist of mythological, historical, social and other elements. Therefore, we can say that family and personal relations in ballads are the pillar of the whole genre of ballads, which is a special type of folk poetry. It results from the fact that whatever type of ballads we talk about they are primarily developed

[7] Jan Chevalier i Alain Cheerbant. *Riječnik simbola*. Zagreb (1983):246.
[8] Ibid, p. 248.

on the basis of personal and family conflicts, and only later on typological, historical and social motifs. It looks as if the Macedonian family was the one which inspired ballad creation most, and therefore a patriarchal family with many different incidents, relationships and antagonisms is in the core of the plot in this most widespread genre. Even though a certain number of ballads have been re-created, they have remained within the traditional means of expression, besides the fact that both the events and the characters already lack contemporary attributes.

A common characteristic of Macedonian folk ballads about personal and family relations is their presence in the field today as well as the great interest for their interpretation shown by individual interpreters, which could result from the fact that most of them are sung »at the table« during family gatherings, celebrations and weddings.

We cannot say however, that all the versions we have come across in this region have their origin here. We can say for certain that they contain the primary feeling of accepted characteristics which have been created in a latent way and have been preserved and passed on throughout the historical development up to the present times. In addition we can point out the presence of numerous elements present in the songs, which lead us up to the remnants of Slavic cosmogonic, animistic, Christian, ritual and other activities.

We also need to emphasize that in distinction from lyric love songs, ballads have not been accepted as the direct thoughts or feelings of the interpreter, mainly because the events and the characters are highly objective. Moreover, they cannot be identified with the interpreter probably because in the event he is presented in the third person, similarly to and sometimes identically to epic poetry.

The action in family ballads never follows a straight line, although it might make such an impression: that everything begins and ends, or that the action is directed towards another member of the family - the sister-in-law, the son-in-law etc. On the contrary, domestic folk ballads, particularly those relating to family relations, although rather shorter than epics, are extended and developed with a tragic development and plot and sometimes with an intensified dramatic quality with fatal consequences in the end - all of this in circumstances specific for the ballad. This shows us that the action is fast, the descriptions are short, there are no expanded episodes, and short introductions with the exception of those which were under the influence of epic poetry. Not only the subject-matter, but the actions of characters as well reveal the psychological position of the characters even though it is most commonly presented in an indirect way everywhere.

Illusions, animistic representations and the phenomenon of the supernatural occurrence are all parts of the folk ballads about family relations, but these are not the basic elements of the song's subject-matter. Therefore, while studying this type of ballad we must distinguish them from mythological songs, where the primary elements are interpersonal relations and their destiny.

In conclusion there is a relatively large number of popular (folk) ballads about family relations in the field in Macedonia today. The diversity of motifs is an impressive one. In this paper we have included only a small part of them. Unfortunately, a large number of them have not been sufficiently researched and explained.

Makedonske ljudske družinske balade danes

Povzetek

V okviru širšega spektra izstopajočih sestavnih delov in značilnosti balad (tako v smislu idej in vsebine kot tudi oblike ali sloga) v svojem članku, ki je bil objavljen v zborniku 26. mednarodne konference o baladah na valižanski univerzi v Swanseaju, poudarjam osnovne parametre in kriterije za klasifikacijo makedonskih domačih balad. V okviru tega referata sem prišla do ugotovitve, da ljudske balade iz kategorije domačih ali družinskih balad v Makedoniji še vedno prevladujejo. Pri analizi mikrostrukture omenjene skupine pa smo odkrili novo kategorijo balad, ki govorijo o odnosih med družinskimi člani v kontekstu družinske skupnosti, ki je v Makedoniji obstajala skoraj do sredine tega stoletja.

Pričujoči referat obravnava teme ljudskih balad, ki govorijo o družinskih odnosih med možem in svakinjo (med taščo in snaho, med moževimi sestrami in svakinjo) ter med možem in ženo (varanje z usodnimi posledicami). Tako sklop domačih balad tematsko dopolnjujeta ti dve skupini, pri tem pa smo se izognili subjektivnemu pristopu.

Osnovni sestavni deli jedra balade (motiv, način reševanja konflikta in razrešitev), ki kot glavni dejavniki pripeljejo balado do logične razrešitve, so jasno razpoznavni v številnih primerih, ki sem jih posnela na trak med svojim terenskim delom v zadnjih tridesetih letih.

The Contemporary Position of the Ballads about the Walled-up Wife in Macedonian Folklore

Blaže Petrovski

The ballad about »Manol the master builder« and his wife walled up in the foundations of a bridge or a building is one of the most widespread and favourite Macedonian folk songs. This motif is well known in folklore among the Balkan peoples; it is also widespread in folklore throughout the world; we find it both in poetry and in prose.[1] The motif was created by people's primitive belief that an edifice could not be built unless a human being was sacrificed, i.e. walled up in its foundations. If the sacrifice was made in this way the victim would be transformed into a ghostly defender and protect the edifice from collapsing. As a matter of fact this was how the builder provided 'an owner', 'a master', 'a goodman' or 'a spectre' for his construction. However, this belief has changed over time. Instead of sacrificing humans, people started sacrificing domestic animals such as lambs, cocks etc. In Macedonia the spectre, the goodman and the owner exist in the belief that houses are protected by »domestic« snakes (usually Aesculapius' snake). Kuzman Sapkarev wrote that »every house had a spectre - a house protector. That was Aesculapius' snake, also called 'a householder'. People say: shame on the one who kills it.«[2] Moreover, it was believed that this type of snake protected the home, the property and the family. If anybody killed one the whole family would die.

People's belief in the necessity of placing a live human being into the foundations of a new construction brought up a number of creative inspirations in many songs throughout the Balkan region.[3] They are acknowledged by the compilers from the nineteenth and the twentieth

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[1] *Михаил Арнаудов, Вградена невеста, »Сборник за народни умотворения наука и книжнина, кн. XXXIV, София, 1920, 247 - 510; – »Студии върху българските обреди и легенди«, т. II, София, 1972, 221 - 460; Сп. Петър Динеков, Български фолклор, Пъва част (Второ издание), София, 1972, 407 - 411; С. Тројановић, Главни српски жртвени обичаји, »Српски етнографски зборник«,* XVII, *Београд*, 1911, 58; Zmaga Kumer, Vsebina in pomen plesne igre most na slovenskem, *»Рад IX-ог конгреса Савеза фолклориста Југославије у Мостару и Требињу, Сарајево,* 1963, 470 - 479; Ghizela Suliteanu, Les caractéristiques musicales de la ballade »Mesterul Manole«. »Rad XV kongresa Saveza udruženja folklorista Jugoslavije«, Sarajevo, 1971, 213 - 228; Stavro Skendi, Albanian and South Slavic Oral Epic Poetry, Philadelphia, 1954, 50 ff; 1954, 50 ff; *Петар Скок, Из балканске компаративне литературе. Румунске паралеле »Зидању Скадра«, »Гласник скопског научног друштва«, кн. V, Скопље, 1929, 221 -241;* Sava Janković, Karakteristika vlaških balada iz Srbije i Bugarske, *»Македонски фолклор, II, бр.* 3 - 4, Skopje, 1969 , 116 ¤ 416; Lajos Vargyas, Researches into the Mediaeval History of Folk Ballad, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1967, s. 173-233: Chapter III: The Origin of the »Walled-up Wife«, Georgios A. Megas, Die Ballade von der Arta-Brücke. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung, Thessaloniki 1976.

[2] К.А. *Шапкаревъ, Съборникъ отъ български народни умотворения, кн. VIII и IX, София, 1892, 52. Сп. Марко К. Цепенков, Македонски народни умотворби во десет книги, Преданија, книга седма, Скопје,* 1972, 140–141.

[3] Branislav Krštič , Indeks motiva narodnih pesama balkanskih Slovena. Priredio Ilija Nikolič , Beograd 1984, str. 603.
List of versions:

century. The time distance of a century and a half allows us to follow and discover the natural processes, the formation and changes of the versions, the process of historical changes and localization, the creative interpretation, both in a positive and a negative sense, the attachment to or the departure from some rituals, the social functions and so on. Furthermore, for these undertakings we also need to analyse examples from Macedonian folklore, since its code semantics is closely connected with the previous poetic tradition. However, we must not forget the fact that folklore originates, lives, prevails, develops and changes within the framework of tradition. In order to perceive the subsequent developing phases as well as other developing processes, we need to concentrate briefly on both the old and the new material.

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1. *»Sид ми sидале девет мајстори«, забележана во Струга, (Миладиновци, »Зборник 1861 - 1961«, 140 - 141, види и п. 98);*
2. *»Бре Маноил Маноил Мајстор« (с. Просеник, Серско), (Македонски народни песни. Собрани од Стефан И.Верковиќ. Редакција и предговор Кирил Пенушлиски, Скопје, 1961, п. 7);*
3. *»Зис ми зиздае девет мајстори« (од Галичник), С. И. Ястребовъ. Обычаи и песни турецкихъ сербовъ, С. Петервургъ, 1886, 474.*
4. *»Зис ми зиздае девет мајстори« (с. Лазарополе), Зборникъ отъ старо-народни песни обичаи в Дебъ рско и Кичевско (Западна Македони). Сбралъ и издава Васил Икономовъ, София, 1893, п. 175.*
5. *Зид ми зидале девет мајстори, Крушево, Зборникц отъ македонски български народни песни . Събрал Наумъ К Таховъ . Първо издание. София, 1895, 106.*
6. *»Троjца браќа кале запраиле«, (с. Куново, Гостиварско), М. Арнавдов, цит. дело, 304.*
7. *»А што беше Данаил мајсторче« (с. Рогачево Тетовско), М. Арнавдов, цит. дело, 306.*
8. *»Марко мајсторче три куче гради« (с. Отуне, Тетовско), М. Арнавдов, цит. дело, 344.*
9. *»Струма невеста« (с. Пападишта, Велешко), Македонски народни песни. Текст и меодии записал Коста Църнушанов, София, 1956, п. 51.*
10. *»Мајсор Манол »к'нлја граде«, (с. Липуш, Дојранско - раскажана), М. Арнаудов, цит. дело, 344.*
11. *»Марко мајсторче три куче гради« (с. Отуне, Тетовско), М. Арнавдов, цит. дело, 344.*
12. *»Единаjсет браќа, с мајстор Манол«, (с. Бајракли-Џумаја, раскажана), Книжици за прочит, Солун, 1891, кн. VIII - X, 211, забележал Н. А.Начов, види и кај М. Арнадтов, цит. дело, 310.*
13. *Деветина братја мајстори…« (Серско раскажана), Книжици за прочит, Солун, 1891, кн. VIII - X, 212, забележал Н. А. Начов, види и кај М. Арнадтов, цит. дело, 310.*
14. *»Троjца братја мајстори…« (с. Лешко, Горноџумејско), Хр. П. Стоилов, Пер. спис. кн. LXIII, 1902, 185. М. Арнадтов, цит. дело, 308.*
15. *»Мори оj Срумо, Срумо ле нивјасто«, (с. Гајтаниново Неврокопско), Книжици за прочит, Солун, 1891, кн. VIII - X, 208, М. Арнадтов, цит. дело, 308.*
16. *»Собрал е Митре триста мајстори«, (с. Куманичево, Костурско), Книжици за прочит, Солун, 1891, кн. VIII - X, 210, М. Арнадтов, цит. дело, 302.*
17. *Вепк. види 100.*
18. *Sид ми сидале девет мајстори, Архивски материјал во Институтот за фолклор - Скопје, маг. л. 921 (рег. бр. 15751). Забележал Милан и Лазар Ристески во Томино Село -Пореч е. Пееле Ѓувеза Велјаноска, Роска Аврамоска и Елена Симоска.*
19. *Трујцата братја дољгери, (Струмичко), Архив на Институтот за фолклор, маг. лента бр. 1033, рег. бр. 1033, сн. Трајан Божинов - 1969 год., пее Трајко Цветанов, 96 (5+3) стиха.*
20. *»Мос ми зидаја трујца браќа«, (Струмичко), Архив на Институтот за фолклор, маг. лента бр. 2121, рег. бр. 29674, сн. Иван Котев - 1973 год., пее Илинка Апостолсова род. Ново Село 1930 год. 72 стиха (5+3) .*
21. *Мост ми sиздаа девет мајстори, АИФ м. л. бр. 3235, сн. Татјана Каличанин во Маниса - Турција - 1968 год., пее Зекир Садик род. 1954 год. во с. Требиште. Песната ја научил од грамофонска плоча .*
22. *Мост ми зидале девет мајстори, АИФ м. л. бр. 3237, сн. Татјана Каличанин во Маниса - Турција - 1968 год., пее Амет Шкртоски род. во с. Мелница, Велешко 1947 год., преселен во Турција 1968 год. Песната ја научил од Радио.*
23. *Мост ми sидаја девет мајстори, сн. Татјана Каличанин во с. Куклиш, Струмичко, 1984 год., пее Ценка Филова род. во с. Куклиш, Струмичко, 1955 год. Песната ја научила од Радио.*

The analysis of the more essential elements given by the versions of this poetic motif indicates that it follows folklore's natural processes as a live poetic matter without schematization and models given beforehand once and for all. Hence, it is natural that the name of the master builder changes. He can be named Mitre, Manole, Marko, Danail, Pavle, Ivanco (Vanco) and so on, and his wife Struma, Strumnica, Markovica or Ivanka, Lozena in the modern recordings.

The master builder never works alone. He is the leader of a group of nine builders, or »three hundred builders, and two hundred apprentices«, and in some versions the brothers Stojco, Stojanco and Pavle. The aforementioned numbers are typical of folk poetry. However, the fact that their work stagnates because of the existence of the unknown force is significant for all songs. They build during daytime but at nightfall something wrecks what they have already built.

Having found the building in ruins the builders were willing to 'wager', to 'give their word' and wall up one of their wives in the foundations, thinking that this would protect the building. This suggestion is not always made by the master builder. In some ballads the master builder 'dreams a dream', in others it is the dream of the youngest builder (Strumica) and so on. The master builder in the ballad from Tetovo dreams early on Sunday, and the one from Prilep (written down by Cepenkov) sees a 'black bird' in his dream. The bird tells him that until he decides to wall up the wife of his younger brother, the foundations will keep on collapsing. According to the song from v. Kunovo, Gostivar:

дорчоЇЇ в ЇЇлЇ нЇ ЇуЇЇЇЇ,	until you wall up a (wo)man in the fort,
ваше кале, кале не будуат.	your fort will not be a fort.[4]

It is typical for all versions that the first wife who brings the lunch is the one they will wall up in the foundations of the new structure. The wife is not aware of what is going to happen to her. The only exception, however, is the song from v. Rogacevo, Tetovo, where the wife consents to be walled up:

Окем, окем и ја како некем!	I want to, I want to, why not!
лице деостаис од бела мегдана,	just do not cover my face
кад ке врви све белија народ,	so when people pass by
да ми гледа мое бело лице,	they can look at my fair face,
де е лјуба лице заковано,	and kiss my walled-up face,
заковано, виде зазидано...[5]	my nailed face, my walled-up.[6]..

In all ballads the arrangement made by the builders - not to tell their wives - is respected only by the master builder, while the others tell their wives about the terrible decision. In order to keep his word but at the same time to save his wife's life, the master builder gives his wife too many chores for the next morning so that she would not be the first to come at the site. This is what Mitre the master builder tells his wife:

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[4] Ver. 6.
[5] Ver. 6.
[6] Ver. 7.

ti da mi ŝtaneš utre najrano,	get up early tomorrow,
da izm'lziš devet mi kravi	and milk nine cows
da mi zbuvaš do devet m'tki,	make some cheese,
da mi smetiš ramni dvorovi,	clean the yard,
da mi isučiš devet kornici,	bake nine pies,
setne da kreneš ručok na glava	put the lunch on your head,
ručok na glava dete na r'ci...	the lunch on your head,
	the baby in your arms...[7]

However, in the contemporary recording of the song »The three brother builders« this part is omitted. The singer has simply skipped it. In the other versions some new exciting moments appear. In general, the informed wives always refuse to bring lunch, making an excuse well prepared in advance. For example, in the song from v. Kunovo, Gostivar, the sisters-in-law would think of the following excuse:

Pa si ŝtana poŝtara jatrva:	The older sister-in-law got up:
-Tatko bolen, odam da go vidam!	-My father is ill, I want to see him!
Pa si ŝtana srednata jatrva:	The middle sister-in-law got up:
-Majka bolna mi e na umiranje,	-My mother is ill, she's going to die
i ja sakam d'odam da ja vidam!	I'd like to go and see her, too![8]

In this way, the singer intensifies the emotion on one hand, and on the other he increases the tragic element. All versions, of course, do not have such details. But when the master builder sees his wife at the site he is affected by strong feelings which bring him to despair. In a number of versions we also find different creative forms. Some of them say »he fell down on the ground and started to cry« (Kostur), others »When the time came he started to cry« (Struga) or »he looked down and started to cry« (Galičnik). In this last song the master builder is even being laughed at by his friends.

There is a whole sequence of tragic moments recorded in the material taken from the Archive of the Institute of Folklore in Skopje. In a version from Strumica we find the episode with the ring: the bride looks at her husband and asks him why he is worried. Then he tells her that his ring has fallen down into the foundations. She goes down to look for it while the builders wall her in.

I si ja dzida Manolja maŝtor,	Manol the master has walled up
mlada Angelina do polovina, (2)	half of his young Angelina, (2)
mlada Angelina prŝten si tera,	young Angelina looks for the ring,
prŝten si tera, krehu se nasmeva...	looks for the ring and smiles...[9]

In most of the songs the process of building is fast and cruel and the builders almost never pay attention to the crying or the plea made by the bride. In some songs the builders

[7] Ver. 16.
[8] Ver. 6.
[9] Ver. 19.

throw huge rocks on top of her, in others »several are holding her, while the rest are building« and all this takes place in front of the eyes and with the hands of her closest man in the family. In the beginning the wife thinks that the builders are joking, which is why the song goes »she looks for the ring and smiles«. But when she is told that she is to be sacrificed and walled up so that the structure can hold she »starts crying«, she protests »don't do this shameful act« or she curses: »Whenever a man crosses this bridge, may the bridge shake in the way I am now shaking for my son Milos« (a prose record by Marko Cepenkov). In the ballad from v. Kunovo, Gostivar, the curse is directed towards her husband: »I pray to God, kill my goodman, he is not worth living«, while in the modern recording from Strumica it is the bride's mother who curses him: »Ivan, my son-in-law, Ivan, may nothing good happen in your youth«.

The bride's last wish is directed to the builders. She begs them to leave her right arm and breast free so that she can feed her child:

Nel puščite mi desnava roka,	Please leave my right arm,
desnava roka, desna pazuva,	my right arm, my right breast,
da go nadoja moškoto dete.	to feed my son.[10]

In two contemporary versions from Strumica the motif is transformed. It does not follow the aforementioned scene, but instead, the master builder Vanco (i.e. Pavle) takes his dagger from his belt and cuts her throat. Afterwards, the three brothers put her head into the foundations of the bridge.

The walled-up human being in the foundations of a building is not the only way people created spectres in Macedonian folklore. Another one is the walled-up shadow of a human being. People believe that the person whose shadow has been measured and walled-up will die. Verkovic recorded the song where although the actual measuring was not given (it is understood), as soon as Struma the bride came home, she got sick and died.

If in parallel we analyse the old and the new material we can conclude that the poetic motif still prevails in the field; it does not interrupt the older poetic system, nor does it diverge from it. At the Institute of Folklore in Skopje there are many such songs and prose texts. For example, in the recording of the song »Rada's bridge« from Kratovo, the 82 year old Vita Damceva says that the builders measured Rada's shadow, then they walled her up and Rada died. But in the contemporary recording also from Kratovo we find this motif transformed into prose. This process has happened naturally and regularly in Macedonian folklore.

The archival recording »The three brother builders« receives a historical connotation. The czar threatens to kill the builders, unless they finish the construction by the deadline:

Lično car jod Carigrad	I, the Czar from Constantinople
strogo si zapoved izdava	give the firm orders
ako se mosto ne svrše	if the bridge is not finished
glavite ke vi odreza	I will chop off your heads
na mosto ke gi zakača.	and put them on the bridge.[11]

[10] Ver. 4.

[11] Ver. 19.

In the archival recording: »A wall was built by nine builders« almost nothing is left from the basic motif. What remained is the fact that nine builders built the wall - »they were building it during daytime, and at nightfall it collapsed«. This laborious process includes the young girl Lozana. She makes lunch for them but and when they start building she hands over silt and rocks. The rest of the plot is realized in a different way: a Turkish watchman passes by and makes a remark that it does not suit Lozana »to hand over mud«, she should become a Turkish lady instead. Lozana answers: »being a Turkish watchman doesn't suit you either, you should be a village cowherd instead.«

There are many such examples and documents. However, the given space does not allow us to analyse all the elements and details. Therefore, we will just point out that the question of the contemporary position of the ballad about the *walled-up wife* is completely realized in poetry, too. Apart from that, we can conclude that today, only a small part of the different versions related to this motif can be compared with the records from the past. The signs of withering are more than evident. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that singers tend to shorten the song; many of them cannot sing the song to its end. The shortening itself influences the sphere of the composition. The changes in the composition usually occur at the beginning and the end of the songs; sometimes it affects both. The so-called epic fullness, which is realized through descriptions, repetitions, slowness - is not sufficiently present.

The archaic language elements, too, yield to contemporary ones.

In conclusion, having in mind the fact that Macedonian ballads have passed and are still passing through all kinds of different processes, I would like to point out that scholars in future should follow and study these processes.

Blaže Petrovski

Sodobni položaj balad o Zazidani nevesti/ ženi v makedonski folklori

Povzetek

Balada o nevesti, zazidani v temelje hiše ali mostu, ki je v folklori splošno znana pod naslovom *Stavbni mojster Manol*, je še vedno ena najbolj razširjenih in najbolj priljubljenih makedonskih ljudskih pesmi. Motiv je precej priljubljen ne le v folklori balkanskih narodov, temveč po vsem svetu. Najdemo ga tako v poeziji kot v prozi. Pred približno dvajsetimi leti sem imel priložnost, da sem o tem govoril na konferenci. Vendar je bilo odtlej posnetih več novih primerov (trakovi št.: 921, 1033, 1433, 1434, 2121 itn. – arhiv Folklornega inštituta, Skopje), ki jih hranijo na Folklornem inštitutu v Skopju.

Primerjava med starimi in novimi posnetki pokaže, da je na tem področju še vedno navzoč poetski motiv, prav tako se je ohranila kontinuiteta starega pesniškega sistema. Vendar pa imajo pevci na novih posnetkih drugačen odnos do dogovora med stavbeniki, da o njihovem početju ne povejo svojim ženam. Danes se namreč iz tega norčujejo. Prav tako se motiv ponavlja v manjšem obsegu in epska širina je manjša, saj številni pevci (še zlasti pevci mlajše generacije) poznajo le začetek pesmi in je ne pojejo do konca.

»You Make Me Dizzy Miss Lizzie«: Elizabeth Stewart's Up-tempo Traditional Ballads

Thomas A. McKean

Naturally, any folklorist goes into the field with a notion of what he or she wants to find and therefore neglects a good deal of what is there and sometimes what is most important to the contributors themselves. Contributors are often just as geared up for a certain kind of material as the fieldworker, especially in a patch as well worked over as the north-east of Scotland where they know what is wanted. After a few interviews, with an open mind, one soon learns that the predominant form of traditional song in these parts is country and western. This is equally true for the Highlands and Lowland areas; traditional culture in Scotland is a sponge for ideas and styles and this music is just the latest influence in a long line of tradition which has drawn on classic ballads, broadsides, country and western and rock and roll. In fact, hearts-on-the-sleeve country and western music perhaps comes closest to the functional, expressive local song-making tradition in Gaelic Scotland as any modern music. Little wonder, then, that it is the universal choice from Shetland to Shettleston. Rural Aberdeenshire in the 1950s was no exception, and the influence of various genres of new music was felt throughout the area.

Elizabeth Stewart

Elizabeth Stewart was born in the Aberdeenshire village of Fetterangus in 1939. She is a traveller, one of Scotland's gypsy people, and although she has never been nomadic on the road, and is firmly settled, she identifies herself first and foremost as a traveller. In a way this is analogous to the Scot in Cape Breton, she is home, but also harks back to an ancestral ethnic past, a past with living influence, but nonetheless past. Elizabeth's traveller background means that, from her own perspective, she will never be completely integrated. This has both positive and negative facets: she is always proud to be a traveller, but sometimes because people appreciate the cultural riches of her tradition, and sometimes in defiance to those who do not. Ethnic identity is, in part, shaped in reaction to the definitions of others.

Being a niece of the great Lucy Stewart and daughter of Jean Stewart the pianist, accordionist and band leader, she is naturally musical. Almost all of her traditional songs were learned from her family's repertoire, some by osmosis, the way many tradition-bearers learn, but many by dint of careful transcribing and learning as well. She also has a fine collection of ballad and song books.

This is only part of the story, however, for the Stewarts are still renowned throughout Aberdeenshire for their musicality: the family genealogy is littered with pipers, pipe-majors, fiddlers, accordionists, singers and piano players. Jean Stewart, Elizabeth's mother, was one

of the most famous musicians and band leaders of her day, with diplomas from the Royal Academy of Music in London. Her father was a fiddler and piper who taught her to read music at an early age. Elizabeth herself started to learn the piano when she was just four years old when her aunt Lucy taught her two tunes: 'Your Endearing Young Charms' and 'My Aul Wife an Your Aul Wife':

My aul wife an your aul wife, wint oot tae gaither eggs, said my aul wife tae your aul man, there's twa atween your legs.[1] (Surely Lucy didn't teach you that, I said. »Dinna be sae sure,« said Elizabeth.)[2] She loved bagpipe music and by age five, she says, »the most difficult bagpipe tune wisnae enough for me!« At nine years old, she was playing in her mother's dance band, and had the police after her for being underage in a public house, but they liked her mother so much that she went unreported. By age 12 she was hailed in the papers as »The 2nd Winifred Atwell« (with whom she exchanged several letters). All through her teens and into her twenties, Elizabeth continued to play in her mother's band, but in 1962 Jean died, and a few years later she started up her own band. She played in hotels and clubs around Aberdeenshire until the 1980s when the shock of her aunt Lucy's and her brother Robert's deaths in 1983 and 1985 lead her to withdraw from public performance.

Throughout this period, Elizabeth played Scottish dance music, the 'up-tempoed' ballads that are the subject of this paper and rock 'n' roll, as well as some jazz and blues material. She had a regular gig at the Beach House Hotel in New Aberdour. A week before this conference, she returned to the Hotel, then up for sale, and recalled, »*I've never been so happy in all o my life as when I was playin in there. I've had more fun there than I've had in ma life.«

Influences

Even before the Second World War, music in the north-east of Scotland was subject to a wide range of outside influences: the gramophone and the radio had brought American Jazz, ragtime, swing, country and western, Broadway melodies and of course music hall sounds and aesthetics to the area.

Even, at the turn of the century, as the Greig Duncan Collection of 1904-1910 shows, people did not sing exclusively ballads. They sang all manner of songs, leavening the doom and gloom of many of the ballads with little gems such as 'The Russian Jew'.[3] Into this great mixture of traditions came the new twentieth century sounds and Elizabeth was captivated.

[1] Circumstances have meant that I cannot give transcriptions of melodies in this paper. For the musical examples referred to, please see the expanded version of this paper in the Autumn 1998 edition of Northern Scotland.

[2] Quotations are drawn from a tape recording of Elizabeth Stewart made at Sutton Bonninton (23.4.95) and a telephone conversation in July 1997. Extracts from tapes are verbatim, though ellipses are used when speech has been edited and square brackets [ ] indicate a word added for clarity. Brackets with italics are editorial notes, or gestures and actions, e.g. [*laughs*]. I have used fairly standard Scots spelling and apostrophes only where necessary.

[3] This is a curious title for rural Aberdeenshire, and a very misleading one. The original song is a macaronic 1890s music hall composition, poking fun at highlanders by parodying Highland English (as do several songs in the Greig-Duncan collection). That song features the last line, »Says I, 'Ciamar a tha sibh an diugh?'«, Gaelic for »Says I, 'How are you today?'«). In 'The Russian Jew', this line has transformed into 'Says here come a Russian Jew'. The first field recording of this was made in the late fifties by Kenneth Goldstein, who told me in 1995 about hearing it for the first time from Elizabeth, her sister Jane and her aunt Lucy: »*They had probably never even seen a Jew before, and here am I a Russian Jew from New York recording this song from Aberdeenshire travellers!« (Quotes preceded by an asterisk were noted down at the time. They are as close to verbatim as I could manage.)

Adaptation

While playing music for the Foxtrots, Quick-steps, Tangos, Two-steps and the more indigenous Eight-some Reel, the Gay Gordons and Waltzes, Elizabeth began to hanker after her first love, the ballads and songs of her aunt Lucy's tradition. In those days, before the 'folk music revival' of the last thirty or forty years, there were no venues and no commercial audience for traditional music. So Elizabeth hit on the clever solution of adapting Lucy's songs to the new environment:

Elizabeth Stewart: I liked the songs so much, 'at's whit it wis. Sometimes in between playin the dances, I wid, eh, tickle the ivories, an...'en [i.e. then] I jist decided tae pit it intae beat an I could sing it an they could dance till't [i.e. to it].

Thomas McKean: So people in the dance halls danced to it.

ES: Aye, mhm. It wis good. I did a lot o Lucy's songs like 'at [i.e. that].

In fact, she had been doing this for herself for years, but now she started to do them in public, even singing the words at the new tempos. Ancient ballads became Quick-steps and Fox-trots, songs became Circassian Circles and Grand Chains. Elizabeth got her traditional songs, and the dancers got their popular dances of the day. One of her favourite's was Lucy's song, 'The little ball of yarn': »It wis one fine day in May, I took a walk one day, down by my grandfather's farm.... 'At made a terrific quick-step [laughs], it really did.« [plays piano] Suddenly, this and much older ballads and songs were made relevant to today's audiences, unbeknownst to them:

ES: No, no, no [laughs]. No, no. I think half o them wis, eh, well ye ken fit like [i.e. how it is] at a dance, they'd haen a good bucket in, an so they were na carin; they were jist enjoyin the dancin [laughs].

TM: Thinkin about their quinies [i.e. girls] (ES: Aye, 'at's right [laughs]) under their oxters [i.e. arms].

ES: Aye.

Elizabeth did this to a lot of Lucy's songs: 'The Jolly Beggar', 'The Keach in the Creel', both Child ballads, and 'The Bonnie Lass o Fyvie', all became quick-steps and foxtrots, 'McPherson's Rant' became a two-step, the 'Barnyards o Delgatie', 'All Around by Heart', 'The Russian Jew' and 'Twa Recruitin Sergeants' all became the Gay Gordons couples dance. Elizabeth had created a new facet for her tradition, brilliantly adapting it to a modern use. Traditions are remarkably resilient in the extent to which they can adapt to new conditions and still retain identifying characteristics. It is perhaps this resilience that defines something as traditional. 'The Jolly Beggar' as Lucy Stewart sang it can be found on K. S. Goldstein's 1959 album of her Child ballads.[4] »She took her time aboot it, gettin auler, ye see.« For her version, Elizabeth introduced a rhythmic piano accompaniment, making manifest the auda-

[4] Lucy Stewart, Traditional Singer from Aberdeenshire. Recorded and edited by Kenneth S. Goldstein in 1959. Folkways FG 3519, reissued by Greentrax CTRAX 031).

cious character of the beggar man. (This recording can be found on North East Tradition 1, see the bibliography.)

Nowadays, you would be hard pressed to find a band playing traditional music that does not introduce a measure of this kind of rhythmic and harmonic modernization. The skiffle bands and 1960s folk rock bands were trying similar innovations, though usually without Elizabeth's understanding and respect for the songs and their interpretation, which is drawn from within. It is interesting to note the movement of outsider aficionados like the New Lost City Ramblers towards old-fashioned, 'authentic' tradition, concurrent with that of insiders, like Elizabeth, towards a more modern, contemporary sound. The two progressions have opposite starting points, and opposite goals, but the same fundamental resources.

A pervasive influence

Some songs were given a more bluesy treatment. One of these has had effects well beyond the north-east of Scotland. Many will be familiar with the folk standard, 'Song of the fish gutters' ('Come a ye fisher lassies'), by Ewan McColl, never one to shy away from creating traditional songs. »Then, again, the tune o that...wis taken fae a tune 'at Lucy sung,« 'Up amon the heather on the hill o Bennachie', a favourite song of the whole Stewart family.

ES: Now again, I up-tempoed that, in ma mother's band, ye see? An eh, that's fit [i.e. what] I wis playin fin Ewan McColl, that's how I wis playin it, you know quick, jazzed up, when Ewan McColl an Peggy Seeger heard it.

McColl used the song in the 1961 BBC program Singing the Fishing, one of his radio ballads, in which he tried to tell the story of Britain's working people through a mixture of new and traditional songs, field recordings and scripted dialogue. It was performed for the radio program by Elizabeth and her sister Jane. It is this version of the tune, with this tempo and rhythm, that has now become a folk standard sung all over Britain and beyond, and assumed by most to be traditional. That wasn't the end of its evolution, however, Stewart also used it as a quick-step, so the musical innovation shown in that commercially commissioned song came from within the tradition. New material was grafted on to old, its resilience and adaptability drawing it into the tradition where it has put down new roots.

From private to public identity

Music and song forms the major link between Elizabeth Stewart's private and public selves. Necessity leads to invention, and from the base of her family tradition she has continuously adapted and presented her music for different types of commercial consumption, in the process creating one of her public personae. Beginning with the Fetterangus Strathspey and Reel Society, followed by the years in various dance bands, including rock 'n' roll bands in the 1970s, she forged a reputation throughout the north-east for musicianship and entertainment. Tracing the two routes that define Stewart's identity – starting from the public's perspective and from her own perspective – one is led to very different conclusions:

Public image – – – – – – – –> Private identity
Public
viewpoint: Rock an Roll/ –> Dance bands –> Music at home/ –> Housewife
club music musical family and mother

Stewart's Rock an Roll/ –> Dance bands –> Music at home/ –> Traveller
viewpoint: club music musical family

From the public's standpoint, the progression leads from an identity as a public performer to a domestic role as the basis for her tradition. From her own perspective, a switch takes place at the last stage and her identity is grounded in her traveller heritage. The songs, ballads, riddles and stories of her repertoire have often been adapted to the needs of commerce, but Stewart has a fundamental belief in their truth and immortality, qualities which form the foundation for her public identity as an entertainer. (The same sort of chart could be made of her public role as an antiques dealer.)

Last leaves and the informed informant

In recent years, Stewart has backed away from the up-tempo versions of her material, preferring the more traditional style of her aunt Lucy. In fact, when I try to get her to sing these versions at a public concert, she demurs, feeling, I think, that they are less serious, and certainly not of interest to the serious ballad aficionado – au contraire. Also, perhaps, the need to preserve them in this way is no longer there: she no longer plays in a dance band, she can sing anything she wants at home and if she does sing in public, what is usually wanted is the straightforward traditional version.

For decades, even centuries, folklorists in Scotland have rushed to record the 'last leaves'[5] of the great north-east ballad tradition. For many years, folklorists recorded the Stewarts of Fetterangus, overlooking, in publication anyway, their astonishing expertise in the realms of blues and country music in favour of their ancient ballad tradition. Informants are often just as focused on the same material, especially in a patch as well worked over as the north-east where they know 'what is wanted'.

In an article in Folklore, Bill Nicolaisen has pointed out that in an antiquarian desire to glean from the past, many collectors have neglected the harvest that surround them in the present (1995:71-76). Elizabeth Stewart's ability and creativity and range of repertoire are timely reminders of the necessity to collect and assess whatever is thrown at you as a field-worker. Here is an outstanding tradition bearer, a representative of an ancient body of lore, who is taking the steps necessary to adapt her tradition to modern times. Through this process, she fulfils and reconciles the need for old and new within herself, avoiding the fragmentation, or resignation sometimes found when a person's world view is out of step with changing times.

[5] The term was used by Gavin Greig and Alexander Keith in their 1925 book Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs (Aberdeen: The Buchan Field Club).

Evolving tradition

In the course of my collecting work in Aberdeenshire, I have come across many people creating within the tradition, song and tune makers, but only a few individuals, apart from the bands, who try to synthesize the old and the new in this way. In the long run, for the sake of the material, the best tradition bearers may be the creators, otherwise material often degenerates[6] as singers forget words, or no longer know their meanings. On the other hand, regardless of gradual changes to a ballad text, a singer can still put it across with conviction and power. To me, this shows the primacy of the process over the content; it is this and not the product which makes it traditional. And it is perhaps the process, explored in partnership with living singers and tradition bearers, which demands more study.

In recent years, Elizabeth has said to me many times that she is giving up music: she has sold her piano, no longer plays her accordion, no longer gives music lessons. How someone who has made music her life, and for whom it has on many occasions been a salvation, can give up music is beyond me. I am constantly after her to buy a piano, for her own sake and indeed for our sake as well.

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[6] I know this is a value-loaded word, but I use it in referring to a singer who simply forgets rather than reworks a song, although even this often yields interesting results.

»You Make Me Dizzy Miss Lizzie«: Rock'n'roll balade Elizabeth Stewart

Povzetek

Elizabeth Stewart je zrasla ob pesmih in glasbi, ki se je prenašala iz roda v rod nadarjenih nadaljevalcev izročila. Hkrati je bila tipična najstnica petdesetih let tega stoletja. Privlačili so jo novi ritmi in slogi, ki so prihajali iz Amerike. Prek gramofonskih plošč in radia so jazz, blues in rock'n'roll vplivali na njeno petje. Tako je obdržala svoje tradicionalne korenine ter obenem zadostila svoji potrebi po novih ritmih in zahtevam plesnega občinstva.

Pri proučevanju »ostankov« velike baladne tradicije severovzhodne Škotske so mnogi folkloristi spregledali razvoj tega izročila. To, kar dejansko opredeljuje tradicijo, so ustvarjalci in proces sprememb.

TRACES OF THE ETHNIC BALLADS / ODSEVI ETNIČNEGA V BALADI

Kolo Pobelelo pole / Dance »Pobelelo pole«
(Fotoarhiv GNI - 27.12.1981 / Photoarchives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology)

Ethnic Differences in Ballads from Bela krajina

Marko Terseglav

Introduction: Bela krajina lies in the south-east of Slovenia. In the south it extends as far as the river Kolpa, which has represented the ethnic border between Slovenians and Croats since the 13th century, but since 1991 has formed the greater part of the state border. Currently Bela krajina has about twenty-five thousand inhabitants, including one thousand Serbs whose ancestors settled here in the 16th century when fleeing before Turks from Bosnia and Lika. The descendants of the Orthodox Uskoks are today concentrated at Bojanci, Miliči, Paunoviči, and at Marindol. In the 16th and the 17th centuries Croatian - Catholic fugitives also sought refuge in Bela krajina, but they have long since become assimilated within the Slovenian environment. Being Catholic, the Croatian fugitives found it easier to get married into Slovenian families and in this way the assimilation was quicker and stronger. Orthodox Serbs, on the other hand, were marrying inside the Orthodox community right up to the year 1945 and have therefore to this day preserved their cultural identity and tradition. It is the folk songs of the Serbs from Bela krajina which are the topic of our analysis in this paper.

Some examples of the ballad poetry of Serbs and of Slovenians in Bela krajina.

Differences with regard to content: In view of the commonly known international and more narrowly South-Slavic ballad motifs appearing among both nations it would clearly be easier to speak about similarities, as similarities in content and motifs are certainly more frequent than differences. But it is the differences where the two nations were becoming aware of the specific features of their own respective cultures. But these differences were not merely of a »cosmetic« nature: they pervade the contents and therefore require attention. Here slightly less consideration is given to linguistic differences as these are sufficiently clear through the fact that two distinct Slavic languages are involved. The paper likewise does not consider the adaptational differences (common in folkloristic treatment) of a given motif which every nation suits to its intellectual capacity and cultural environment. With elements related to content and motifs attention is called only to some of the most obvious differences. Here we concentrate above all on motifs that are current among the Serbs from Bela krajina while in the Slovenian tradition they are unknown or entirely different. As an example we offer the Serbian narrative song Starino moja, planino (My Old Highland) from Marindol in Bela krajina. The song is about a Haiduk who slays a wedded couple´s little son, forces the child´s father to strip off the infant´s skin, and the mother must bake him and lament him. Throughout the ballad the parents´ refrain is reiterated, »Get up, my son Jovan / thou art my lamb«. The song was written down in the previous century also in Serbia, but the singer told us that the people in Bela

krajina had received it from Bosnian Serbs. The motif is otherwise placed into the Haiduk environment but it stresses the human victim offered as the lamb. In Serbian narrative poetry the motif is related to the name of Manojle Grgić, a frequent but negative figure appearing either as a traitor or as an unfaithful friend. Additionally the Serbian song and prose tradition knows the motif of a child turned into a lamb and killed. Slovenian narrative songs do not have such a motif except for the biblical one where Abraham attempts to sacrifice his son Isaac. How much the Marindol case still shows a trace of the pagan and how much of the Christian tradition is difficult to say, as the present motif quite clearly indicates that the song describes the Haiduk´s wickedness and crime. The song´s refrain is reminiscent of motifs of sacrifice.

The song is significant for our purpose also because it speaks about the Haiduk exploits which are unknown in the Slovenian tradition. It is interesting that because of the Uskoks, Haiduk activities also took place in Bela krajina, but this is evident only from historical records, whereas Slovenian folk poetry does not mention it. However, in the Serbian songs from Bela krajina, the motif of Haiduk exploits is to be found only in songs originating from Bosnia.

Because of the proximity of the former Vojna krajina (Military Borderland), to which a small part of Bela krajina also belonged, and because of the Uskoks pressed into the Austrian troops to fight against the Turks, it is logical that also in Bela krajina motifs appear about the Uskoks from Senj, about their fighting and resistance. Some of the ballads even mention the name of the well-known leader of the rebels from Senj, Ivan Latkovič, or Ivan Senjan. But again only Croatian or Serbian songs, while in Slovenian songs no related motifs are to be found. Again it has to be pointed out that Croatian songs about the Uskoks from Senj were being sung by Slovenian singers. Something similar is true of songs about Prince Marko, sung by people who are today Slovenian descendants of Croatian and Serbian Uskoks as late as the 19th century. In view of the historical circumstances Prince Marko appears also in the Slovenian folk literature, but in prose rather than in poetry, or also in those Slovenian places in Inner Carniola and the maritime province of Slovenia which were at some time in the past populated by Uskoks. But here the hero appears in a totally different function and in different contexts. As an anti-Turkish fighter or as a deceived husband he is found in Croato-Serbian songs in Bela krajina and is, like elsewhere in the Balkans, found in the company with the fairy Podgorkinja. But motifs of this kind are unknown in Slovenian folk poetry.

In legendary songs the differences between Slovenians and Serbs are to been seen in the choice of certain saints and patrons, which is due to the two different religions, the Catholic and the Orthodox. The Slovenian tradition knows St Elijah but not as commonly and with such attributes as he appears among Serbs.

Although Slovenians have a great many prose texts about Christ and St Peter abolishing injustice among people, such a motif is not to be found in our legendary songs since this role had been taken over by St Valentine and St Peregrin, while St Peter and Christ appear in the Serbo-Croatian song about the rich Gavan.

In legendary songs also the punishments for particular sins are differentiated. The Serbo-Croatian songs also in this respect more closely rely on the tradition of the parent nation. The Serbs from Bela krajina, unlike the Slovenians, know the motif in which a murderer´s hands are burnt off, a traitor´s feet likewise burnt off, or an unfaithful boyfriend´s heart, head or eyes burnt out.

In ballads with fates and conflicts arising out of love or family relations the greatest differences between the two nations appear already in the shaping and in the amount of lyrical and epic elements contained in the ballads. In Slovenian narrative songs dealing with love themes the lyrical element prevails, but in Serbian ones very often the epic one, while among the Serbs from Bela krajina again lyricism in predominant. In Serbian ballads it is the external causes which determine and shape the spiritual picture of the hero, which is also the case with other nations, whereas Slovenian singers reduce the external events to a minimum, which still allows the understanding of the hero´s actions and of his mental disposition. Therefore they leave out the unnecessary ballast, or »linking text«, or shorten it to brief replications. But in Serbian songs the »linking text« is nevertheless constructed according to the stylistic procedures of epic songs, for which reason also in love ballads, epic »asides« which reiterate situations and images are not surprising, and likewise the poet´s comments or regressions or parontheses are not infrequent. Beside the »philosophy« of the language and thought, the amount of the epic or lyrical quality in Serbian ballads is determined also by the performance - either through accompaniment with a one-string fiddle or simply sung in a group.

The Croato-Serbian ballads from Bela krajina dealing with family conflicts deal with well-known European motifs, here understandably suited to the environment. At first sight it would appear that the conflicts in Serbian ballads are more numerous, brutal or fateful than e.g. in the Slovenian ones. It would seem as if Slovenian ballads were »keeping something secret«, or untold, even if they contain a situation or conflict similar to Serbian ones. A more detailed analysis, however, discloses that the differences are due to the different ways of family life and also slightly to a different hierarchy of values. It is also necessary to point out that among Slovenians the patriarchal way of living started to loosen up sooner than among Serbs. One would expect that in Bela krajina, because of the strong Slovenian influence, the Serbs living there would give up patriarchal life sooner, or that at least that it would sooner become disintegrated than elsewhere in the Balkans. While in part this was the case, the patriarchy among the Serbs in Bela krajina has been preserved for so long through living in family communities, long since abandoned, if ever known, among Slovenians. The Serbs living in Bela krajina started to abandon them only in the sixties of this century. It is understandable that their songs have preserved many more conflicting situations stemming from the strict and hierarchically determined way of living in family communities.

In Slovenian ballads the brother´s guardianship over his sister is almost »history«, whereas in Serbian family ballads this relationship continues to occupy the first place. The sister is (most often unwillingly) subordinated to her brother whose protectiveness not infrequently turns into possessiveness, even tyranny, or even leads to incest. The Slovenian and the Serbian tradition know incest, and they both condemn it. The difference is that in Serbian songs incest is more naturalistically presented, which is clearly due to the epic style. It happens rarely, but it does happen, that Serbian ballads, or rather their authors find even the cause, if not the reason itself, for incest: »Lepota rodstva ne zna, / a sevedah stida ne ima« (Beauty does not know relatives, and when in love one knows no shame). Major or minor differences could be instanced in a whole series of other ballad motifs.

Language: In Slovenian ballads from Bela krajina we find several Croatian linguistic elements resulting from the centuries-long co-existence of different ethnic units having different

languages. Along with this another process is occurring where Slovenianisms are increasingly penetrating into Croatian and Serbian songs. This testifies to the fact that one can currently without hesitation speak of the Serbo-Croatian language with the admixture of Slovenian elements. Today it is culturally and politically incorrect to speak about the Serbo-Croatian language or of Serbo-Croatian folk poetry, for we have to do with two independent nations with their own histories, their own cultures and with a slightly different linguistic development. But in this paper I deliberately speak several times of Serbo-Croatian folk poetry as a whole, which of course applies to the phenomenon in Bela krajina only because it turned out that in this area Croatian and Serbian linguistic elements have intermingled and fused into a local Serbo-Croatian language, which is reflected also in songs that are as such termed Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian.

The language variants in the Serbian songs from Bela krajina are the Croatian Kaikavian and Čakavian dialects with the i-kav, je-kav, ije-kav, and e-kav pronunciation. In addition to Slovenianisms there are also Serbiansms penetrating into Croatian songs. A somewhat more uniform linguistic picture is offered perhaps by the more recent songs of the Serbs from Bela krajina imported from Bosnia and Lika, but these songs do not have the Serbian language following the linguistic norm but rather the Serbo-Croatian language with the Štokavian basis. Older Serbian songs from Bela krajina have preserved some Herzegovinian archaisms no longer found in living speech (đed, đevojka). In the living language of the Serbs from Bela krajina the Slovenian idiom is becoming increasingly frequent, but some Croatiansms are also appearing.

A greater linguistic unity as well as purity is exhibited by those Serbian songs which have not been adopted by Slovenians and which live only inside the Serbian enclave. The Serbian and Croatian songs that have for a longer time been known among Slovenians are becoming linguistically modified and adapted. Linguistic changes have in turn led to changes in style, in verse and rhythm, and also to adaptations in content. But in this way the song has entered into a new cultural circle and has started to develop according to the regularities current in the ethnic territory (Slovenian) into which it was spreading.

Poetic Expression: In folklore it is a well-known fact that the living colloquial languages form the basis for the poetic one. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the »phylosophy« of Serbian tends toward a greater exposition whereas Slovenian towards rationalization. This is reflected also in the poetic language of the two nations. In Serbian songs tautology, synonymy, and paronthesis appear more frequently. The Serbian poetry from Bela krajina also follows the parent nation in this respect. On the other hand, the pleonasm, for instance, is almost alien to the rationalism of the Slovenian tongue. The folk songs from Bela krajina resort to this kind of verbosity more frequently than the central Slovenian ones but again not so often as the Serbian ones. Slovenian singers likewise do not make much use of paronthesis (even if they know it), whereas this kind of intervention by the singer is wholly normal in Serbian songs, notably also in regressions and some other poetic figures.

The characteristic figure of Serbian and Croatian epic songs - the Slavic antithesis - is more frequent in Bela krajina than in central Slovenia, but still less frequent than in Serbia or Croatia. In Serbian narrative songs the poetic force of the Slavic antithesis is virtually weakening because it is so frequent and because of being repeated and transferred from one song into another it is becoming cliché-like and is acquiring a greater role in the compositional

element; yet it has preserved a significant role in the development and structure of the subject and of the whole song. (Terseglav 1966: 112).

The Slovenian influence is felt also in the fact that in Bela krajina they started to shorten the Slavic antithesis and are increasingly using it as a poetic figure and not as a mechanical means used in the construction of verses in longer songs. Questions asked in the Serbian songs are largely answered by the singer himself. Technically speaking this is the case also in Slovenian songs, but the Slovenian singer is delineating a true dialogic structure, or rather employs it in various persons. But the Serbo-Croatian dialogic scheme is a scheme »per suggestionem«, for all the questions posed (these may be intended also for others, most commonly addressed to the public) are answered by the singer himself or he alone knows the answers (Terseglav 1966: 113).

Ballad Verse: According to Vodušek (1960: 110) as much as 70% of Slovenian narrative songs have the heptameter with anacrusis. This applies also to the region of Bela krajina. But the Croatian and Serbian narrative songs from that region offer a wholly different picture, the predominant form being the epic decasyllable (4 + 6). The decasyllable starts to become looser only when the song has been accepted among Slovenians or has been among them already for a longer time. First we find some inconsistency in decasyllables, afterwards also changes and transitions into other verse forms. Decasyllables gradually become interspersed also with octosyllables, which in Serbian narrative songs are the exception rather than the rule.

The lyric decasyllable (5 + 5) also appears in Slovenian folk poetry, whereas the epic one comes up only in the so-called Uskok heritage, hence in Serbo-Croatian songs in Slovenia.

The anacrusis, facultative as it may be, is fairly frequent in Slovene folk poetry. But the Serbo-Croatian material from Bela krajina shows that the use of the anacrusis is in sharp decline. To an extent this is reflected also in the Slovenian songs from Bela krajina, as the Croatian with its accentuation system has exercised an influence also on the Slovenian language in Bela krajina. But the process has also worked in reverse, for the anacrusis may be traced also in the songs by Serbs living in Bela krajina. But in the Serbian poetry from Bela krajina the occurrence of anacrusis was determined not only by Slovenian influences, for it appears in Croatian songs taken from the Čakavian region, where it is made possible by the accentuation system close to the Slovenian, whereas in melodies from the littoral Croatian songs it is not possible to overlook also the Croatian musical influence (Vodušek 1998: 308).

Musical Image: In the Serbian ballads from Bela krajina it is not possible to overlook the Dinaric influence, as it is from this region that most of the songs came to Serbs in Bela krajina.

But the Slovenian melos can be traced only in Slovenian songs if these had been accepted by the Serbs into their repertory. But here again no complete acceptance of the Slovenian melodies can be claimed, since field investigations have shown that every nation modifies even those songs taken from elsewhere according to its own environment and taste. While the melody remains identical, individual musical elements draw upon the tradition of the original nation. A smaller deviation from this rule is presented by those Slovenian places which were inhabited by Uskoks in the past. It is the melody that represents that element through which the two ethnic groups build up the line of demarcation between them. At times strong differences are involved, at other time it is a matter of »negligible differences« which the two ethnic

groups perceive as their specifics and therefore cling to them.

In a simplified way the Dinaric melos represents itself, according to Vurnik (1931: 170), in the »oriental monotony« made up by the narrow musical ambitus. Besides, in contradistinction to the Serbs from Bela krajina, Slovenians can sing their ballads in several parts while the Serbs only in one part. We have also noticed singing in several voices with melodic curves of small extent and without bigger leaps. Individual musical phrases move in relatively small intervals, sung by the Serbs from Bela krajina in thirds or seconds. Such a mode of the singing of narrative as well as epic songs is characteristic of the Serbs in Croatia, particularly at Ravni kotari and at Bukovica (Bezić 1990: 190). According to statements made by informants, such two-part singing by the Serbs in Bela krajina is a comparatively more recent phenomenon, as they asserted that their ancestors sang only »in the old way«, hence for one voice. Like with other songs, Serbs from Bela krajina often resorted to »ojkanje« when singing ballads (»ojkanje« - at the beginning or at the end of the verse singers add the syllable 'oj' to a longer musical phrase). »Ojkanje« is not known among Slovenians and was never used by them when singing songs taken from Serbs or Croats. And when singing ballads in several parts, the Serbian one-part or two-part melody was suited to the rules of Slovenian multi-part singing.

The difference between the two nations is to be found also in the very performance of ballads. With Serbs from Bela krajina the singing of ballads is accompanied by dancing the kolo. (In such cases other songs are also performed). But with Slovenians from Bela krajina only in one instance has the ballad been found in the original sense of the word, i.e. as a dance song (the singing of the fairy ballad »Pobelelo pole«, sung in kolo at »Anže´s ceremony«). It has to be pointed out that even this ballad has been taken over from the Uskok, hence Croato-Serbian, tradition.

Conclusion: A summary of the most essential differences between Serbian and Slovenian ballads in Bela krajina might be made up of the following points:

1) In addition to themes and motifs that are common to both nations, Serbs from Bela krajina know also such as are unknown in the Slovenian tradition, and vice versa.

2) Linguistic differences come up not only in the grammatical structures of the two different languages but also in poetic similes. The different poetic wording proceeds from the different linguistic »philosophies« of the living, colloquial languages. And poetic similes common to the two nations differ according to the frequency of usage.

3) Ballads taken from Serbs and Croats are becoming shortened in the Slovenian environment, with increasingly fewer poetic insertions or »asides«.

4) Whereas in Slovene narrative songs the epic decasyllable is not known, in the Serbo-Croatian ballads it is the predominant verse form.

5) Among Slovenians the anacrusis is also common but in Serbo-Croatian ballads it is rather exceptional and even then due to the influence of Slovenian or of the Čakavian dialect.

6) There are big differences in the musical »way of speech«, for each nation holds to its own tradition. Neither nation gives up its own tradition even when taking over a song of the other one. A minor exception is constituted today only by those Slovenian places which used to be populated by Uskoks in the past and do not find the Dinaric musical expression alien because it used to be a part of their firmly settled identities.

The narrative poetry of the Serbs living as a minority in Bela krajina has through four centuries of sharing the Slovenian culture acquired some particular features which distinguish them from Serbs in Croatia or in Bosnia. But until quite recently the Serbian community from Bela krajina had friendly as well as family contacts with Serbs outside Slovenia, which made it possible for them to preserve a major part of the Dinaric culture and, as a result of that, led to identification with it. Therefore the folk songs (not only ballads) of Serbs from Bela krajina are not compatible with Slovene ones, and therefore also there is little interweaving. It is interesting, however, that whereas the Serbs from Bela krajina have lost some of their narrative poems, these have been preserved in some of the Slovenian places. This apparent paradox becomes understandable if we take into consideration the fact that the so-called Dinaric heritage has been preserved or revived only in those Slovenian places that were populated by Uskoks in the 16th century. In non-Uskokian places this heritage was alien (even if they were aware of it) and they could not become identified with it. In Slovenian places people have long since consciously differentiated between the Slovenian and the »Wallachian« repertoire of songs. This points to the operation of the so-called firmly settled identities and of the collective consciousness, when a place belonging to Uskoks in the past can still today live up to the tradition of the Uskoks, but Slovenian places can not - for in their settled traditions it was never »recorded«. Today the state of affairs has changed to such an extent that even former Uskok places are accepting increasingly fewer new Serbian and Croatian songs; what has remained are only older songs still preserved only by older singers. But the Slovenian environment is also affected by this still preserved heritage; the songs are acquiring a slightly different linguistic, contentual, stylistic, versificational image in form and in music, which has all been influenced by the poetics of Slovenian folk poetry. But these »Slovenianized« songs have not wholly acquired a Slovenian idiom and probably never will - as they will sooner become lost, together with the old informants, or will remain preserved as such only by Slovenian folklore groups. The tradition is being abandoned also by the younger generation in the Serbian settlements which are opening up to the new culture which is Slovenian. But both the Serbian and the Slovenian tradition in Bela krajina are subject to the same laws of change or even decay as apply to the entire folk culture.

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Marko Terseglav

Etnične različnosti v belokranjskih baladah

Povzetek

Bela krajina na jugovzhodu Slovenije je pokrajina, v katero so se pred 400 leti zatekli srbski in hrvaški begunci iz takratne turške države. Uskoki so do danes ohranili svojo duhovno dediščino, vplivali pa so tudi na belokranjsko slovensko ljudsko pesem.

Avtor analizira belokranjske slovenske balade iz krajev, ko so jih nekoč naselili uskoki. Etnične razlike išče in jih analizira na jezikovno - stilni, vsebinski in izvedbeni ravni. Ugotavlja, da celotno gradivo, zbrano v 19. in v 20. stoletju, kaže srednjo pot med srbskohrvaškim dinarskim in med slovenskim idiomom, pri čemer odstopa novejše gradivo, ki je večinoma že tako slovenizirano, da se vključuje v splošnoslovensko pesemsko dediščino. Odstop od te pa predstavlja gradivo belokranjskih srbskih naselij, saj so le ta do danes ohranila specifiko dinarske kulture, tako v besedilni kot v glasbeni poetiki.

Belokranjsko slovensko izročilo ni kompatibilno z uskoškim, razen v tistih slovenskih krajih, ki so bili nekoč naseljeni z uskoki.

THE LAME CHICK AND THE NORTH STAR: Some Ethnic Rivalries in Sport as Reflected in Mid-nineteenth-century Welsh Broadsides

E. Wyn James

Wales and Slovenia are representatives of the smaller nations of Europe, and while there are many obvious differences between the two countries, there are also some interesting similarities. They are, for example, very much alike in terms of size of both land-mass and population. Both have a mainly mountainous terrain, yet with a diversity of topography and scenery within their borders. Choral and polyphonic singing are prominent features in the cultural life of both countries. In both cultures, hymns have attained folk-song status, with a tendency in both hymn-singing traditions to repeat choruses and the last few lines of a hymn. A dragon is not only the national symbol of Wales, but also the symbol of Slovenia's capital, Ljubljana. Both countries saw significant emigration to Argentina during the nineteenth century. And while very different linguistically, fossils are still to be found in Welsh grammar of a dual number, in addition to singular and plural, which is such a distinguishing feature of modern Slovene. Despite their linguistic differences, both national languages are classed among the 'lesser-used' languages of Europe (the current euphemism for minority languages!), with sufficient similarities in their circumstances to warrant Professor Colin H. Williams, a colleague of mine in the Department of Welsh at Cardiff University, and Dr Milan Bufon of the Slovenian Science and Research Centre (ZRS) in Koper, to be currently instigating a joint project entitled 'Language and Identity in Wales and Slovenia'. And as with Slovenia, so the struggle to preserve its language, culture and identity in the face of the influences of more powerful neighbours, has been a constant feature of Welsh history.

There was an early Celtic presence in both lands, although this has obviously persisted in Wales far longer than in Slovenia. The demise of the Roman Empire left the British Celts to their own devices, and the subsequent centuries witnessed the gradual westward advance of wave upon wave of Anglo-Saxon invaders across the island of Britain, leaving Wales by the late sixth and early seventh centuries as a Celtic peninsular, territorially isolated from fellow-Celts in the north and south-western regions of the island. Wales thus became a distinct and conscious entity by about the end of the sixth century; a Celtic Christian enclave on the western seaboard of Britain. And, interestingly, in this same period Slovenia also developed as a recognisable unit.

The territorial conquest of Wales did not begin in earnest until the Norman conquest of neighbouring England in the eleventh century. The conquest of Wales by the Normans was a rather piecemeal affair, accomplished over a period of more than two centuries – in the south and east of Wales initially, and culminating in the conquest of the more mountainous north-west by Edward I of England in 1282 – a date of some significance also in the history of the Austrian Habsburg conquest of Slovenia.

Edward I will need little introduction to members of the old Austrian Empire and students of ballads alike, as he commands a central role in the popular patriotic ballad, 'A Walesi Bárdok' (*The Bards of Wales*), written in 1856 by the major Hungarian poet, János Arany (1817-82). This dramatic ballad – not dissimilar to the Scottish 'Border Ballads' by which Arany was so influenced – was composed in the aftermath of the Hungarian revolution of 1848 and its brutal suppression by the Austrian rulers. In 1855, Emperor Franz Josef was crowned king of Hungary. To mark the occasion the authorities tried to commission an ode in praise of the monarch, but – despite offering substantial sums of money to the Hungarian bards – none would comply with the request.

This incident inspired János Arany to write his ballad on the Welsh bards. Unable to refer openly to current affairs in Hungary, he turned for his material to an apocryphal story concerning Edward I at the time of his conquest of Wales – the fairest jewel in his crown, according to Arany's ballad. The ballad tells how Edward I commanded the slaughter of 500 Welsh bards for their refusal to sing his praises, and it ends by relating how the king was subsequently haunted by his actions. There was considerable support in Wales for the Hungarian uprising of 1848, and it may be that this, in part at least, influenced János Arany's choice of subject-matter; but be that as it may, this dramatic, 31-stanza allegorical ballad remains one of the best-known of Hungarian patriotic poems, taught to generations of schoolchildren.

The ballad has, of course, been translated from Hungarian into several other languages. There are, for example, two independent translations into Welsh. Influenced by events in his own country, the poet Smaj was moved to compose a Serbian version; and Čurćin wrote a paraphrase of it during the Croatian treason trials of 1908, substituting the name of Baron Rouch, the Ban of Croatia, for that of Edward I. To the best of my knowledge, however, there is no Slovene version of this ballad.

Territorial conquest is one thing, of course; assimilation is quite another. The history of Wales from the Edwardian Conquest onward has been one of very gradual assimilation – both linguistic and cultural – into the larger unit, with varying degrees of resistance to that process. Anglicization occurred fairly early among the ruling classes, and subsequently among the burgeoning middle-classes, but it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that it began to affect the common people in earnest. Yet despite Anglicization growing apace during that century, especially in the south-eastern corner of Wales, some 50% of the population still spoke Welsh in 1900, and just under 20% still do so today. Moreover, even among those who do not speak Welsh there persists a deep consciousness of the fact that they are Welsh, not English.

When one considers the close geographical proximity of Wales and England, and the fact that Wales has for such an extended period been under the direct influence and rule of this powerful neighbour, such a tenacious preservation of national identity is unexpected to say the least. A number of factors – all also true of Slovenia – have contributed to this: the country's relative inaccessibility; the impetus given to the language by the translation into Welsh of the Bible in the sixteenth century, and the subsequent labours of religious educationalists and evangelists through the medium of the language; a constant and spontaneous renewal of national consciousness from generation to generation. Yet it is indeed remarkable that the first of England's colonies (and probably the last, bearing in mind the recent exodus from Hong Kong!) even today maintains a fairly high degree of awareness of its separate identity.

As assimilation has accelerated during the past two centuries, so – conversely – a more conscious political expression of Welsh identity has developed, as evidenced, for example, by the Young Wales movement of the 1880s and 1890s (part of the same general movement as Young Ireland, Young Italy and Young Slovenia), and by the gradual growth of the Welsh Nationalist Party, *Plaid Cymru*, in the twentieth century. But in general, Welsh identity during the past 400 years has been a matter of cultural rather than political expression. Since the Acts of Union in the mid-sixteenth century, whereby the English parliament enacted that Wales should be 'incorporated, united and annexed' to the realm of England, Wales has generally been content with the dichotomy of being part of a larger political unit whilst retaining its own cultural distinctions.

The negative aspect of an awareness of common identity, whether local or national, is of course inter-group rivalry; and while the battlefield is the extreme expression of such rivalry, there are numerous more moderate channels of expression. Classic among these is sport – the ball replacing the bullet, so to speak. Good examples of this at a local level are the bloodthirsty *bando* and *cnapan* (primitive forms of hockey and football) of pre-industrial Wales, which were 'little more than a ritualized battle between parishes' (quoted in Williams 1988: 384); and nowhere is this rivalry to be seen more clearly at a national level in present-day Wales than on the rugby field – the game which is regarded, in South Wales at least, as the national game of Wales. In the annual five-nations rugby championship between Wales, Scotland, Ireland, France and England, the Welsh are naturally disappointed to lose against any of the participating countries (as happens fairly regularly these days!); but if Wales loses to England, it is tantamount to a national disaster.

One of the most popular sporting activities of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Wales was pedestrianism or foot-racing. The most famous of these runners – and one who still enjoys the status of a popular folk-hero – is Griffith Morgan (1700-37), nicknamed 'Guto Nyth Brân', a farmer reared on the slopes of the Rhondda Valley in the Glamorgan uplands who seems to have developed his speed and stamina through herding sheep without the help of dogs. Many tales of his feats have survived, most no doubt apocryphal. His pre-race practice was to sleep in manure in order to make his joints more supple – a tactic which seems to have succeeded in ensuring a good distance between him and his fellow competitors! His last race was one against an Englishman called Prince, whom he beat easily. Many bets had been laid on that twelve-mile race, and one of his enthusiastic supporters, who had won a considerable sum of money on the race, ran over and gave the victorious Guto an 'overhearty back-slap that killed the breathless victor' (Williams 1988: 385).

I know of no eighteenth- or nineteenth-century ballads extolling the feats of Guto Nyth Brân. However the tale of his last race is related in a well-known twentieth-century ballad by I. D. Hooson (1880-1948), one of the leading exponents of the literary ballad in Welsh, the literary ballad being very much a twentieth-century phenomenon in Welsh literature. Also, in 1971, an English-language ballad about him was written by the prominent Anglo-Welsh poet and ballad-writer, Harri Webb (1920-94).

Guto Nyth Brân was the product of the rural valleys of south-east Wales in the eighteenth century. These were to be transformed in the nineteenth century into bustling industrial conurbations: the population of south-east Wales exploded from about 100,000 in 1800 to over a million in 1900. Foot-racing as a sport transferred very easily into this new industrial

world, drawing huge crowds of spectators from these new communities, spectators who had significantly more betting money in their pockets than their rural counterparts.

As I outlined in my paper to the 26th International Ballad Conference at Swansea in 1996, due to this concentration of population and its comparative wealth, industrial south-east Wales was to become in the nineteenth century the main centre of Welsh ballad production. The nineteenth century, then – and its first half in particular – witnessed thousands upon thousands of small four-page ballad pamphlets pouring out of presses of all shapes and sizes in the towns and villages of south-east Wales. These were sold in huge quantities, by ballad singers of all descriptions, in fairs and markets and on street corners, especially on pay-night; and, despite the increasing Anglicization of the area during the second half of the century, a point which must be emphasized is that the vast majority of these ballad sheets were in the Welsh language.

A few ballad sheets with foot-racing as their subject have survived from the mid-nineteenth century – a pale reflection, no doubt, of the many which must certainly have been sold in their hundreds to the crowds congregated at such events, but which have long since disappeared. Most notable among the extant ballads are three, by three different ballad-writers, which recount the exploits of a runner who came into prominence in the 1840s.

His name was John Davies, better-known as '*Y Cyw Cloff*' ('The Lame Chick'). Judging from the extant ballads and newspaper reports, nicknames seem to have been in very common usage for runners at the time: 'The American Deer', 'The Collier Boy', 'The Running Sergeant', 'The Cambrian Clipper' and 'The Flower of the Forest' are just a few of the plethora of names which have survived in these records. In the case of 'The Lame Chick', 'chick' is easily explained since Davies was fairly small and light – 5 foot 4 inches in height and 9 stone 5 pounds in weight – a 'bantam-weight' therefore; but why the most prominent runner of his day should be referred to as a *lame* chick is something of a mystery!

Despite being a major sporting hero in his day, and one who was compared with Guto Nyth Brân by the ballad-writers, unlike Guto, John Davies was not promoted to the realms of folk-hero by later generations, and biographical information about him is relatively sparse. He was born in 1822 in Bryncethin, a hamlet three miles north of the market town of Bridgend (which is situated midway between Cardiff and Swansea), but he seems to have moved eastwards to the Taff valley by around 1844, initially working as a collier and later as an inn-keeper in the village of Upper Boat, near the town of Pontypridd, some ten miles north of Cardiff.

It appears that he began foot-racing around 1840 when he was 18 years of age, and by 1844 he had proved himself to be one of the best Welsh foot-racers of his day. In that year he ran – and won – his first race against one of the best English runners of the day, John Tetlow from the Manchester area. He subsequently went on to run a series of races against perhaps the most prominent English runner of that time, Tom Maxfield (1819-64), a coal carrier from Windsor near Slough (but originally from Sheffield), nicknamed 'The North Star'. Maxfield won the first race in February 1845 on his home patch at Slough. The following race was held near the town of Llantrisant, on Davies's home ground, a year later. The two men were neck-and-neck in that race when Maxfield fell and was injured by a horse which was following the runners in order to keep the crowd at bay. The umpires ruled the race null and void, much to the consternation of many in the crowd, who claimed that Maxfield's fall had been engineered to avoid defeat. A rerun was arranged on neutral ground, in Bath in December 1846. Davies won this easily and went on to win a further race against Maxfield near Slough in July 1847.

This was to be their last race, with Maxfield declaring Davies to be the better runner, thus establishing John Davies as perhaps the foremost runner of his day in both England and Wales.

Two of the surviving ballads were written subsequent to the race at Bath in December 1846. Fortunately – although rather unusually – one of these has a lengthy prose introduction and is dated. The final race at Slough in July 1847 is the subject of the third ballad, whose long title shows the author's acquaintance with the prose introduction to the earlier ballad. There is nothing particulary remarkable about these three ballads in and of themselves; certainly not one of them is a literary masterpiece; yet they are significant for students of cultural history in that they reflect the spirit of these popular mass events.

Two main themes pervade all three ballads alike. Firstly, much mention is made of the extensive betting which characterised such events. One of the two ballads written after the race of December 1846 concentrates almost entirely on this aspect in a series of cameos, portraying successful and unsuccessful punters, which closes with the following verse:

Pob dyn gyda'r Sais a fetiodd
Gwn mai'i siomi'n gyfan gafodd,
Pawb a fetiodd gyda'r Cyw yn unig
Gânt wˆydd dew ar ddydd Nadolig.

('Everyone who bet on the Englishman was, I know, completely disappointed; everybody who bet only on the Chick will have a fat goose on Christmas day.')

The other theme is the national fervour which permeates all three. There is evident in them a passion which very much reflects the spirit to be felt at Cardiff in our day when Wales faces England at the national rugby stadium. A single quotation must suffice. Here is the first half of the verse from the ballad written after the race of July 1847 which describes the final outcome of that contest:

A'r Cyw a wylltiodd fel y fellten
A Maxfield gafodd weld ei gefen;
Fe goncrai'r lliwus Gymro llawen
Er gwaethaf sen pob Sais;
A'r hen Gymry a enillodd
Ar draed y Cyw, do gwn, rai canno'dd
O aur melyn, os nad milo'dd,
Pan drechodd yn ddi-dras.

('The Chick shot away like a flash of lightening, leaving Maxfield gazing at his back; the handsome, happy Welshman conquered despite the gibes of all the English; and the good old Welsh won through the Chick's feet, I well know, hundreds if not thousands of pounds of yellow gold, when he achieved his unprecedented victory.')

Interestingly, reports of these same races can be found in the English-language newspapers circulating in Wales at that time. On the whole, and not unexpectedly perhaps, these are more factual and disengaged than the ballads in their reporting, although they also

display a clear awareness of the national aspect of the events, with the runners regularly being referred to as the 'Welshman' and the 'Englishman'. Again in these reports, the financial aspects of the races are very prominent.

Such newspaper reports also enlighten a number of matters which the ballad-writer could take to be common knowledge on the part of his audience. For example, one ballad refers to the Welshman as being a 'true-blue', which gains in significance when one learns from the report of the event in the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* of 26 December 1846 that 400 persons 'sported Davies's colours – blue', as opposed to Maxfield's 'crimson' supporters. The ballad-writer can also include a couplet (in English) quoting a person he refers to simply as 'Bragg', shouting his support for Tom Maxfield ('Don't be timid, well done Tommy,/Work the tough one, rare Welsh Taffy'), without feeling it necessary to explain to his audience what modern readers have to gather from newspaper reports, namely that Bragg was landlord of the North Star Inn, Slough, and Maxfield's umpire at the race.

The last reference I have found to John Davies is in a ballad written in 1858 – one not in praise of a runner, but of a prize boxer, Dan Thomas (1823-1910) of Pontypridd, who shot to fame in 1858 when he beat prominent English and American boxers. Again it is interesting to note the national fervour that permeates the two extant ballads to this boxer, including the following verse:

> Nid oes gwiw i'r Saeson bellach
> A gwyˆr Morgannwg i ymyrrath;
> Y Cyw a'u trecha i redeg gyrfa,
> Dan Pontypridd a dorra'u c'lonna.

('There is no longer any point for the English to meddle with the men of Glamorgan; the Chick will beat them at running, Dan Pontypridd will break their hearts.')

As far as I am aware, the Welsh-language press of the day contains no references to the sporting events celebrated in these ballads. That press was by and large in the hands of the Welsh Nonconformist denominations, who would not have approved of the betting or indeed of many other aspects of these communal gatherings. In its projection of Wales in the Victorian Era as a Nonconformist nation, that press (and the Liberal Nonconformist establishment it reflected) was far less concerned with extolling the superiority of the Welsh over the English in matters of sport as it was to emphasize the excellence of their morals and their singing voices – *'Plus ça change, plus ça ne change pas'!*

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I. D. Hooson's ballad about Guto Nyth Brân is critically appreciated in Dafydd Owen's history of the Welsh ballad, *I Fyd y Faled* (Denbigh: Gwasg Gee, 1986). Harri Webb's English ballad on the same subject is to be found in *Harri Webb: Collected Poems*, ed. Meic Stephens (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1995). Detailed discussion of John Davies and the ballads about him, including the full text of all three ballads, are to be found in a Welsh-language article by the present author entitled 'Baledi Er Clod i'r »Cyw Cloff o Fryncethin« ', *Canu Gwerin,* 15 (1992), 3-29. A good overview of sport in south-east Wales from the eighteenth century onward is to be found in Gareth Williams, 'Sport and Society in Glamorgan 1750-1980', *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 6, ed. Prys Morgan (Cardiff: Glamorgan History Trust Ltd, 1988); see also his 'Postponing Death: Sport and Literature in Wales', *New Welsh Review*, 36 (Spring 1997), 37-46.

E. Wyn James

Hromi piščanec in Zvezda Severnica: Etnična nasprotja v športu, kot jih izražajo valižanske balade »Broadsides« iz sredine 19. stoletja

Povzetek

Po začetni primerjavi Slovenije in Walesa referat obravnava odnose med prebivalci Walesa in njegove sosede, zavojevalske Anglije (dotakne se tudi priljubljene domoljubne madžarske balade A Walesi Bárdok Janosa Aranya, ki je zasnovana na apokrifni zgodbi o pokolu petstotih valižanskih bardov, ki naj bi ga v 13. stoletju zaukazal angleški kralj Edvard I.). Čeprav se etnična nasprotja med Valižani in Angleži že dolgo ne odvijajo več na bojišču, se še vedno izražajo v drugih manj skrajnih oblikah, zlasti v športu. V 18. in 19. stoletju so bila tekmovanja v hitri hoji ali teku med najbolj priljubljenimi športnimi dejavnostmi v jugovzhodnem Walesu. Med najbolj znanimi valižanskimi tekači tega obdobja se je v ljudskem spominu globoko zapisalo ime Griffitha Morgana (1700–1737), imenovanega tudi Guto Nyth Brân, in njegovi podvigi so postali tema literarnih balad dvajsetega stoletja. Dosežki drugega od tekačev, Johna Daviesa, imenovanega tudi The Lame Chick (Hromi piščanec), bi zatonili v pozabo, če jih ne bi opevale tri sodobne cestne balade ali *broadsides*. Posebno znane so njegove tekme proti najbolj znanemu angleškemu tekaču svojega časa, Tomu Maxfieldu iz Windsorja, imenovanemu The North Star (Zvezda severnica), iz let 1845–1847. Čeprav nobena od teh balad ni literarna mojstrovina, so pomembne za preučevalce kulturne zgodovine, saj govorijo o etničnem pomenu teh tekmovanj.

Indio, Gringo, and Gauchupin: Etnic Construction in the Mexican Corrido[1]

Maria Herrera-Sobek

In a recent e-mail message I received (June 23, 1997), the issue of ethnicity arose with respect to Latinos, or people of Latin American and Mexican ancestry who were born or raised in the United States. According to this specific electronic missive in my mail, the issue revolved around whether Latinos were white or not. A supposed »friend« of U.S. Latinos, syndicated columnist Richard Reeves, tried to assuage the fears of his white readers, and indeed all Americans, not to worry about the »brown tide« of Latino immigration innundating the United States because according to this journalist »For what it is worth, Latinos consider themselves white.« As Roberto Rodríguez, a journalist from *Chronicle Features* who distributed the message, wryly stated: »With friends like this, who needs enemies?« A discussion then ensued regarding the Latinos penchant for identifying themselves as white as opposed to Indian.

Rodríguez pointed out that »while only a very small percentage of Latinos are actually white, many more indicate that they are white when they fill out official census forms.« He perceptively comments: »What Reeves didn't explain is why some Latinos have come to believe this. It's generally due to a number of complex factors, including shame, ignorance, misleading education, and simple racism« because, he continues, »Despite these bureaucratic manipulations, society still peceives Latinos as Indian or mongrel, thus the fear of the 'brown hordes'. Subsequently, many Mexican Americans or latinos attempt to 'pass' for white.« (e-mail communication, dated June 23, 1997).

From the above discussion one is apt to agree with Warner Sollers' theories on the nature of ethnicty since the ethnic classification of Latinos has been a matter of political expediency and not on any standard designation of racial categories or on phenotype. The classification of these groups of people in fact has actually bounced back and forth within the categories of white and non-white throughout the last century and a half in the various censuses taken and in other official documents (Sollers 1986; 1989). This prologomena is by way of introduction to the topic at hand, i.e. ethnic construction in the corrido, since the Mexican ballad, marvelous text that it is, encompasses the issues of ethnic construction from various racial and national categories.

Benedict Anderson in his ground-breaking book *Imagined Communities* (1983) theorized the construction of nations as imagined political communities. Warner Sollers, likewise, posited that ethnicity is a socially constructed concept. I apply both of the above theoretical constructs in my analysis of the terms *indio* (or Native American), *gringo* (or Euroamerican), and *gachupín* (Spaniard) and posit that the construction of these terms was a form of »oppositional consciousness«, a term coined and elaborated upon by feminist Chicana scholar

[1] Funding for research of this paper was provided by the Luis Leal Endowed Fund.

Chela Sandoval. I further propose that the corrido, in both its written and oral forms, aided in the construction of the ethnic and political identity of the *mestizo* or Mexican population. The new mestizos sought to acquire legitimacy by juxtaposing the *indio*, with whom they identified (and who they saw as the only authentic and legitimate inhabitant of Mexican territory), against those they perceived to be foreigners: i.e. the *gringos* and the *gachupines*.

The problematic question of ethnic identity dates back to the very day Christopher Columbus landed on American soil and mis-identified the native inhabitants as Indians. Since Columbus desired above all things to have reached India and thus to have successfully achieved the promised made to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain, he never veered away from his initial error and continued to believe until his dying day he had reached the Indies. Columbus's letters to the Queen and his diary are excellent examples of ethnic construction of the Other and how this construction is not based on reality but on personal whim and political goals (see Todorov 1992; 1988). Thus the Indians are variously desribed as perfect human specimens or brute beasts lacking even minimal elements of human culture. Indeed, the courts of Spain eventually had to hold a hearing in order to decide whether the Indians belonged to the animal realm or the human species. It was fortunate for the Indians to have as their friend and advocate Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas who argued on their behalf and won the court case that saved them from being classified as beasts of burden and thus enslaved.

The Indian, nevertheless, occupied the lowest position in a rigidly stratified system of racial classification. In this pyramidal structure and caste system the Spanish born citizen or *peninsular* (born in the Iberian Peninsula) occupied the highest positions of power, the Creole or white born in America occupied the second rung, the *mestizo* or mixed race group was in third place and the Indians and mulattoes, the most numerous, were relagated to the bottom of the pyramid. Spanish American colonial society functioned in this manner although holes in the system began to appear no sooner the system was instituted. The concept of »pure blood« i.e. being »de sangre pura« had been instituted with respect to the Jewish and Moorish populations. Nevertheless, with 700 years of co-habiting with the Arab population as a result of the conquest in 714 and other ethnic strands intermingling with the native Celtic and Iberian populations, the Spaniard had been anything but »pure.« *Mestizaje* had been the order of the day and in fact that is why such a system of documenting their *sangre pura* had been instituted in the first place. With the economic needs of the Crown, documents verifying »sangre pura« or pure blood were bought and sold in the marketplace. Thus cases have been reported of African phenotype individuals possessing documents verifying their »pure blood« which of course signified »pure white European blood.«

The independence movements of 1810-1821 promised a new beginning for the *mestizo* and colored populations since the various political manifestos were modeled on the United States ideal of »all men are created equal« written in its constitution of 1789. The independence movements in Latin America, however, proved to be a cruel hoax for the equality of all men (and women) since the movements at the end of a bloody series of wars merely replaced the Spanish *peninsulares* with the white creoles at the center of economic, social, and political power. Corridos from this early period began to use the pejorative term for the Spaniard – *gachupín* – and began to construct ethnic divisions between the Spaniard and the Mexican, although in some of these early corridos this is not explicitly stated. The corrido »De Valerio Trujano« illustrates this early ethnic construction of the Spaniard in most unfavorable terms.

DE VALERIO TRUJANO

En mil ochocientos diez
ora les voy a contar,
del que ha fundado la Hacienda
fue don Manuel Gondulain.

Por historieta diré,
tal vez no les diga nada,
antes que esto fuera Hacienda
esto era un rancho de cabras.

De esa fecha para acá
reinaban los *gachupines*
cuando marchaban las tropas
al compas de los violines.

Pues de esa gente malvada
no me quisiera acordar;
porque sacaban al hombre
por la fuerza a trabajar.
.....
(Mendoza 1976, 3-5)

VALERIO TRUJANO

In 1820
I am now going to tell you
Of one who founded the Hacienda
That was Manuel Gondulain.

As a story I will tell you
Perhaps it will not say much
Before this was an Hacienda
It was a goat ranch.

From that date on
The *gachupines* (Spaniards) ruled
When the troops marched on
To the tunes of violins.

Well those evil people
I do not even want to recall
Because they used to force men
To do their work.
.....

The second corrido I analyzed juxtaposed the Indian against the Spaniard. The ethnic construction of the Spaniard will be in the negative register while the Indian will be that of victim. The Indian as hero will have to wait until the twentieth century after the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

DE LOS OPRIMIDOS

Voy a cantar un corrido
de esos que hacen padecer,
y les suplico, señores,
me perdonen por favor.

Tres siglos largos, señores,
el indio, triste, sufrió,
hasta que luego en Dolores
la Libertad lo alumbró.

Del cura de Guanajuato
toditos se han de acordar,
murió como buen soldado
por darnos la libertad.

ABOUT THE OPPRESSED ONES

I am going to sing you a ballad
Those that make you suffer
And I beg of you gentlemen
To please forgive me.

Three long centuries, gentlemen
The Indian sadly suffered
Until in the town of Dolores
Liberty illuminated him.

Of the priest from Guanajuato
All of you must remember
He died as a good soldier
So that we could be free men.

Pero el veintiuno, el Gobierno	But on the twenty-first, the Government
la Independencia nos dio,	Gave us our Independence
quedando los españoles	But with the Spaniards
dueños de nuestra nación.	Owning half of our nation.
Toda la tierra tomaron	All the land they did take
y al indio nada quedó,	And nothing was left for the Indian.
sin pensar que por ser dueños	Not taking into account they were the owners
durante once años peleó.	And fought for eleven years.
Por eso el indio ha sufrido	That is why the Indian has suffered
miserias, hambre y dolor,	Misery, hunger and pain
esperando le devuelvan	Hoping they will return
sus tierras que tanto amo.	His land which he so loved.
Ya mejor le pide al cielo	Tired he now begs the heavens
que lo quite de vivir,	To take his life away
con eso que, mejor muerto,	Because being dead
ya no tiene que surfir.	He does not have to suffer anymore.

(Mendoza 1976:5-6)

The Mexican American War of 1846-48, on the other hand, underscored the conflict between Anglos and Mexicans. In the »Corrido de Joaquin Murieta«, the protagonist, Joaquín, constucts himself as the defender of the poor, the Indian (Herrera-Sobek, 1993). Joaquin's ethnic identity is not delineated although the conflict is definitely between a Californio and the newly arrived European and European-American settlers. The construction of the Mexican nation is visible in the sextet:

No soy chileno ni extraño	I'm neither a Chilean nor a stranger
en este suelo que piso.	On this soil which I tread.
De México es California,	Mexico belongs to California
porque Dios así lo quiso,	Because God wanted it that way,
y en mi sarape cosida	And stitched to my sarape
traigo mi fe de bautismo.	I carry my baptismal certificate.

(Herrera-Sobek 1993:18)

The poetic persona seeks to reconnect the terrirorial loss of the state of California back to the natural boundaries of the Mexican nation.

Several corridos and other type of folksongs appeared during this period juxtaposing the »Yankee« with the brave Mexican defending his national territory. Of particular interest is the song »Las Margaritas« popular during the United States-Mexican War of 1846-48 which chastized Mexican women for coverting with the enemy i.e. the »Yankees.« This behavior on the part of women fraternizing with the enemy can be compared to the paradigmatic figure of La Malinche who has been condemned by Mexican history as the treacherous woman who betrayed her people to the enemy, the conquistador Hernan Cortes and his soldiers. In fact,

the word *Malinche* has come to mean he/she who sells out to the foreigners – one who betrays his race and his country, his people.

In the 1860's a new danger to Mexican sovereignty arose and once again the incipient concept of »Mexicaness« was juxtaposed to a new ethnic group – the French. The ambitious and misguided couple, the Austrian Archduke Maximillian and his wife Carlota, left Europe for Mexico with the intent of building a French Empire in America. However, shortly after their arrival in Mexico they realized they had been mislead and that the majority of the Mexican population were not in favor of Mexico becoming part of the French empire. Mexicans began to fight against the French in earnest and by 1867 Maximillian was defeated and shot to death by a firing squad under the orders of a victorious Benito Juárez. Corridos detail the various facets of this unfortunate French-Mexican encounter.

In the corrido »De Nicolás Romero« and in others like it of the period we begin to see the sprouting of the Mexican culture hero. The construction of the Mexican culture hero can be linked to the construction of the nation in the nineteenth century. The construction of masuclinity in terms of valient warrior types will be linked to the construction of the state.

DE NICOLAS ROMERONICOLAS ROMERO

Viene Nicolás Romero,	Nicolás Romero is coming
como valiente y osado,	Valient and daring that he is
con Aureliano Rivera	Together with Aureliano Rivera
que al *mocho* ya ha derrotado.	The French they have defeated.
Es impetuoso y ardiente,	He is impetuous and passionate
y combate con valor	And he fights with valor
al francés y al mexicano	Against the French and Mexicans
que se ha unido al traidor.	Who have join the treacherous ones.
.....	.....
El francés retotrocedia,	The French retreated
cuando miraba al valiente	When they would see the Brave One
que con grandiosa osadia,	With great daring
con su guerrilla combate.	With his guerrilla group he fights.

(Mendoza, 1976:9-12)

The final defeat of the French is celebrated in the corrido »Del Sitio de Queretaro.«

However it is not until the twentieth century that the mestizo assumes political power in Mexico after the Mexican Revolution of 1910. The Mexican Revolution, although a civil war, sought to displace those remnants of class and political power held by a small group of Spanish descendent landowners and foreign, principally American and European, business concerns. Class and race become evident in the corrido and the Indian begins to be represented in heroic proportions. The »Indian« in this corridos are no longer submissive, degraded and oppressed but assume the roles of protagonists in corrido narratives where the valient Indian is pitted against the cowardly *gachupín*. Of course the Indian in most corridos is really a mestizo protagonist who identifies with his glorious Indian past instead of his European one.

In the corrido »De la salida de los *gachupines* de la ciudad de Torreón« the lyrics celebrate the routing of the Huerta government forces, the victory of the Francisco Villa forces and the expulsion of the Spaniards or »gachupines« from the northern Mexican city of Torreón. The corrido also underscores the class conflict evident between the affluent Spaniards and the poor Mexicans.

DE LA SALIDA DE LOS GACHUPINES DE LA CIUDAD DE TORREON	*THE EXPULSION OF THE GACHUPINES FROM TORREON*
Aquí me pongo a cantar	Here I begin my song
con permiso de la gente	With the people's permission
tenemos que recordar	We have to remember
mucho de este presidente.	Many things this president did.
.....	.....
Dicen que eres el terror	They say you are the terror
de toditos tus contrarios	Of all your enemies
y tienes a tu favor	And you have on your side
a todos los millonarios.	All the millionaires.
Tú y tus ricos millionarios	Your and your rich millionaires
que vacilan con afán,	Who have a great time
ellos temen que los dejes	They are afraid you will leave them
abriendo las de caimán.	Holding the bag.
Ricos, malos, corazones,	Rich and evil hearts they have
se han metido muy macizo	You have really dug in
se quedaron sin millones	You have been left without your millions
pero con el compromiso.	But with all your debts.

Villa is percibed to be on the side of the poor:

Con Villa no gana la infamia,	With Villa infamy does not win
menos la calamidad;	Nor does calamity strike
antes socorre a los pobres	Instead he helps the poor
que le piden caridad.	Who ask him for alms.
.....	.....

Villa becomes the terror of the Gachupines:

Pónganse bien los botines	Put on your fancy shoes
para que busquen la orilla,	So that you may find the way out
ya verán los gachupines	You gachupines will see
lo que les pasa con Villa.	What will happen to you with Villa.
.....	.....

The concept of a free nation is reiterated at the corrido's closure.

Nuestra patria ha de ser libre	Our motherland will be free
y también nuestra bandera,	And also our flag
aquí no ha de producir	Here no plant will flower
ninguna planta extranjera.	If it is from a foreign soil.
Ya se acabó la tragedia	Our tragedy has ended
ya se le vieron sus fines	We can see the end
ya se fueron pa' su tierra	They have gone to their own land
los traidores gachupines.	Those treacherous gachupines.

(Mendoza 1976:49)

The word *gringo* (as opposed to »Yankee«) also begins to appear during the Mexican Revolution. The United States was indirectly involved in this fratecidal war though their support or non support of presidents and presidential candidates. At one point in time during the revolutionary period Francisco (Pancho) Villa crossed the U.S. border and invaded Columbus, New Mexico. This led to an ill-fated military expedition by General Pershing who sought to capture the wiley Villa and bring him back to the United States for punishment. The threat of intervention loomed large in the Mexican mind and a corrido called »Del peligro de la intervención Americana« [»The Danger of an American Invasion«] yuxtaposed the »Indian« with the *gringo*.

DEL PELIGRO DE LA INTERVENCION AMERICANA	*THE DANGER OF AN AMERICAN INVASION*
Madre mía Guadalupana,	Mother of Guadalupe,
échame tu bendición,	Give me your blessings
yo ya me voy a la guerra,	I am going off to war
ya viene la Intervención!	The Intervention is near us.
.....	.....
Si acaso creen que los indios	If they think the Indians
ya todos se han acabado,	Have all been exterminated
sobran unos pellejitos	There are a few
para entrarle al embolado.	To enter the fray.
.....	.....
Confórmense con ser ricos	Be grateful you are rich
y tener muchos millones,	And that you have many millions
porque para gobernarnos	Because for you to govern us
les faltan muchas razones.	You need many more reasons.
.....	.....
Ahora si ya, compañeros,	O.K. now my friends
muera la guerra intestina!	Let us end this civil war
Bautizaremos un gringo,	Let us baptize (kill) a gringo
ya búsquenle su madrina.	Go look for one that will do it.

(Mendoza 1976:41-44)

Scholars included in Werner Sollers' edited anthology *The Invention of Ethnicity* (1989) and others insist on the social construction of the ethnic self. The various theoretical models on ethnic self-fashioning all point to ethnic identity as a process – a process that can be analyzed from a socio-historical standpoint and not attributable to any particular immutable biological trait.

While I perceive many pitfalls in the extant theories posited on ethnic construction and see the necessity for further fine tuning, the corrido text does present a document that demostrates how one group fashions self in opposition to others. It is evident in corrido texts how in the process of constructing a national identity, the Other is used as a foil and as a recipient of negative stereotyping.

Numerous corrido texts belong to what Barbara Harlow has called »resistance literature« i.e. a subersive type of literature that seeks to destablize a ruling power by publicizing its oppressive policies. The Spanish colonial system was deemed oppressive and exploitative by the Mexican mestizo population. Through the corrido, the Spaniard or »gachupín« was constructed as an enemy Other and was encapsulated in a series of negative, stereotypical attributes. Later, the U.S. Mexican War of 1846-48 and subsequent United States incursions into Mexican territory made the Anglo-saxon population an enemy which pejoratively became constructed first as »Yankees« and later as »gringos.« The same process appeared in the national liberation corrido penned against French imperialist misadventures.The corridos I have examined above demonstrate how the Mexican ballad serves as a vehicle through which the construction of nation, nationality and ethnicity is evident. Through the lyrics of these songs those perceived as »not us« are relegated to the realm of the Other. During episodes of war the construction of the Other in negative terms is particularly salient. Analysis of ballad traditions aids in pinpointing how nation states are constructed and how they become »imagined communities.«

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Indio, gringo in gachupin: etnična struktura v mehiškem corridu

Povzetek

V svoji pionirski knjigi *Imagined Community* je Benedict Anderson postavil teorijo o konstrukciji narodov v smislu »namišljenih političnih skupnosti«, medtem ko je Warner Sollers etničnost definiral kot družbeno skonstruiran pojem. Na teh teorijah sem osnovala svojo analizo izrazov »indio«, »gringo« (Severnoameričan z angleškimi koreninami) in »gachupin« (Španec). Nastanek teh izrazov je oblika »opozicijske zavesti«, o kateri govori Chela Sandoval. Tako pisna kot ustna oblika corrida je pripomogla k nastanku etnične in politične identitete »mesticev« ali »Mehičanov«. Nova skupina »mesticev« je skušala doseči legitimnost z jukstapozicijo »indiov« ali Indijancev, s katerimi so se identificirali in katere so imeli za edine avtentične in legitimne prebivalce mehiškega ozemlja v nasprotju z evropskimi tujci ali »gringi« in »gachupini«.

Ethnic Consciousness and Ballad Research in Hungary

Ildikó Kríza

The discovery of folk ballads in the mid-19th century was an important social event in Hungary. The public became acquainted with this genre at a time when national consciousness was unfolding (Kríza 1986:267). A relationship can be shown between the two phenomena. Arousing an awareness of the values of folk poetry meant esteem for the culture of the entire nation. The ballads, which represented a high standard from the aesthetic point of view, played a prominent part in this process.

1.) Ballad poetry and national consciousness

The mid-19th century in Europe among the peoples east of the Elba was a period marked by the shaping of national consciousness and the ideal of the nation state. Each nation defined its own culture as distinct from that of other nations. The differences and individual features acquired importance. In Hungary the specialists became acquainted with the Danish, Scottish, Swedish, German and other ballads before the Hungarian ballads (Erdélyi 1982:180). Famous scholars spoke with nostalgia of what a pity it was that the Hungarians did not have either a national epic or songs about historical events (Toldy 1855:114). In this situation, Hungarian folk ballads suddenly appeared out of the blue, almost without precedent, with the publication of a collection of Transylvanian Szekler folk poetry (Kríza 1982:58). The leading representatives of Hungarian culture were amazed to see that the verses were perfect as regards poetics. They took this as undoubted proof of the value of folk poetry (Gyulai 1872:547). In their enthusiasm they declared the folk ballads to be equal in value to the elite culture and received the discovery of each new type or even a single variant with great ovation. It is a characteristic of Hungarian ballads that they not only briefly inform the listeners of an event but also present complex social conflicts in a concise, epic form, in a way that appeals to the emotions (Gregus 1865).

For this reason, when the Hungarian folk ballads were discovered it was stressed that, compared to the German Nibelungen, the Finnish Kalevala, the Serbo-Croatian heroic epic or the values of other peoples, this was a distinctively Hungarian form. Literary almanacs which had previously translated Danish, Norwegian and Scottish folk ballads, Russian epic songs and the verse chronicles of Vuk Karadžić began to publish ballads, showing how much they differ from the Hungarian ballads. Writers and scholars made pronouncements on the subject saying that although there is no Hungarian heroic epic, the ballad is a genre which vies with the major epics of other peoples for its ability to portray conflict, its intense drama and lyric mood (Gregus 1865). A campaign to collect ballads began in mid-19th century and a very prominent role was played in it by János Kríza who found the types considered to be the most interesting in the eastern part of Hungary, in Transylvania, and published them in 1863 (Kríza 1863).

A Romanian journalist in Budapest sounded a sour note amidst the celebration of ballad poetry when he accused Kríza of translating the finest ballads from Romanian (Grozescu 1864). This plagiarism led to a study of the national and international place of folk ballads and protection of the values of folk poetry, and also created an awareness that the ballad is a part of national culture and ethnic self-esteem (Alexics 1897:366). Ballads were thought to be unique to Hungary and people did not want to believe that other peoples had similar ballads too; it was regarded as a question of honour to protect the national character of Hungarian ballads. The debate in the daily papers and scholarly forums lasted for decades and led to the birth of comparative folkloristics in Hungary. From then on, international comparison was taken into account for all folklore genres, examining the relationship to the tradition of other peoples (Korompay 1978:116).

The other, no less important result was the emergence of awareness of the ethnic association of folk poetry as a whole, and the first theory on the origin of the ballad was produced.

2.) Development of the milieu theory

As a result of the interest in ballads, a considerable number of texts appeared in Hungarian in the 19th century. Items from Percy's collection became known from the original source or through intermediary languages, as well as a few variants of the Popular Ballads and Songs published by Jamieson in 1806 which could be regarded as related to Hungarian examples, and some sixteen texts from Talvj's anthology, to mention only a few of the sources (Erdélyi 1982:166). The similarity was to be found principally not in the topic but in the atmosphere. They also paid attention to the coincidence of motifs since this too was an indispensable part of the positivist method of data exploration. One of the researchers on ballad poetry, Pál Gyulai, unequivocally declared that the closest relatives of the Hungarian ballads must be sought not among the neighbouring peoples, but among the peoples living in rocky, mountainous regions, in the bleak countryside of Northern Europe (Swedes, Scots, Danes). To confirm his theory he noted that nowhere else in Hungary are such beautiful ballads to be found as in Transylvania (Gyulai 1872:546). He contrasted the data for the Great Plain and Transylvania, claiming that the latter are similar to the Northern European ballads while those of the Great Plain are more like the Spanish and French romances. According to proponents of the milieu theory, the ballad and the romance are two clearly distinct genres. In the case of the ballads they saw the influence of the given region reflected in folk poetry and interpreted the conflict among individuals, violence and tragic clashes in this light. It is interesting that The Twa Sisters (Ch 10), for example, appeared in Hungarian in 1842 and the fact that it was published numerous times is an indication of its popularity but, despite this, it was not until fifty years later that a Hungarian parallel was found (Vargyas II.1982:729). In the same way, before ballads about the girl who became pregnant (Johny Scot), the wife killed in the absence of her husband (Lamkin), the drowned lovers (The Drowned Lovers), the complaint of the unmarried mother (Sweet Willi and Fair Janet) were recorded from Hungarian oral tradition, readers could already become acquainted with good translations in English and Swedish texts. Proponents of the milieu theory stressed the congeniality after the Hungarian parallels were found. It is not easy to find the original sources of Hungarian translations of Northern European ballads. In cases the translator drew on an intermediary language or little known publication, but we also know that the collections of Wolf, Talvj and Uhland were popular (Erdélyi 1982:177).

Independently of the results of philological data explorations, I would like to stress that in the mid-19th century the popularity of ballads and the origin of the genre were explained by environmental factors. Experts at that time held that similar countryside produced similar human behaviour, conflicts and life situations which were able to appear in some way in folk poetry. In addition, they also observed that ballads similar to those in Hungarian can be found among peoples placed in a peripheral situation by historical changes. This was the next argument used by proponents of the milieu theory for a relationship between the Hungarian variants and the Scottish and Swedish ballads in particular (Gyulai 1872:565). They pointed to historical events to explain the peripheral situation of the Transylvanian Szekler ballads. Despite the fact that Transylvania is in the centre of Europe, it became the periphery. At the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Age, during the Turkish occupation the people there lived in isolation at the northern border of the Turkish Empire, cut off from the Habsburg Empire, and the troubles they suffered gave rise to numerous conflicts. One of the legacies of this complicated historical past is the ballad, as a genre, and its tragic themes (Tôkei 1964:82).

The milieu theory progressively weakened by the end of the 19th century. With the development of comparative philology and folkloristics it gradually lost its role and significance.

3.) The culture complex theory

The growing volume of philological research made the milieu theory untenable, and with the consolidation of the method of the Finnish geographical-historical school, the aim became to explore borrowings and to make deductions concerning the archaic »original« forms (Solymossy 1924,1925). In Hungary at the turn of the century and early 20th century the culture complex theory appeared in ballad research as well under German/Austrian cultural influence. This theory is based on the work of Wilhelm Schmidt and Wilhelm Koppers, the so-called »Vienna school« (Vajda 1949:45). According to them the essence of a culture is determined by quantitative data, in close correlation with continuity and supplemented by criteria of form. In very simplified terms, a culture can be known and its boundaries drawn on the basis of three interrelated criteria (quantity of data, form, continuity) (Vajda 1949:48). Drawing the culture complexes in the European region is a complex task and the theory was applied mainly in the case of tribal societies, although Schmidt and Koppers also had considerable influence among European ethnology researchers. Their followers in Hungary included Sándor Solymossy who applied the theory in combination with other methods. The renowned Hungarian folklorist produced a number of monographs in this spirit in the first half of the century. Among others, he answered the plagiarism debate mentioned above which touched on the Balkan connections of the ballad of the woman built into the wall, the building victim (Solymossy 1924:133). He regarded it as important to draw on as much data as possible to prove the original place of origin of a given subject and ballad type, its dissemination, links with other genres and its geographical migration. He produced facts to show that the folk belief concerning the building victim can be found everywhere east of Hungary to the Caucasians. The veneration of sacred places and the building of castles, bridges or monasteries on these sites is a frequent topic of epic songs. The Hungarian ballad belongs in this culture complex. An example of this method which is still frequently cited is the monograph he wrote on the »Two Sisters« and the »Singenden Knochen« tale and ballad type. Using the method of the Finnish geographical-historical school and the Viennese culture complex theory, he drew at-

tention to relationships which appeared new and modern in his own age. His achievements are still often cited by experts. It is of importance for us, as Hungarian folklorists, that he showed the place of the Hungarian tale and ballad in international culture. Regarding the motifs, he listed parallels found in ancient Persian, Greek, Roman and other cultures, pointing out their continuity. In his studies he consistently adopted a position for the »oriental« origin of Hungarian culture. Parallels of the mythic and narrative elements in the folklore texts can be found in the ancient oriental cultures (Solymossy 1920). In his opinion it is here that the special feature of Hungarian ballads lay.

Solymossy consistently applied this method regularly in his studies with the openly declared aim of producing further evidence for the »archaic« culture of the Hungarian people settled in Central Europe. He elaborated the historical approach in ballad research. According to his investigations, the ballad genre is the result of historical development, and different ages produced different ballad types. He distinguished four major stages of development, from the Middle Ages up to the 20th century. Since no Hungarian ballads have survived from the Middle Ages he demonstrated the continuity of the folklore of that period from narrative units or mythological motifs deducted by the analytical method. In that period (the Middle Ages) the singing orders played an important role for the ballad in the life of the genre. The itinerant singers, and musicians of castles and noble courts, the *Minnesanger, vagans and joculatores,* played an important part in Hungary too in the Middle Ages in spreading epic poetry, without which the spread of the typically European ballad genre is inconceivable (Solymossy 1907: 345).

One of the results of applying the culture complex theory was to stress the oriental elements and relationship of Hungarian ballads. It became obvious that Hungarian ballads cannot be fitted easily into the international system because their motifs belong to a more precisely unspecified, so-called »oriental« culture. Recognition of the historical development of ballad poetry opened a perspective for understanding folklore of the modern age and especially of the 19th-20th century, the broadside ballads, murder ballads, outlaw ballads. These types differ fundamentally from those of mythic origin. The phenomenon could be explained by the fact of belonging to the Central European culture complex. Allow me to mention here the name of an undeservedly forgotten researcher, one who looked at the facts without rigid barriers, namely Róbert Gragger. He studied in Paris and at the Budapest University, later becoming professor of the Berlin University, and achieved important results in making Hungarian ballads known internationally. He saw Central European ballad poetry in its full context, and proclaimed the system of relationships among the motifs and forms of the genre. In his opinion, the new stratum of Hungarian ballads belongs to the German culture complex (Gragger 1926). The printed semi-folk literature reached Hungary through cheap printed materials. He assumed that unknown poets of little talent and versifiers wrote the verses not in literal translation but following the rules of Hungarian poetics, in Hungarian rhythm, to known melodies. The verse-chroniclers who appeared at the fairs played a part in the dissemination.

It must be noted that at the time when the theory emphasising the significance of culture complexes was the fashion, type monographs opposing the trend were also written. The concrete ballad analyses applied the Finnish geographical-historical method and did not confirm the culture complex theory (Korompay 1978:116). Nevertheless, it can be said that one of the committed branches of Hungarian folkloristics, as a follower of the »Vienna school«, proclaimed the oriental relationship.

4.) The French origin of Hungarian ballads

In the 1950s Lajos Vargyas created a new theory which is generally cited in our time by ballad researchers who sometimes accept it and at others refer to it with scepticism. According to the theory, the Hungarian folk ballad is of French origin. The ballad genre was born in France. It spread throughout Europe from there. Walloon settlers brought it to Hungary in the late Middle Ages where it spread and became fashionable. Through the ethnic and cultural link the subject, melody and characteristic forms of the ballad were all adopted by the peoples living here. This special genre became naturalised in Hungary and reached the eastern part of Europe through Hungarian mediation. The ethnic features add colour to the epic poetry of basically French origin. The reason for its present form is that some topics disappeared over the centuries and were replaced by others, they were distorted in the process of oral tradition and in cases changed under the influence of national literature (Vargyas 1977: 121).

Vargyas places the birth of the ballad in a social and historical context. In his opinion, France was the only place in Europe where society was sufficiently developed for the individual to be able to protest against the laws of rigid feudal society and the conflicts that are part of the essence of the ballad arose there. The genre reached England and Scotland too from France. The Scandinavian ballads, which were already recorded in writing in the Middle Ages, do not belong to this main trend. Vargyas made a comparative study of around a hundred Hungarian ballad types to show the French link of the genre. He argues that the genre leaped over the vast German-speaking territory to Hungary at the end of the Middle Ages because the social relations there were sufficiently developed to make its adoption possible. Some of the types that do not belong in this system may have been the legacy of a lost mediaeval heroic epic, while another group are the result of local, internal development arising from the fashion of the ballad genre.

5.) Folk poetry in the service of ethnic consciousness

Summing up the lessons of the three ballad theories, it can be said that all three can be regarded as a part of national self-esteem. They appeared in three different periods of history, in three fundamentally different cultural policy contexts. Each regards ethnic culture embedded in a larger whole, belonging to somebody and somewhere. In emphasising the relationship, Hungarian folklore, which differs fundamentally from that of the surrounding peoples, is regarded as belonging to a people or ethnic group placed higher in an unspecified social hierarchy. However, the theories have not stepped beyond the boundaries of the profession and have not created so-called modern mythologies. Although within folk poetry as a whole the ballads played a greater role than their numerical proportion, having a stronger influence than other genres on literature, music and art, they did not break out of the frames of the discipline. Beside these theories, for a century and a half there also existed the notion that Hungarian culture was the result of autochthonous development, although certain of its elements can be compared to the traditions of other people.

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Etnična zavest in baladno raziskovanje na Madžarskem

Povzetek

Odkritje ljudskih balad je v 19. stoletju pomenilo pomemben družbeni dogodek. Vse večja pozornost, namenjena tej zvrsti, je pripomogla k oblikovanju narodne zavesti, saj estetska vrednost balad ni zaostajala za elitno kulturo. Za raziskovalno delo sta bila pomembna izvor zvrsti ter vprašanje prenašanja in izposojanja.

V baladnem raziskovanju so se izoblikovale tri različne teorije o izvoru zvrsti:

• Konec 19. stoletja so izvor balad iskali ob pomoči določanja zemljepisnega okolja. Tako naj bi prebivalci negostoljubnih gorskih predelov, kjer je življenje težko, peli o težkih usodah. Tu naj bi se rodile balade. Tako madžarske balade niso podobne baladam sosednjih narodov, temveč škotskim baladam. Da bi potrdili povezavo med škotskimi in madžarskimi baladami, so prevedli številna besedila iz Childove zbirke in jim dodali opombe.

• Ena od številnih stičnih točk med madžarsko in nemško kulturo z začetka 20. stoletja so bile podobnosti med madžarskimi in nemškimi baladami. Profesorji z Dunaja in iz Bude so proučevali zgodovinsko ozadje teh kulturnih podobnosti in pri tem uporabljali metode finske geografsko-zgodovinske šole.

• V petdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja je Lajos Vargyas razvil novo teorijo, po kateri naj bi bile madžarske balade francoskega izvora. Na Madžarsko naj bi v poznem srednjem veku prišle prek kulturnih in medetničnih stikov. Francija je domovina evropske balade, Madžarska pa naj bi bila drugi center te zvrsti. Od tod naj bi se balada skupaj s priljubljenimi epskimi pesmimi razširila v izročila sosednjih narodov.

Te tri teorije o izvoru balade so se rodile v treh različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih in kažejo duha treh nasprotujočih si tokov kulturne politike. Za vsako je značilna potreba po pripadnosti nekomu drugemu in vsaka poudarja ta odnos. Vendar je bila poleg teh treh teorij zadnje poldrugo stoletje prisotna tudi teorija, da se je madžarska baladna poezija razvila avtohtono, četudi je mogoče njene posamezne elemente primerjati z izročilom drugih narodov.

Heroes and Villains in the South-Eastern European Ballads

Nicolae Constantinescu

It should be stated from the very beginning that the word 'ballad' is taken here in its broadest sense, covering, thus, all narratives sheltering under the large umbrella of V. I. Propp's formula-definition, »a narrative song meant to be listened to«. Within this large category of poetico-musical folk-productions one can identify, applying the structural-functional criterion, at least three well defined sub-categories, species or genres: the proper epic-song, the family ballad, and the contemporary 'oral journal' (Amzulescu 1981, 1986). The model of the heroic epos appears in two typological versions: (1) »the epos of freedom and revenge«, the plot of which includes some Proppian functions from 'prejudice' ('damage') (A) to 'remedy' R, with two sub-types, (a) the heroic song, obligatory including the pair of functions 'struggle'-'victory' (Rom. *Luptă*) (L)-'victorie' (V), and (b), »the epos of heroic adventure«, in which the function 'struggle' may not exist, and (2) »the epos of venture« starting with 'absence' (A') and ending with 'remedy' R or 'non-remedy' (-R). The family ballad structure follows, at large, the 'deadlock' pattern (Rom. *Impas*) (I) - 'test' or 'trial' (Rom. *Proba*) (P) - 'remedy' (Rom. *Remediere*) R or 'non-remedy' (-R).

In terms of territorial distribution, the epic song is largely spread in the southern part of Romania, along the Danube River valley, from Banat to Dobrudja, while the family ballad is most common to the western part of the country, i. e. Transylvania. The performing style and the performers as well differ from one region to another: in Oltenia and Walachia the epic songs are sung only by males, in many cases professionals (Rom. *Lăutari*, fiddlers), but, less often, non-professionals also, while the family ballad in Transylvania can be performed by usually non-professional males and females as well.

As for the thematic level, the epic song clearly goes with the south-eastern Balkan tradition, while the family ballad belongs, to a greater extent, to the western European tradition. It is possible and it does occur quite often that a family ballad theme or plot is performed in the area of the 'great epic song', namely in Oltenia and Walachia, in the manner of the proper epic song, using, thus, the rhetoric devices of this genre. Conversely, although the phenomenon is more rare, when a theme of a heroic song enters the repertoire of a family ballad singer, it loses its heroic character and shifts the emphasis to the moral or ethical dimensions of the plot.

The ballad or the 'ancient songs' (Rom. *cântece bătrâneşti*) is a common feature of the folk-culture of south-eastern Europe, an area inhabited by various ethnic groups - the Albanians, with their roots in the old Thraco-Illyrian population, the Greeks, with one of the oldest civilization of Europe, the Romanians, related to the Albanians by their common forefathers, the Thraco-Dacians, but of Roman/Latin descent, the Slavonics - Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, Bulgarians, Macedonians etc. Over the centuries, to these local groups, new

population added first of all the Turks or the Ottomans who, in spite of the fierce resistance of the local populations, little by little conquered the entire region. Before the rise of the Ottoman Empire, the Tartars from the Volga River swept the Eastern part of present-day Romania and left their mark on the culture of the whole south-eastern Europe. Next to them there were the Gypsies, whose history is also centuries long in the Balkans.

This area is not only a very complex multiethnic region of Europe, but also a multi-confessional one, for here Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim have met and lived together for many centuries.

In spite of its ethnic and religious diversity, the Balkan area shows a kind of unity based on a long common history and way of life. Even beneath the striking linguistic diversity (genetically the languages spoken here belong to at least four different groups - Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Thraco-Illyrian) one may find a common stratum of *Balkanness, 'Balkan Sprachbund'*, in terms of the Slovene scholar Kopitar. A relatively large spectrum of »typological and lexical concordances in languages geographically close to one another but genetically different« led to a »widespread multilingualism, both collective and individual...« (Lorinczi 1996: 124)

A multilingualism which could be held responsible for the large stock of epic themes and motifs common to all the Balkan or south-eastern European peoples and nations. Not less, the similar way of life, mainly rural, hence more conservative, and similar historical conditions led to a common cultural heritage, an important part of which is the ballad as well. Knowing each other very well, as neighbors, allies or enemies, these peoples shaped their own identity by emphasizing what was thought to be more relevant and more appealing for the sensitivity of the group in which the epic poems were created and performed.

Usually, the old epic songs develop a plot which opposes one beloved, brave, human hero to one or more enemies belonging to the 'other' group, and depicted, in the case of the Romanian 'ballad' or 'ancient song', as **non-human** (Dragon, Serpent), **half-human** (»Arapul buzat«, »a thick-lipped Moor«, »a foul black boor«), **non-Christian** (Turk or Tartar, »heathen«, »pagan«, »unbaptized«), **non-Orthodox** (»the rich Latin«, »dirty«, »vile«), **non-Romanian** (»a sly Greek fox«, »of all faithless Greeks the worst«) etc. To these general characteristics, also encountered in the folk-narratives of the other Balkan groups, the Romanian 'singer of tales' (cf. A. B. Lord), and his South of the Danube 'colleague' as well, can add, in order to sharpen the conflict and to please the audience - for, we must remember, these songs are meant to be listened to! - some specific features as, for instance, not speaking the language of the land, not observing the local rules of marriage, eating, drinking, dressing, or mating in a different way.

The Balkan legends related to the names of the ethnic groups inhabiting this area clearly indicate the same way of defining the 'others': they have no language, no religion, feed themselves in a strange way (having no knowledge of agriculture or stock-breeding), even living beneath the earth, they are undressed, covered with hair etc. (cf. Mesnil 1997: 235). One may assume, and the assumption is correct, that the epic song or ballad will follow this pattern in depicting both the hero and his enemies

A good example in this respect could be *The Rich Latin (Godfather's Song),* of the Type 15 (21) in Amzulescu's Catalogue of Narrative Subjects and Variants (*Catalogul subiectelor narative si al variantelor)*: »At the royal (voievode, princely) court gathered many loaded carts adorned for wedding. One prince marries and another one weds him. The bride is the daughter

of the 'rich and filthy/foul Latin'. The wedding train/pomp takes live in spring and arrives at the home of the in-laws in the autumn. Seeing from far the train of wedding guests, the bride's father locks the doors. From the watchtower he yells that no one will get in unless the groom fulfills all his demands: to jump over the gates, over some barrels of wine and piles of thick cloth. In the groom's name, the godfather passes all the trials. In a final attempt, he recognizes the bride, and the wedding starts merrily« (Amzulescu 1981: 72-74 indicates some 50 versions published in printed sources and over 50 taped in the Archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest).

The subject, widely spread among the south-Slavonic peoples (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Muslim Bosnians), has been studied, from various points of view and, in many respects, independently, by Dagmar Burkhart (1968), Adrian Fochi (1975), Petru Caraman (1974, 1987) and Sabina Ispas (1995).

In his brief presentation, Adrian Fochi (1987: 82-86) summarizes the information, pointing out some of the common features of the plot: the wedding of a prince to the daughter of a king of a different nationality and, more important, of a different religion, who demands of the groom some very difficult tasks which are to be passed by someone else, not by the groom himself. Most often, the bride's father is a 'Latin', but also a Turk, a Tartar, or even a Jew. Regardless the ethnic origin or the religious persuasion of the bride, her father insists upon the trials the groom has to pass, threatening him with death in case of failure. This seems to be the oldest stratum of the plot, preserving, thus, the memory of the ancient times when marrying outside your own group, or, - better say - far beyond the borders of your own group, could lead to violent conflicts. The obstinacy of the bride's father is ascribed to his different faith, as he is a 'Latin', but also to the different wedding customs of a far away region or country.

If the subject is, in general, similar, the songs differ a great deal in the details, which, at last, are more important for the meaning and the function of the ballad in its ancient milieu.

Let's note, first, that the groom belongs almost always to the local or ethnic group, to the group of the singer and of his audience: he is a Romanian prince »Iancu Voda« ('prince Iancu') from Bucharest who is wed by Stefan-Voda ('prince Stephan'); a Serbian prince (»Czar Stephan«) in the Serb variants; a Croat prince, »Mato of Srijem« in the Croat versions; a Slovene prince, »Janko« in Slovene variants; »Hasan-Aga« in Bosnian variants. Only in the Bulgarian versions is the hero an Egyptian King who scours the world to find a special, unique bride (cf. Caraman 1987: 196-202).

Most of the Balkan versions of the ballad insist upon the origin of the bride, more accurately, of her father, who is of a different ethnic and religious origin, usually a 'Latin': »Iancu-Voda is marrying / Stefan-Voda is wedding him; / But the bride, where is she from? / She is from Dobroudja / The daughter of **a rich Latin**, / Hellas! **The filthy dog**, / **Who dropped his faith**« (Romanian); »When the Serb Czar Stefan married, / Far away he wooed the bride, / In **Ledjan, the Latin stronghold**, / To the Latins' Prince Mihai (Michael), / His daughter, Roxana maiden (Serbian); »Wooed a bride Mato of Srijen, / From far away he wooed the bride: / From **the white stronghold of Ledjan**, / A beautiful maiden, one from Ledjan, / The beloved daughter of the 'ban' of Ledjan…« (Croatian); »Married prince Janko ('Janko Vajwoda') / Far away married he, **in the Latin country**« (Slovenia). Only the Bulgarian version sets the plot in a different world: »The prince of Egypt married; / He looked

over villages and towns / (and he did not find a girl to marry) / But when the prince went to Roxon-stronghold / There he found a proper girl…« (all examples in Caraman 1987: 196-202 [translation mine - N. C.]). The local conditions put their marks on the configuration of the plot: in the Bosnian version, for example, the groom is a Muslim prince who marries a Christian girl.

The core of the plot consists in the difficult tasks the bride's father asks the groom to perform, the trials being usually passed by someone else, not by the groom himself. The helper is, in most of the Slavic, South of the Danube variants, the marrying prince's nephew(s), whom he did not invite to attend the wedding. A common feature of some of the Slavic versions of the ballad is that that the bride's father asks the groom to not allow his nephews to follow him and to take part in the wedding. The reason for this interdiction seems to be the harsh character of the groom's nephews, young men loving to drink and ready to make a row, even on a solemn occasion like this. The Latin King of the Ledjan Town/Citadel puts it in these words: »May the groom come whenever he wants / But not bring with him his two nephews of his sister, / His two nephews, the two Vojnovič: / Namely Vukašin and Petrašin, / For they are peerless heavy drinkers /And they will get drunk and will start the quarrel…« (Vuk St. Karađić, *Srpske narodne pjesme II*, 127-129, see Caraman 1987:226). But, in spite of the interdiction, he (they) follow(s) in disguise the wedding train and intervene, at the proper time, saving the life of his (their) uncle, for every new difficult task includes the menace of death.

In another group of south-Slavic variants, the interdiction concerns not certain relatives, as, for instance, the two above mentioned nephews, but a larger class of companions, those ethnically related to the groom: King Mihail of Raguza (Dubrovnik), the father of Irina, asks the groom: »Listen to me Smederevac George / When you come to my white courts / And make up your wedding train / Don't you bring Serbs here / For they are terrible drinkers / And ill-tempered making discord / … / But take with you Greeks and Bulgarians / As many as you want / And come for the bride« (Karadzici 1977: 264) (translation mine - N.C.).

The groom's helpers in most of the south-Slavic versions are, thus, younger than the groom himself, and - interestingly enough from an anthropological point of view - they are the groom's sister's sons, or, conversely, he (the groom) is their maternal uncle, the mother's brother, a privileged position in many primitive, old societies (see Radcliffe-Brown 1952). In these societies, the mother's brother or the maternal uncle plays the role of the father, he is, actually, more than a father: he deserves the respect of his nephews and gives to them all the protection they need at different moments of their lives. I assume that here we encounter a very interesting cultural transformation: when the mother's brother function diminished, when this special type of kinship lost its ancient significance and became non-relevant for the members of a certain group, this turned into a simple literary motif, an epic device in a narrative plot.

It is, however, relevant to mention that a relatively recent Bulgarian variant seems to preserve the older meaning of the uncle-nephew relation: young Ive looks for a bride and he finds her far away of home, in Budim. In making up his wedding train, he forgets to invite his uncle, Vuiceo, the shepherd of Stara Planina. The latter follows the train disguised as a beggar, and passes the heavy tasks imposed by the bride's father (cf. Fochi 1975: 85).

This part is omitted in the Romanian versions in which the helper of the groom is his godfather, an elder, more experienced prince, of the same origin, faith and social status.

This situation seems to be also relevant for the relationship of the epic song or ballad to the cultural context to which it belongs. For, again from an anthropological point of view, in Romanian traditional culture and society, the godfather played a very important role; he was, especially during the wedding ceremony, but also throughout the godson's life, more than a father; he and his wife were the 'spiritual parents' of the new family. The so-called »spiritual kinship by godfathering« (Stahl) or »conventional kinship« (Scurtu) has the role of establishing an alliance and consolidating the society. The best man (sponsor), »the person who gives the bride away« at the wedding ceremony will be the godfather of the new family's children and the best man of the boys he Christianized (See Constantinescu 1987: 85-90; Constantinescu 1996: 70-71). The privileged position of the godfather/godmother (godparents) in the Romanian kinship system and the strong relationship of the godsons to them can be also sustained by another international subject (K-2111) in which, conversely, the godmother's attempt to make love with her godson is firmly rejected by him, as an outrage to the old moral and Christian laws (see Fochi 1982).

As one may see, the motif of marrying far away from the local group received different solutions in different ethnic and religious groups. The main characters of the ballads changed their ethnic and religious affiliation according to the local and historical conditions. For, who were, in the Middle Ages, the 'Latins' for the Balkan population?

A general assumption is that the 'Latins' were any kind of Western Romance language speaking population, often associated with Catholicism. »The 'Latins' - whose typical representative is the groom's father-in-law - are not actually a nation. This general and vague term is not, in fact, a *nomen ethnicum,* as long as it may refer to a number of different western nations having nothing in common but the religion: all are Catholics« (Caraman 1987: 257). As for the south-Slavic word **'Ledjian'**, Petru Caraman gives credit to Stojan Novaković's theory, according to which the word 'Ledjan' is borrowed from Hungarian 'Lengyel' which, in its turn, comes from 'Lech', i. e. 'Poles' , 'of Poland'. But, argues the Romanian scholar, »very soon, the name Ledjan, in spite of its origin, begun to refer to a different world - also Catholic, but better known to the Southern Slavs and especially to the Serbs and Croats (…) first of all the Italians, the Germans from Austria, the Hungarians, themselves Catholics as well« (idem: 282).

Donka Petkanova arrives at a similar conclusion, arguing that for all of south-eastern Europe »the Latin […] is a generic name for the Christians of other church but the Orthodox one - Italians, Frenchmen, Normans« (Petkanova 1984, see Ispas 1995: 139).

Having its 'historical roots' in very remote times, the epic song of *The Rich Latin* incorporates a large amount of social information concerning the relationship of the ethnic and religious groups living in the Balkan area. The ancient, common core of the plot was set by each people in accord with its mentality, history and aspirations, teaching generations of listeners and readers how to cope with and overcome the conflicts and the challenges of such a complex and diverse region as this.

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Nicolae Constantinescu

Junaki in njihovi nasprotniki v ljudskih baladah jugovzhodne Evrope

Povzetek

Balada ali »stara pesem« (rom. *cântec bătrânesc*) je značilna za vso ljudsko kulturo jugovzhodne Evrope, tega kompleksnega večnacionalnega in večverskega prostora. Kljub etnični in verski raznolikosti Balkan kaže določeno enotnost, ki temelji na dolgi skupni zgodovini in načinu življenja. O tem govorijo balade, ki jih pojejo ob različnih priložnostih. To velja tudi za epsko temo *Bogati Latinec* ali *Botrova pesem*, ki je v več sto različicah razširjena severno in južno od Donave. Jedro zapleta se vrti okrog težkih nalog, ki jih nevestin oče (po navadi »Latinec«) zada ženinu. Te prepreke po navadi premaga ženin sam ali pa nekdo drug (ženinov nečak ali nečaki v južnoslovanskih različicah ali ženinov boter v romunskih različicah). Vsako ljudstvo je epsko pesnitev *Bogati Latinec*, katere »zgodovinske korenine« segajo v zelo zgodnji čas, prilagodilo svoji miselnosti, zgodovini in željam ter ob njeni pomoči poučevalo poslušalce, kako naj se spoprimejo s konflikti in izzivi življenja v tej kompleksni in raznoliki regiji.

»Poor Teague in Distress«: Domination of the Racial Other in Ireland

Gerald Porter

In his book on nationalism, Eric Hobsbawm asks the question, 'Why and how could a concept so remote from the real experience of most human beings as national patriotism become such a powerful political force so quickly?' (1991: 46). Like many modern movements, the rise of English nationalism in the seventeenth century was not based on a strong ethnic consciousness, since the English were already a highly mixed breed. Instead, a sense of 'Englishness' had to be created as they went along, in the form of racism: 'What united them was not blood but belief' (Hobsbawm 1992: 65, 86). Umberto Eco sees in this the roots of fascism: 'To people who feel deprived of a clear social identity, Ur-Fascism says that their only privilege is the most common one, to be born in the same country. Besides, the only one who can provide an identity to the nation are its enemies' (1993: 14). Ethnicity was thus defined negatively, as difference. In my view, a sense of ethnicity arises when two different groups or societies come into contact with each other, and is strongly linked to coercive practices and attempts to dominate and establish superiority (Bacal 1994: [10])

The construction of a sense of 'Englishness' was not the project of either the royal bureaucracy or the Parliament in the seventeenth century. The state-centred nationalism of Great Britain (in practice, a hegemonic Greater England) was a creation of the eighteenth century. In 1660 there was no 'high culture' of the sort we take for granted in the form of public concerts, art galleries, professional authors or newspaper reviews. Instead, it was popular culture such as the ballads that set in place the tenets of proto-nationalism, as Eric Hobsbawm calls it (1992: 75). As Edward Said writes, 'Culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or the state; this differentiates 'us' from 'them', almost always with some degree of xenophobia. Culture in this sense is a source of identity, and a rather combative one at that' (1994: xiii-xiv). This paper is the third in a series examining its role in the construction of racial stereotypes as an element in the creation of an English national identity. My raw material is the London street ballad or broadside since, as Benedict Anderson remarks, 'those active in nationalist movements are usually those whose professions are concerned with the handling of language' (1991: 74).

For Ireland, questions of national identity were irrelevant in the context of the struggle for survival. Even when Mazzini drew up his principle of nationality in the nineteenth century, it only applied to nations of a certain size. His principles did not extend to smaller nations like Ireland, or Slovenia (Hobsbawm 1992: 31). The independence struggles of such nations therefore often had to develop without support from disaffected elements of the centre. However, as we shall see, the imposition of colonial power rapidly led to a sense of national identity in a common struggle.

In my first paper I looked at English representations of the Welsh.[1] I found that, apart from the leek, ethnic signifiers such as dress and music played a very insignificant role. The Welsh appeared as comic and isolated figures, rarely represented by more than a single individual. No single Welsh temperament is offered by the broadsides. Homogeneity in the Other would draw attention to the lack of it in oneself. At a time when the whole concept of 'Englishness' was a fiercely contested site, it would have given Wales a certain authority to suggest that there was a national character, however comical. The broadsides represented the Welsh, in the name of political modernity, as historically obsolete figures, living off past glory. They present an uninterrupted series of images of degradation. The stereotype is full of contradictions. The Welsh are easily fooled, but sharp at business. They are simpleminded yet sometimes called on to predict the future. They are typically represented as bumpkins, examples of that standard urban broadside theme, ignorant country people unable to cope with city ways. Only two of the fifteen broadsides were set in Wales, so the protagonists were not only seen out of context but struggling within the power structures of another culture, England.

With respect to Scotland, once again no single Scottish temperament was offered by the broadsides. More than half, anticipating the Romantic cult of Scotland more than a hundred years later, portray Scottish lovers in a setting of primitive simplicity. The others revert to the viewpoint of the xenophobe: Scots are portrayed variously as stupid, cowardly and quarrelsome. The arbitrariness of these categories is shown by the fact that this is different from their characterisation in contemporary proverbs, which emphasize deception and hardheartedness. The way of speaking is a key indicator of Scottishness in the broadsides.

Compared with Scotland and Wales, far more broadsides of the period take Ireland as their subject. Over a hundred of those that survive deal with events there. This is evidently because it was, as now, a topical news story with a direct relation to power struggles currently raging: England as well as Ireland was being reluctantly brought under the power of the new money lords (Morton 1974: 263). Irish land was still being seized and granted to settlers from Scotland and England, a confiscation whose repercussions can still be seen today. By 1700, at the end of this period, 75% of Irish land was in the hands of English and Scottish landlords. These broadsides have as their background a country permanently at war: there was almost continuous fighting in Ireland from 1534 to 1592 (Morton 1974: 261), and it was invaded by English troops on at least three occasions during the following century. The broadsides were themselves a part of the English war propaganda machine: In the late seventeenth century, there was only one part-time printer of broadsides in Ireland, a Protestant,[2] and forty in England. There was also an effective system of licensing. It is therefore no surprise to learn that, of the 73 surviving London broadsides on the Irish campaign of 1689-1692, all but one are anti-Catholic and anti-Irish, making use of every available stereotype.

These stereotyped characteristics, corresponding to the type of the Welshman or Scot described above, created a sense of sameness against which the newly-emerging English nation could appear to be one of variety and complexity. George Eliot writes in *Middlemarch* that 'prejudices, like odorous bodies, have a double existence both solid and subtle – solid as the pyramids, subtle as the twentieth echo of an echo' (ch. 44). In the case of the Irish, solid

[1] Porter 1996: 42-52.
[2] See Day 1987: 3. 215.

prejudice focused on matters of appearance and behaviour, but without consistency. Any insult, it seemed, would do:

> Teague was before a silly Rogue,
> Poor and dispised was the Dogg:
> But this Make-Kill so much in vogue
> Has drown'd him in a Kilmore-Bogg.
> (Day 1987: 5. 57, st. 4).

This is a classic expression of mistrust between two nations with unequal economic development. Racism always has an intertextual element, stereotypes being readily transferable. Broadsides stood at the interface of oral and literary production (Porter 1992: 38-39), and when, in another ballad, Teague mistakes a windmill for St. Patrick's coat, it is clear that the balladmaker has taken over the still-recent adventures of Don Quixote. He goes up to the windmill:

> Under this geud Holy Cross will I faul
> and say Pater Noster and some of our Creeds.
> Teague began with great Devotion
> for to adore St. Patrick's Cross;
> The Wind set a blowing and turn'd the Sails going
> & gave my Dear-Joy a damnable toss. (Day 1987: 5. 270, st.4).

The most obvious physical sign of Irishness was the wearing of brogues (stout leather shoes: six references). These were used above all for running across the bogs: nine of the broadsides refer to this activity:

> O Teague, O now prepare your Brogs,
> To Trot a cross your Irish Bogs (Day 1987:5. 40, lines 29-30)

The term 'Bog-trotting' came to be used as a generic word for the Irish at this time (e. g. Day 1987: 2. 352). Choosing a practice associated with the poorest members of society as the basis of a deliberately insulting epithet reminds us of the relation, in Marxist terms, between racial oppression and class exploitation. Racial differences function vertically, through class, as well as horizontally (Hobsbawm 1992: 65). Thus in behaviour the Irish were undifferentiated. They were inclined to thieving (Day 1987: 5. 44) and even bloodsucking (Day 1987: 2. 70). However, apart from always being unfavourable, these are generally wild shots without a consistent pattern. The modern stereotype of the quarrelsome, hard-drinking Irishman is encountered only once, in a stray ballad dating from the early years of the seventeenth century (Day 1987: 1. 248).[3]

[3] A reference to 'Irish Teague that silly sot' in a later ballad is inconclusive, since the word 'sot' was still used with the meaning 'fool' at that time (Day 1987: 2. 321, st. 2). Quarrelsomeness seems to have been proverbial by 1732: 'Like Teague's cocks that fought one another although they were on the same side' (Wilson 1970: 94).

While the broadsides could not agree on consistent individual traits, they could reduce the Irish to a single *collective* identity. Most attempt to reproduce the distinctness of Irish speech. Whether they spoke Irish or English, their language was coarse and rough, and often represented in a way that bears no resemblance to other reproductions of Irish speech of the time (by Swift, for example):

> De Boggs dey vill signify little to us,
> For being so Loyal to Second Yeamus,
> Although dat our Priests and our Shesuits swore,
> Dat ve should have Lands and Livings Gillore, etc. etc.
> (Day 1987: 5. 69, st. 7).

Usually when they spoke English (which they do in nearly half the broadsides), they confined themselves to a handful of endlessly repeated exclamations:

> ohone (from the Irish cry of lament ochoi), 7 examples.
> hub bub (? from Irish), 5 examples.
> be Chreest, 9 examples.
> begar (corruption of 'By God'), 6 examples.
> (by my) shoul, 9 examples.

This list shows that more than a third of the broadsides have a 'begorrah' type expression that was later to be typical of stage Irish, a manufactured speech that stood for the real thing in drama from Elizabethan to Victorian times (Bliss 1978: 550-2). The broadsides made great comedy of Irish attempts to pronounce English, particularly the s- and th- sounds, but the jokes had already been used of others. Shakespeare had a Frenchman mixing up 'third' and 'turd' more than a hundred years before the Irish 'Catholick Brother' does the same (*Merry Wives of Windsor* Act 3. sc. 3. line 219; D'Urfey 1719-20: 6. 277). This mockery of Irish speech was particularly misplaced as it came at a time when no standard version of the English language existed. The fact that in most cases the parodied word was the same (corruptions of 'salvation' 3 times, 'dey' 3 times, etc.) suggests that the makers of the broadsides were copying from each other rather than describing any known practice. Nevertheless, the balladmakers were thereby conceding the existence, in fact the pre-existence, of the Irish nation, since in recent years, for example in the former Soviet Union, language has been considered the decisive evidence of nationality, and also its guarantee (Isayev 1977).

The attempt to reduce the Irish to a single *collective* identity also appears very strongly in naming practices. Naming brings with it not only power but, as Martin Heidegger reminds us, also an intensified sense of difference. Where they were identified, most Irish bore the same name, 'Teague', a corruption of the Irish name Tadhg, which appears in nearly half the broadsides. Two other terms for the Irish account for the rest: 'dear-Joys', an expression which had a brief life between 1688 and 1699 and appears on 14 sheets, and 'Tory' (from Irish *toiridhe*, pursuer), which also appears on 14 sheets but was at this time beginning to be applied in a party political context.

At a time of war, it is usual to call the enemy proud and boastful, and five of the ballads do so.[4] Inevitably too, the enemy are characterised as cowards, although such a charge brings with it the risk of undervaluing one's own bravery. Six of the ballads represent the Irish as running away from the field of battle:

> Teague shall run away for fear,
> Curse his Fate and hang his Ear,
> And houle out, Lero, Lero (Day 1987: 2. 343, st. 5)..

Their brogues are said to be made of 'running Leather' (Day 1987: 5. 54, l. 60) so that, inevitably, they can 'fly to the Bogs' (Day 1987: 2. 360, st. 5).

Significantly, there is no trace in the ballads of the traits characteristic of a subordinate nation. The historians Hayden and Moonan represented the state of the Irish after fifty years of occupation in this way.

> The Catholic population grew as a serf-population does grow, cringing, shifty, untruthful. They were lazy because they had nothing to work for. . . Not such had been the Irish of the old times, praising truth as the highest of virtues (quoted in Jackson 1976: 88).

Unlike the Scots, and above all the Welsh, stereotypes, the physical Irish type was not settled enough for representation. While barbarian Highlanders and Welsh Shone ap Morgans with leeks stuck in their caps were standard subjects for woodcuts, none of the illustrations on the Irish broadsides attempts to represent an Irish man or woman. It was not until the nineteenth century that *Punch* started depicting monkey-muzzled men and women from Connemara.

Since at this time defence of one's religion was synonymous with defence of one's life, it is surprising that religious differences are not prominent in the broadsides. Although their titles may refer to the Protestant cause,[5] only nine of the street ballads (14% of the total) even mention it as an issue. Theocracies have had little success as the basis of nations: the Guelphs in the nineteenth century were unable to build the Italian nation around the Papacy (Hobsbawm 1992: 72), and the scenario of an English King riding at the head of his army was a more powerful nation-building image than heavenly choirs of angels cheering him on. There are, however, a number of ballads recording atrocities inflicted by one religious group on another. The first, preceding the start of the Irish campaign of King William in 1689, reads very much as if it had been written to whip up a sense of public outrage against Catholics which could be channelled into support for the campaign ('The Protestants Great Misery in Ireland', Day 1987: 2.332). It chronicles instances of rape, arson and murder by Catholics, but reassures its readers, 'the English army is on their way' (st. 9). The claim that the arrival of an army would put an *end* to acts of rape, arson and murder rather than increasing them is particularly hollow, since other ballads defend acts of sacrilege and genocide committed by the same English army: 'England's Glory' and a 'New Song' call on 'London boys' to come and help hang Catholics before pulling down their altars and burning their 'Virgin

[4] Day 1987: 2. 299, 300, 303, 305, 366.
[5] In fact, twelve do so.

Psalters', whatever they might be (Day 1987: 2.289, st. 6; 293). 'The Protestant Victory' (?1690) celebrates (inaccurately) the killing of five thousand Irish at the Battle of the Boyne (Day 1987: 2. 361). It is written in doggerel couplets: the survivors flee crying, 'bub bub a boo what shall we do' (l. 23) and there is an uplifting woodcut of a Christian battlefield. 'The Soldiers Catch' records with approval the rape of Catholic women (Day 1987: 5. 68, st. 4) . 'England's Triumph', with a woodcut of the English King slaughtering mitred Catholic bishops, describes even St Patrick as mocking the Irish army and advising them to take to their heels:

> By my Shoul then says St Patrick,
> you're a pack of Silly Rogues,
> If you do not leave your Shack-Boots
> and take you to your Brogues,
> When the King to Ireland he comes, he comes,
> when the King to Ireland comes. (Day 1987: 2. 308, st. 8)

This ridicule of Catholic religious practices, as in the reference to their 'wooden Gods' (Day 1987: 2. 363, st. 8) or the broad dialect humour of the 'Irish-Men's Prayers to St Patrick' (Day 1987: 5. 69), is assumed, but only one of the sheets actually deals with the sort of abuses that Martin Luther had targeted. The 1689 ballad 'Here, Here, Here is Pig and Pork' is a narrative of how a corrupt priest pursues a shopkeeper's wife with his 'Catholick engine'. As its subtitle expresses it, the ballad describes

> How a Lustfull Roman Bore
> Made a delicate Piggin Riggin a Catholick Whore . . .

Giving an account of Father Wisely, the Popish Bishop of Kildare in Ireland, and a Shop-Keeper's Wife in High-street, Dublin' (Day 1987: 2. 315). This ballad is the only one to feature a narrative with an individualised Irish man or woman (in this case, both), and one of only two that admit the existence of Irish women. It is also the single surviving example of a seventeenth century broadside printed in Ireland itself. However, in other respects the broadside is true to the anti-Irish stereotype: it is difficult to say which is more corrupt, the Church or the ballad.

Only on rare occasions is there any evidence that the broadsides are based on even slight acquaintance with Irish realities. In the late 'Teague the Irish Soldier' there is a single stanza which suggests some personal observation:

> On a Galloway Tit [pony] I'll trot it away,
> With Bridle and Crupper of Thumbrope of Hay:
> In a Cot daub'd with Cow-turd, I'll lie me down warm,
> In my Bed with each Feather as long as my Arm.
> (Day 1987: 5. 72, st. 8)

Given this distance from, and distortion of, their subject, it is not surprising that these broadsides failed to pass into the repertoire of traditional singers either in London or along the routes followed by the chapmen who sold them in rural England. Robert Thomson, who

studied the way broadsides and singers interacted, estimated that of a total of over a hundred thousand broadsides issued by British presses between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, perhaps one in seven passed into the oral tradition (Thomson 1974: 23-24). By this yardstick, we would expect about fourteen of these street ballads to enter the repertoire of traditional singers. Yet only one was taken up,[6] and with such enthusiasm that it made up for the obscurity of all the others. One of the broadsides quoted earlier describes how a soldier runs from the scene of battle crying 'O hone O hone' to the tune of 'Lillibulero' ((Day 1987: 2. 308, st. 3): 'Lillibulero', as unpleasant a piece of religious intolerance as one is likely to meet, makes Protestantism, and thus morality, synonymous with Englishness. It probably represents the best justification of John Selden's claim that whoever controls the repertoire of popular song has no reason to worry about controlling the legal system. This is particularly true in this case since, while the identity of nation and ideology is an impoverished and incoherent philosophical concept, it is powerful as a political concept (Anderson 1991: 5). The song was so successful as propaganda that it was said to have driven Catholics from power in three kingdoms during the 1688 revolution (Friedman 1977: 286). Today it survives, with the BBC's usual sensitivity to the rights of minorities, as the theme music of the World Service News.

Conclusion

Nationalism, the ideology that proclaims difference as central to politics, is based on a set of largely invented positions relating to history, land, people and so forth. These positions are fiercely contested, never more so than in the England of the seventeenth century. The identification of an enemy, Ireland, therefore represented an alternative, the creation of a simplified national identity in another that would by default strengthen the power of the centre. Its effect was precisely the opposite. As we have seen, while glorifying the field of battle, the ballads did not call for either of the two modern nationalist paradigms, genocide and assimilation, which seek to extinguish ethnic minorities as relics of the past. Instead, the role of Otherness in the Irish which was constructed in such texts as the London broadside offered the Irish an ethnicity that had been suppressed since the Statutes of Kilkenny three hundred years before. Ironically, the cultural subordination implied by songs such as 'Lillibulero' coalesced into the solidarity that led to such uprisings as the '98, the 1798 rebellion that was itself to become a major source of nationalist songs.

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[6] More than a hundred years later, Keats describes how he heard a song on the Battle of the Boyne (letters 3. 7. 1818), but this seems to be an isolated example.

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»Ubogi Teauge v težavah«: prevlada rasnega drugega na Irskem

Povzetek

Več kot sto cestnih, kramarskih balad ali balad na letakih oziroma »broadsides« iz 17. stoletja govori o dogodkih na Irskem, ki so jo v 17. stoletju angleške čete zasedle vsaj trikrat. Od sedemdesetih ohranjenih londonskih balad »broadsides«, ki govorijo o pohodu na Irsko med letoma 1689 in 1692, so vse brez izjeme protikatoliške in protiirske ter uporabljajo najrazličnejše stereotipe. Naše mnenje o drugi kulturi in ustvarjanje naše lastne kulture je tesno povezano s procesi družbene in kulturne reprodukcije. Ti procesi so odvisni od neenake lastnine in razdelitve »kulturnega kapitala«. Konec 17. stoletja je bil na Irskem en sam tiskar balad »broadsides«, medtem ko jih je bilo v Angliji štirideset. Poleg tega je tiskanje uravnaval učinkovit sistem izdajanja dovoljenj. Članek nadaljuje serijo, ki govori o vlogi ljudske kulture pri oblikovanju rasnih stereotipov, ki je sestavni del oblikovanja angleške narodne identitete. V primeru Irske kulturna podrejenost ni prinesla zgolj porasta narodnega občutka za skupno stvar, temveč je pripeljala celo do številnih uporov.

THE ETHICAL IN BALLAD
ETIČNO V BALADI

Godec Peter Špehar, r. 1893 iz Daljnih Njiv - Bela krajina, igra na piščal dvojnici. / Folk musician Peter Špehar, b. 1893, Daljna Njive - Bela krajina region, play on a doubleflute.
(fotoarhiv GNI, l.1961 / Photoarchives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology year, 1961)

On Certain Ethic Norms in Bulgarian Religious-Legendary Folk Ballads

Katja Mihajlova

Religious-legendary ballads constitute one of the main thematic classes of Bulgarian folk ballads. They interpret motifs and stories from the Old and New Testament official and apocryphal literature. The patriarchal peasant, who was the exponent of religious folklore, in most cases got to know biblical stories and characters not from written sources, but from sermons, murals and icons in the village church and, in particular, from oral folk tradition. Many stories and notions from the canonical literature, spread mainly orally, were accepted and reinterpreted by the popular artist in a folk spirit, the spirit of so-called »folk (popular, customary) Christianity«, which presented religious events and persons within the context of the needs that are primary in folk culture. Bulgarian religious-legendary ballads are performed exclusively as ritual songs; and this is the most typical and the most natural milieu for the maintenance and distribution of religious motifs in folklore. Abstract notions and categories, philosophical ideas and symbolic figures from »high« Christian literature are usually »subjectivised«, »brought down to earth«, with a »low« interpretation through concrete examples and realia from the everyday work and social relations of the peasant in the rural community. This concretisation and materialisation of abstract notions in religious-legendary ballads is supplemented by a mandatory ethic appraisal of phenomena and events in the sphere of human relations, as well as in Nature and the Universe. This supreme moral corrective of human behaviour is the Christian God, but also - in many cases - the universally accepted customary norms of behaviour for each member of the patriarchal community that have evolved on the basis of folk tradition over the centuries.

Among Bulgarian ballads on **biblical themes**, the most popular is the ballad »*Abraham's sacrifice*«. The plot originated on the basis of the biblical story about the sacrifice of Abraham and the apocryphal story »about Isaac«. Different ballad versions reproduce neither the biblical story nor the apocryphal one. There is a significant difference between folklore versions and literary interpretations of the texts in the motivation of the plot. While in the Old Testament and in the apocryphal story the emphasis is laid on the trial of Abraham's faith by God, who wants him to sacrifice his only son, in the folk ballad the preponderant themes are those of childlessness (considered to be a serious violation of the customary norm of family continuation in the patriarchal village community) and human suffering in the face of the forthcoming loss of the first-born child, because of the irrevocable vow to God (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 484-490).

In Bulgarian religious-legendary ballads and in other folk songs concerned with **gospel events and characters**, another important peculiarity is observed as well. On one hand, God, the Holy Virgin and the other saints are present everywhere in Nature, in the everyday life of the people and, like in the Christian canon, they are the patrons of human beings. On the other hand, they have lost their haloes, and similar to ordinary people, they seem to be able

to establish the most common relationships and kinship ties. **The saints** come down to Earth, go to the fields, cultivate the lands and do other farm work like anybody else in the patriarchal village community. In Bulgarian folk ballads, St. George makes the rounds of fields, pastures and flocks (BNB 1, 1993: 516-518), St. John goes hunting partridges (BNB 1, 1993: No 527), St. Nicholas shoes a horse (BNPP 2, 1981:7), St. Demetrius steers boats with grain (BNPP 2, 1981:55), etc. Nevertheless of some »degradation« and profanation of the holiness of the saints, the principle motive force of their activities in the mundane world, is the requirement of the observation of moral norms of conduct, determined by the canon.

In the folk ballad »*The allotment of the saints«,* instead of the Twelve Apostles of the Gospel, who apportion the lands of their apostleship, here the most popular saints appear and distribute among each other the natural forces whose patrons they are, according to folk beliefs. Thus St. John got the frosts and ice; St. Elijah - thunder and lightning; St. Nicholas - deep waters; St. Peter - the heat and swelter. During this partition of Nature and its elements the Holy Virgin, often called in folk songs »Fiery Mary« under the influence of church poetry, wants to take the keys from heaven to lock up the clouds and rain. Her wish has an ethical motivation: she wants to punish the humans by drought, because they have forgotten the Laws of God: not to lie, steal, murder, commit adultery (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 512-513, and var.).

Bulgarian religious-legendary *ballads about St. George* are the most numerous and have a rich variety of contents. The cult of this saint, who is considered to be the patron saint of sheep-breeding and farming, is quite widespread in the Bulgarian tradition, as it is seen from the multitudinous customs and rituals connected with his name day. In the Bulgarian folk song tradition there are two ballad motifs about St. George. In the first ballad song type, performed as Christmas carol to a farmer, the saint makes the rounds of field and flocks and overpowers the dark forces of Nature and the evil in the world. His victory is represented symbolically by the *release of »three chains of slaves«* - ploughers, shepherds and wine-growers (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 517-522). In the second folk ballad type the forces of evil are personified in the image of the dragon. The motif of »*St. George slaying the Dragon«,* known in many popular traditions, is actually the Christianised variant of the archaic myth about the victory of a god or a hero over a dragon-like monster, the ruler of water elements, who has the power to dry up the waters, bringing in this way droughts and death to human beings. In ballad and folk tale versions of this motif, traces of an ancient pagan ritual can be distinguished: the ruler of the waters is propitiated by a human sacrifice (most often it is a young maiden), and he has to guarantee a rich harvest in return. In Bulgarian ballad variants, most frequently performed as Christmas carols or in a »horo« (a circle dance) on Christmas or Easter, the dragon hinders the flow of springs, rivers, wells and all waters in general. His actions again have an ethical motivation, which appears in folk ballads under Christian influence: people have forgotten their faith in Christ; they do not observe Sundays and other Christian holidays of the year (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 523-525).

Other Bulgarian religious-legendary *ballads* are *about St. Nicholas*, the sovereign of the seas: he helps people as he rescues ships and boats in grave danger. In Christian symbolics even from early Christian times the image of a boat in the sea symbolises the Church. In folk ballads with this motif, which are again performed as Christmas carols, the ships, rescued by the saint, are usually loaded with wax, incense or money for a certain monastery; and Mount Athos is usually their port of destination. To be rescued by St. Nicholas, the ships had to have

only righteous persons on board, and if there were sinners on any of the ships, the saint could be of no help, and the ship sank into the sea (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 531-532).

It is necessary to underscore here the most characteristic specificity of religious-legendary ballads. It is the almost permanent presence of the theme of sin in this ballad type. In addition, **the Christian *sin - punishment* dichotomy** has undergone a specific folklore interpretation.

The Christian canon measures a person's virtue or vice by his or her attitude to God. Sin is defined as disobedience of God's will, deviation from and breaking off with God and, hence, the impossibility of attaining Heaven. The disrespect for God, displayed in the breach of God's Commandments, deserves divine punishment after the end of Man's path on the Earth. God is love, but God is also a severe and fair Judge of human deeds.

Folklore regards as a sin not only the violation of Christian dogmas, but also the breach of customary norms that usually are associated with pagan customary law. Violations of strict religious Christian norms such as fasting, veneration of icons and the Holy Communion are seldom mentioned in Bulgarian religious-legendary ballads (BNB 1, 1993: No 542, lines 28-29). By contrast, common customary malpractices such as the setting on fire of pens, grain, hay or any kind of somebody else's property, the removal of a land baulk, eavesdropping at windows, or refusal to nurse an infant, are the most frequently condemned sins in Bulgarian religious-legendary ballads and songs (BNB 1, 1993: No 544, line 15; No 542, lines 51-52). At the same time the popular concept of evil in folk ballads includes also the gravest Christian sins such as matricide or patricide, incest, lack of charity for the poor, lying or the breach of a vow to God. In this paper I shall concentrate on the folklorisation of Christian categories ***sin*** and ***punishment*** after the example of the violation of one of the fundamental moral norms of conduct, according to the Christian dogma.

A large group of ballad songs is centred round **the violation of the religious prohibition to work on a feast day.** The day considered to be particularly unsuitable for any kind of labour either in the field or at home is *the Friday before Easter* (Good Friday), often mentioned in the songs as »Great«, »Crucifix«, and »Hard« Friday. A maiden who has been embroidering on Good Friday becomes »blind with her eyes, mute with her mouth« and she can recover only if nine priests are summoned to »chant« (say prayers) nine days and nine nights, or it is necessary to undo her work (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 563-564).

In this type of religious-legendary ballad the emphasis in the song narration is always laid on the punishment of the transgressor. Besides, the Divine punishment for the violation of this strictly religious interdiction usually does not comply with Christian dogma and the envisaged eternal tortures in hell after death. The sinner is punished for working on a feast day while she/he is still alive, by all sorts of means: she/he is carried away by a torrent, struck down by lightning, bitten by a snake, blown away by a whirlwind, taken ill, etc. Typically, the punishment always depends on the day of sinning.

Working on *Prophet Jeremiah's Day* (May 1), for example, is punished by a mortal snakebite, since the feast was dedicated to snakes and lizards by folk tradition, and certain customs on that day are meant to ward them off. The snake often appears as a nemesis character in many ballad stories, and especially in those concerning work prohibitions on the *Dog-Days (Goreshtnitsi:* July 15, 16 and 17). In Bulgarian tradition the strictest practices are observed on the first Dog-Day, known as »*Fierce and Flaming« (Luta i Choruta)*, and the third one - *St.*

Marina's Day. St. Marina is believed to be the mistress of snakes, so on her day the sheaves are teeming with snakes, and that is why there is the strictest prohibition on reaping and gathering sheaves - so that snakes would not »bite«. Harvesting on *St. Peter's Day* (June 29) is punished in the same way (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 567, 575-576, notes and var.).

A maiden who works on *Russalian Wednesday* (»Week of the Holy Ghost«) is punished by water-nymphs (russalki) or by other supernatural beings - she can be taken ill and even die of »russalian« disease, or be dragged off by a dragon (BNB 1, 1993: No 573).

The stroke of lightning can also appear as retribution in the ballad and most often it results from working on *St. Elijah's Day* (August 2). St. Elijah is known as the ruler of lightning and thunder and is called in the folklore the »thunderer« (grumovnik or grumolomnik) (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 577-578).

One of the rarer but severest punishments for working on a feast day is to have a tempest blow away a young man's cap or a maiden's kerchief. This at first glance common event is associated with the belief that the cap and kerchief have magic powers and harbour the person's strength - in some cases they are a substitute for the person him - or herself (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 571-572).

The cited examples show that to the folk mind all Nature including close labour environment act as agents of divine punishment. The ballad about *retribution for working on Sunday* is a typical case of interpretation in the spirit of »customary Christianity«. The story is based on the interdiction that no work should be done on Sunday since the Christian Church has proclaimed that day a holiday as a reminder of the Resurrection of Christ. And here is an example for folklore interpretation of the religious prohibition - *St. Nedelya (Sunday)* appears as a maiden, who suffers phisically from all kinds of prohibited work done by the people on her feast day:

»Stoyan told this maiden:
Young and pretty maiden
Why's thine face pricked
and thine eyes dusty,
and white hands doughy?
The maiden told Stoyan:
- Oh, Stoyan, thou Stoyan,
thine wives and sisters
know no holidays -
so early they'll rise on Sunday,
knead white breads,
sweep flat yards,
and start stitching.
That's why my hands are doughy,
that's why my eyes are dusty,
and my face is pricked«

(BNB 1, 1993: No 556; cf. Krstić 1984: No B 5, 4, 3).

In the Bulgarian folk tradition the prohibition of the female handicrafts of spinning, weaving and sewing on *St. Petka's Day* (October 14) is strictly observed. St. Petka was a nun who lived in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. It is thought that the functions of a pagan goddess, the patron of female handicrafts, are transferred to the image of the Christian saint. Some scholars presume that this is the Old-Slavonic goddess Mokosh, protector of spinning and knitting. Despite the great popularity of the hagiography of St. Petka in Bulgarian apocryphal literature, the saint does not appear very often in Bulgarian folk ballads and religious-legendary songs. In some ballad variants about St. Petka the work prohibitions connected with her day are mentioned, and also the celebration of the saint according to the folk custom - by consecration of bread and boiled wheat in the Church. In other variants of the ballad narration the theme of St. Petka's making the rounds of the dead in the world beyond is introduced. In those ballads a special emphasis is laid on the suffering of the punishment by sinful souls in hell (BNB 1, 1993: Nos 537, 542, notes and var.).

Each character in Bulgarian religious-legendary ballads usually represents a certain mode of moral behaviour. Just like official Christian literature, those texts discuss the eternal themes of good and evil, virtue and vice - in the perspective, however, not only of the Christian doctrine, but also from the point of view of the unwritten »customary catechism« of the village community. Typically of the religiousness of the patriarchal peasant, his beliefs are universally valid for the entire patriarchal community. That is why the moral in the folk interpretation of gospel parables does not address the individual mind of the believer as in »high« Christian literature; it is rather directed to the collective mind of the village community, which is based not only on Christian, but also on a series of pagan notions, customary norms and traditional norms of life, rooted largely in the time-honoured tradition of the forefathers.

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Katja Mihajlova

O določenih etičnih normah v bolgarskih religiozno-legendarnih ljudskih baladah

Povzetek

Religiozno-legendarne balade so ena od glavnih tematskih skupin bolgarskih ljudskih balad. Opisujejo motive in zgodbe iz biblične in krščanske uradne in apokrifne literature. Abstraktne pojme, filozofske ideje in simbolne figure prenašajo iz »visoke« literature na »trdna tla«, jih »subjektivizirajo« in poljudno interpretirajo s specifičnimi zgledi in dejstvi iz vsakdanjega življenja ter družbenih odnosov kmečke in podeželske skupnosti. To specifikacijo in materializacijo abstraktnih pojmov v religiozno-legendarnih baladah dopolnjuje obvezen moralni poduk o pojavih in dogodkih, povezanih z medčloveškimi odnosi, naravo in vesoljem. V teh baladah je najvišji moralni korektiv človeškega vedenja krščanski Bog in v večini primerov tudi splošno sprejete vedenjske norme, ki veljajo za vsakega člana patriarhalne skupnosti in ki so se skozi stoletja razvile na osnovi ljudske tradicije.

Članek obravnava številne tipe zgodb, ki se pojavljajo v religiozno-legendarnih baladah in v katerih svetniki iz moralnih razlogov pokroviteljsko gledajo na navadne ljudi: Ognjena Marija zapre oblake in ustavi dež, Sv. Jurij ubije zmaja, Sv. Miklavž reši barko itn.

Članek se osredotoča na balade, katerih glavna tema je greh in kazen. Te balade govorijo tako o krščanskih dogmah kot splošnih normah. Bolgarske religiozno-legendarne balade največkrat obsojajo zlo početje, kot so največji krščanski grehi, na primer umor matere ali očeta, incest, krivice, storjene nad revnimi, laži ali prelomljena obljuba Bogu, ter prekrški splošno sprejetih norm, kot na primer požig štaj, žita, sena ali posesti koga drugega, premikanje mejnikov na poljih, prisluškovanje pri oknih in odklanjanje dojenja otroka. Del članka se ukvarja z baladami o kršenju verskih prepovedi dela ob praznikih, s posebnim poudarkom na širokem razponu in pogosto neverskem značaju kaznovanja kršitelja.

Mythical Characters in Ethical Context (Observations on Bulgarian Folk Ballads)

Svetla Dragomirova Petkova

Songs with mythical motifs represent an autonomous part of the ballads of the Bulgarian people. Supernatural phenomena, forces, creatures and their interrelations with human beings are found in the roots of a great variety of motifs and plots. The fatal power of magic, destiny and spell, belief in oracular dreams, contacts with the other world, fantastic transfigurations, love and marriage with mythical creatures, dead persons coming out of their graves - all these notions and images, which stand on the borderline of reality or beyond it - are emblematic peculiarities of ballad narrations (BNB 1, 1993; 2, 1994). A significant place in these narrations is occupied by mythical characters: wood nymphs (*samodivi*), the weird sisters (*orisnici*); dragons (*zmej, hala*), *lamia*, snake; personified diseases (most often here appears the image of the plague - *èuma*); natural spiritual forces (the Sun, the Moon, stars, clouds, winds/whirlwinds); speaking dead persons; birds, animals, plants. Some mortals may also occupy transitional positions when they manifest supernatural abilities under certain circumstances. Among them are wise-women (*vraèki*), witches (*magjosnici*), sorcerers (*bajaèki*); individuals with »evil eyes« or those who can change their appearance (undergo metamorphoses).

Contemporary records of ballads, when set against the background of published Bulgarian evidence, allow us to examine the functional transformations of mythical characters. The change of their basic functions, as revealed in their ambiguous roles and essences, is of indisputable interest. Numerous plots elaborate these characters in a uniform, steadfast way, and in a mythical interpretation, unsullied by »admixtures«. Or, the construction of mythical characters follows the principles of a consequent creative mind grounded upon ancient mythical notions and beliefs (Meletinski 1976:169-171). The impress of various cultural necessities in a changing milieu sets up additional meanings and involves mythic imagery in a broader context.

When set in an ethical context the functions of the mythical character are considerably expanded. The ethical component in Bulgarian folk ballads is closely bound to the system of religious norms. This is a general rule, valid for the entire »ethical codex« of traditional popular spiritual culture. **Virtue** and **vice** are ethical categories which acquire definite meanings in the light of the notions of **righteous** and **sinful**, explicitly elaborated by the Christian religious system and accepted to some extent by folk poetic thought. We could invent another set of norms in the regulated relations between humans and supernatural forces and especially in their roles that are hierarchically arranged and illuminated by the tradition. The common item in these two tendencies - the type of religiousness - sets up for discussion a series of ethical problems of interpersonal, group, socio-political, cultural and historical or religious character. **Ethical** as a kind of assessment of behaviour is represented and exhibited in a vast thematic area. The basic criteria here are the normative statements of an ideal (longed for) religiousness,

seen in the broadest sense - as faith, ideology, worship - and all of them positively assessed. On the opposite side are situated deviations from and violations of norms, marked negatively. It is not incidental that the functions of mythical characters and functions of the main figures of the Christian religious system seem to converge to the greatest degree at the point of their ethical world views.

In a series of ballad plots, supernatural beings act as guardians of social and natural orders; they control the observance of religious rules and apply sanctions. A wood-nymph metes out punishment for violation of labour prohibitions on great Christian feasts (for example the maiden Stana, who embroiders on Easter, i.e. does not observe the holiday. BNPP 4, 1994:55). A dragon carries away a maiden, because she has been working on Russalian Friday (the Friday of the week of the Holy Ghost. BNB 1, 1993: No 573). A whirlwind brings illness and death or carries off those who work on Easter and St. George's Day (BNB 1, 1993: No 566, 569-572). The snake can also act as an agent of (divine) punishment for similar violations (weaving, harvesting, etc.) on festive, holy days (BNB 1, 1993: No 568, 575, 576, 567). The enumerated examples are connected with plots in which St. Nedelja keeps watch over the observance of her holiday (the Sunday. BNB 1, 1993: No 559-560). The typological similarity among pagan and Christian notions in the construction of ballad characters is obvious, and especially on the functional level. This well-known fact has genetic roots and motivations in the wholesome traditional system. We could add to the examples cited, that ethical principles act as uniting factors in respect to confession as well; they stimulate semantic associations and functional substitutions of images, different in their origins.

The plague is a specific for Bulgarian folklore figurative incarnation of death, and in popular jurisdiction it may also be burdened with punitive functions (Matijaševiè 1984:73-79). In these plots an attempt is sometimes made to interpret historical events. In a song from the Orjahovo region an interesting explanation for the success of the Ottoman invasion is presented. The conquest of the Bulgarian kingdom is perceived as retribution for the sins of the Bulgarian people. And the conquerors are also punished in their turn: God sends them the plague, because they have been merciless to the enslaved (SbNU 26, 1912:143). Thus the sense of moral justice assigns to a character already recognised as a demonic being, the role of an immediate participant in the course of real historical events. As a poetical symbol of mass deadly disaster, the plague is functionally connected with the supreme will of God or the Archangel Michael. The personified force of death, being their natural assistant, becomes a regulating factor in the balance between the living and the dead, and it preserves to a great extent traces of the mythical pattern of the world. The range of activity introduces social and ethical elements in certain plots by additional expansions of motif. It is indicative that the supernatural being - the plague - selects her victims among the men of the day: she destroys rich families; she shows preferences to the daughters of *čorbadži* and local clergymen, but spares the lives of orphans (BNB 1, 1993: No 419, 432-433, 435-437, 438, 439-440). Interlaced in beliefs and poetic art, folk conceptions of ethics draw parallels between the categories of **poverty/prosperity** and **sinfulness/righteousness** (Bogdanova 1975:32-34, Mihajlova 1991:142-143). The plague does not destroy the poor and socially inferior persons (orphans, widows); she can even punish for disregard for them; or, on the contrary, requite for mercy. The agent of mass death is capable of rewarding virtue, proved by trial (BNB 1, 1993: No 432-433, BNPP 4, 1982:86-88).

And again in an ethical context, the plague can display another inclination, somewhat opposite to the outlined characteristics, displayed, by the way, by other demons, too. There is an impressing preference for young, unmarried persons, only sons and daughters, and this choice is represented in ballads as inevitable predestination. The plague and the wood-nymph reject ransom when they have already marked down the victim; they also do not tolerate negotiations or bargains (BNB 1. 1993: No 338, 428, 441, BNB 2, 1994: No 1118). It is not difficult to notice the resemblance of these motifs with some stories concerning the theme of God's constructions out of human souls (BNB 1, 1993: No 345-350, 352-353, 499, 503-505). The wood-nymph also collects human substance for her awkward buildings; and again young persons or children constitute the main part. The dragon and the Sun drag away beautiful maidens for their brides; wood-nymphs show affection to young shepherds (musicians) or young girl singers; female dragons fall in love with shepherds and enchant them.

The next level in the system of beliefs, the one which bears the impress of paganism, also represents regulated actions and counteractions, concerned with the immediate communication of human beings with the supernatural. A specific system of rules of conduct is constructed from recommended or »counter-indicative« human deeds. In certain cases their observance or rejection is esteemed in an ethical aspect.

The disobedience to the will of demons, violation of prohibitions, connected with their abodes or time of activity, lack of awe and respect for them, provoke corresponding punitive measures. The violations actually threaten mental stereotypes, established by the tradition; these stereotypes have been constructed for ages and they have survived in spite of (and together with) the invasion of Christianity.

The extraordinary figures of ballad songs can also distribute favours in return for good deeds in their benefit. A snake generously repays a shepherd, who has rescued it from fire (BNB 1, 1993: No 186-189). In one of the variants of this ballad type the snake takes the form of a money-belt (*»kemer s altuni«*). The emphasis on the ethical idea is eloquent. Among the reasons that have brought to the development of the motif (**snake - gold)** and plot expansions, the uniting conceptual attitude, originating from the common ethical scheme, has to be taken into consideration. The notion of an imaginary spiritual beast - a notion that is mythical in its fundamental essence - is bound to a concrete poetical image that illuminates concepts of selflessness, true love, dignity, courage (BNB 1, 1993:591-597). The notions of the snake as a mythical character and as a poetical metaphor merge into an united associative image in the poetical accomplishment of the poetical principle.

Family and kinship relations as a largely represented theme in ballad art offers inexhaustible evidence for the reasoning on ethical categories. Kinship and matrimonial relations, general concepts on motherhood, kinship, marriage, childlessness, celibacy, widowhood and orphanhood, are represented and interpreted side by side with the queer impression of the unreal, mythical supernatural. And again fantastic animals and demonic creatures render justice, but already according to family or kin-group ethics. A snake punishes someone for infringed brotherhood (BNPP 4, 1982:360), for incest (BNB 2, 1994: No 977, 987), greed (BNPP 4, 1982:182); a dragon carries someone away for neglect of their mother's advice, or because of being provoked by boasting. The plague also renders severe verdicts for misdeeds, resulting from disobedience of a mother's advice or from want of restraint and modesty; the smallpox renders punishment for mockery.

The mythical character plays a principle role in one more, rather peculiar area of folk ethics. The question is about the curse as a verbal expression of the need of immediate jurisdiction. This specific phenomenon in everyday life and in the folklore of our people is ambiguously assessed by the exponents of tradition themselves. The equivocal understanding and application of this kind of verbal verdict in some ballad plots is evident. There are motifs of the pronouncement of just curses, and their materialisation through the help of supernatural intervention seems to answer the urgent appeal for justice. And there exists also some sense of limits to the capacity of the verbal offence. The misuse of the power of the word in an ethically unmotivated damnation as a rule turns back on its author. And here again supernatural beings intervene like guardians of traditional normative culture.

In most of Bulgarian variants of the international ballad motif of The Dead Brother, the theme of the materialised curse - death by plague - has a principally compositional function and fashions the intent of the story line (BNB 1, 1993: No 297).

A motif with a similarly significant function is the motif of the damnation of The Ugly Son, who has been banished from home by his mother. And the plague is again the agent of the evil will. The transformation of the verbal situation into reality in this ballad is perceived as divine penalty (BNB 2, 1994: No 940-944).

The ethical oppositions in the widespread ballad motif of George the Ugly stand in reverse dependence to certain ethical categories. The outcast, extraordinary (ugly) son upholds the ideas of social and moral justice. Beautiful sons (*»leventi«,* sturdy young fellows) in some variants are portrayed with repulsive ethical aspects.

And another demonic creature, the wood-nymph, like the plague can also cause disaster, invoked in a curse.

Some song plots, concerned with the motif of the false oath (»deceitful oath«), also have a ballad structure.

In the later development of the ballad, which shows new tendencies in the conception of the world, the internal destruction of the comparatively uniform pattern of the world, generally called a mythological one, becomes possible. The demonic character can be »utilised« as a means for manipulation of certain stereotypes. The misuse of the atavistic fear of supernatural phenomena leads to a comparatively new range of ballad plots. Deeply implanted notions and phobia surrounding the horrifying image of the demon of the plague are successfully rearranged in parody interpretation. The representation of the demon by travesty and change of appearance, masking, etc., is also ethically motivated. Theatre-like actions and speech can rely on certain effect, because folk notions of the appearance of the demon-plague are still alive (BNB 2, 1994:1396).

Mythical characters in Bulgarian folk ballads undergo functional development. Folk song tradition has numerous capacities for a dynamic interpretation of established mythical notions in a broader conceptual context. Supernatural beings who are the specific characters in ballads acquire regulative functions in social interrelations: between the poor and the rich, in the daily ethics and morals of the family, kin-group and community, and even as a moral re-assessment of historical events. These poetical images have been generated as a result of a mythical type of formation, but nevertheless, when situated in the world of the ballad, they seem to be more fruitful and polysemic than their potential mythical »pre-images«. They participate in the concrete plot realisation of a set of ideas and often appear with an opposite meaning, but

definitely have regulative, normative and generalising roles. Extended from ballad evidence and formulated as themes and motifs these concepts appear approximately in this way:

- wood-nymphs (whirlwinds, dragons, snakes, plague) punish for deviation from religious norms or from rules that organise their relations to human beings;
- the plague selects its victims among the prosperous, but shows mercy towards orphans;
- young persons (only children) are the preferable victims of wood-nymphs, the plague, dragons, the Sun;
- wood-nymphs and plague punish for deceit, lies, greed, arrogance, mockery, curse, i.e. they bring divine retribution for sinfulness;
- they revenge;
- they show mercy (praise) for good deeds;
- they do not accept sacrificial gifts;
- that which is preordained by the weird sisters (inscribed in the plague's book) is inevitably fatal;
- the plague grants postponement of death;
- the plague mortifies ruthlessly;
- wood-nymphs are merciless to selected victims;
- incest is punished by the help of supernatural forces;
- family virtues are praised, while »misdeeds« in family and kin-group are sanctioned;
- the plague, wood-nymph and snake are the messengers of God, Archangel Michael or St Haralampius;
- on certain occasions they act even against the will of their sovereigns and they can appear as autonomous factors in the administration of human destiny.

This approximate and incomplete list represents the dimensions of a socially-oriented cognitive pathos. It contains the seeds of a more abstract mentality directed to the complex essence of life phenomena. It reveals, though not always directly, the emotional and evaluative attitudes of the traditional normative culture to certain deeds and situations. In the ballad world mythical characters fulfil instrumental functions in the formation, figurative representation and interpretation of the human world and thus they change a series of roles that essentially expand the horizons of ethical cognition. From the complexity of ideas and images established by tradition, a certain meaningful conceptual unit is separated and starts to live in a different cultural context without destroying to a full extent the structure of the mythical archetype. Some accomplished and well-versed structures acquire additional applications depending on the predominant cultural disposition. The attendance of the ethical principle is stimulating for the introduction of new details in the characteristics of images and sometimes for their re-estimation from a different conceptual angle. The specific nature of ballad poetics saturates imagery with bright expressiveness. And at the same time it esteems aesthetically (directly or implicitly) the representation; it contains morals (warnings), gives lessons on ethics, and synthesises an ethical ideal of its own in concordance with the laws of ballad narration.

The development of imagery connected with departure, removal from the principles of the mythical, in another tendency enters the next stage - the stage of metaphorical reconsideration that is most clearly observed in aphoristics and may be considered a separate scholarly

problem in itself. And in this figurative transfiguration (from images as mythologemes to images as metaphors) ethical elements exert essential influences on the dynamics of poetical thought.

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Bajeslovno v etičnem kontekstu

Povzetek

Bajeslovne balade zavzemajo pomembno mesto v bolgarski tradiciji ljudske pesmi in so izviren odsev starodavnih bajeslovnih idej. V njih se človek poda v neresničen svet bajeslovnih bitij in pojavov, pooseblјenih bolezni, govorečih mrtvecev in nenavadnih živali. Na splošno se bajeslovno bitje v baladah pojavlja v svojem bajeslovnem pomenu. Vendar pa so se z razvojem tradicionalni zapleti prilagodili različnim kulturnim stopnjam in duhu idej, ki so bile aktualne v tedanji družbi. Vloga tipične mitološke osebe prestopa okvire mitoloških kategorij. Mnenja gozdne nimfe, zmaja ali kače, kuge, čarovnice ali čudaških sester vstopijo na področje človeških družbenih in etičnih odnosov. Bajeslovna bitja in živali lahko nastopijo (sodijo, vladajo, ukrepajo, pomagajo ali ovirajo) v situacijah, ki se strogo skladajo z ljudskimi moralnimi pravili. Ko sledimo spremembam v vlogi bajeslovnih oseb v ljudskih pesmih, lahko opazujemo rastoči pomen moralnih kategorij in moralnih nasprotij.

The Immanent Evaluation of »Crime« in the Plot of the Croatian Folk Family Ballad

Simona Delić

»Value is inescapable«: evaluation is the precondition of any »interpretation« (of life, narrative, etc.) (cf. Connor 1993:31), so we are right in expecting evaluation from the folk ballad. With its shortness of form, with its domination of the mimetic representation over the diegetic, the ballad divides good from evil along the agonistic focus (the crime), chiefly at the plot level.[1] When we speak about the family ballad, which is, in terms of theme and plot, more deeply embedded into everyday life than are some other folk genres (cf. Horn 1983:819), the perpetrator of the »crime« is usually penalized while the victim is provided with some kind of »recompense«.

In dealing with the plot-level evaluation in the Croatian folk family ballad, it is my intention to show in this report that the modern Croatian oral tradition in the ballads which were recorded by philologists and folklorists in the 19th and 20th centuries employs more sophisticated and more complicated evaluation mechanisms than those within which these ballads have usually been interpreted. In other words, the maneuvering ground for didactics, which is guaranteed in a ballad without explicit »intentionality« and »explicit didactic formulation« (cf. Bausinger 1980:618-619), has generally been related to the Enlightenment and Romanticist notions that »moral goodness is an essential element of the ballad« (Kvideland 1983:180). I would like to emphasize here that an approach which regards »moral goodness« as the ballad's essential, and which sees the ballad itself as a kind of »ethical corrective« (cf. Krnjević 1990:48), can create prejudices against everything which does not describe »natural beauty according to ethical, moral, and esthetic criteria« (cf. Botica 1995:93). Likewise, the themes belonging to the sphere of the »ugly and improper« are often regarded as »marginal and incidental« (*ibid*.). On the other hand, the interpreting scheme, which always lays emphasis on the »phenomenology of evil« in the ballads of the *other* tradition, often cannot surpass the framework in which the syndrome of »detestation of cruelty« is ideologically instrumentalized for the pragmatic purposes of ethnopsychoanalytical and anthropological discourse, but also of direct political discourse (cf. Bošković-Stulli 1995:45). Such interpretative models either neglect the »oral psychodynamics« (Ong 1987), which makes it possible to comprehend an enthusiastic description of physical violence that has survived in ballads within the framework of medieval heritage of the agonistically programmed oral culture (*ibid*.: 44) - or use the ballad as a means of propagation of ideological objectives foreign to the folk genre.

However, in spite of such approaches, in considering »moral concepts« in a folk narrative song, there is most often a tacit assumption of a homogeneous and uniform value system.[2]

[1] In addition to the evaluation on the lexical and statement levels which will be more characteristic of the epic poem narratives (Dukić 1993).

[2] Refering to William Bascom's interpretation of »deviation from the norm« (1977:2-3; after Honko 1981:25) Lauri Honko pointed out that this author »has recently defined as a major problem within folkloristics the capacity of

Although the generally accepted view is that, in the ballad, these »moral concepts« are diverse and non-homogenous in origin (e.g. »natural logic«, common traditional law, popular Christian value system) (cf. Botica 1995:13;15; cf. also Braun 1964:83), it is nevertheless often overlooked that even such a »mixed« ethical system is broken down into contrary and potentially dialogical systems as is illustrated by some more recent reports by Croatian ethnologists such as Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin and Ines Prica (Rihtman-Auguštin 1984:178; Prica 1997:16).

In trying to delineate as full an interpreting cycle as possible, a cycle which would account for the morality of the Croatian family ballad, in this report I would like to emphasize the existence of *various normative systems*. This is where the »more modern« ballad evaluation aspect comes from, where wavering between different norms takes place: the competing supraindividual norms; the collective and individual patterns; moral considerations and the »courage to break them«, even as some sort of hypermorality (in Bataille's sense of the term) of the family ballad genre in general (cf. Bataille 1977:134). Thus, it is my assumption that the modern Croatian ballad employs more than one ethical »truth«. Because the ballad world is first of all a problematic world, a world which poses questions, a world strained between incompatible norms, the ballad manages to surpass the scope of moralizing and enters the area of morality. Perhaps it is no wonder that it is in the family ballad that »moral dilemmas«, rather than »certain truths«, are treated: it is after all in accordance with the world of emotions and sensations from the family staging of the genre, an area where evaluation is hard to obtain but where norms are still required.

Now, an insight into the 19th- and 20th-century body of Croatian family ballads has assured me that the mainstream of ballads evaluates the crime within the retaliating supraindividual moral system of the traditional community with its roots in preethical sense of culpability (Ricoeur 1982). The Christian concept of forgiveness, in itself of more recent origin, will rarely be encountered in these *ballads of order*[3] - as I call them - which are the most frequent in the group called »ingratitude and misconduct« according to the Freiburg classification system.[4] The introduction of crime in the plot of these ballads already contains the penalizing end. The motives behind the crime are not elaborated: most often they include jealousy, avarice, etc. For revealing the »ethos« of the perpetrators and other characters we need to consult centuries-old layers of traditional conceptions about individual family types.[5] In modern ballads, these conceptions are filtered through the retort of life in the patriarchial household, especially the multiple family household (Croat. »zadruga«).[6] The *ballads of order*

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the narrative tradition to tolerate moral norms which deviate from *the norm system* of the tradition group« (*ibid.*) (italics mine).

[3] In conceiving the term »ballads of order« I could rely upon the typology of crime fiction based on the differentiation between various sanctioning models (cf. Lasić 1973:121-128). Beside, »the very idea of vengeance does not implicate only the destruction (...) but also the establishment of an order« (Ricoeur ibid.:206).

[4] For the Freiburg ballad classification system see papers of the sessions of »Kommission für Volksdichtung« (the Ballad Commission) which were published by R.W. Brednich et al., especially 1-6 *Arbeitstagung über Fragen des Typenindex der europäischen Volksballaden*, *6 vols*., Berlin, 1967, 1969, 1970; Freiburg in Breisgau, 1972, 1973, 1975.

[5] The creation of individual character types is the confluence of forces of various origins. In connection with the existence of a plethora of »demonic women« (evil stepmother, evil mother-in-law, evil daughter-in law, evil sister-in-law, cruel mother, cruel sister, etc.) medievally-rooted misogynic tradition arguments, beside sociological considerations, have also been cited (cf. Fališevac 1993:93ff.).

[6] For centuries, »zadruga« was the fundamental model of the family economic organization in Croatia, while the principles of such an organization could have been easily adapted to other organizational models of an expanded family (Rihtman-Auguštin 1984:18).

[7] Jolles was first to recognize the form of *casus* drawing the attention of the folkloristics from the fairy-tale and *saga*

do not question the credibility of the two kinds of punishment that we encountered in the ballads: the *divine* and the *earthly* sanction.

So, what Andre Jolles, using examples from German criminal law to describe a simple form of *casus*,[7] showed as the »grotesque and tragic« norm of the criminal law, cannot be applied to the evaluation principles of these ballads. Jolles showed that »examples of enormous perfidy and malice under the circumstances go unpunished because they do not offend the law« (Jolles 1978:132). Thus, contrary to the »relative guilt« or »unprovable guilt« which the law treats differently but equally surprisingly - because the law compares one norm against the other to evaluate a crime - the *ballads of order* equally sanction those crimes which would go unpunished in the traditional context of the ballad as well as those crimes which may seem to have been committed by »innocuous means«.

It seems that the family ballad is especially sensitive to »innocent« crimes such as slander requiring a strong penalty measure. This is so because once the slander is uttered there is great probability that it was not spoken in vain and that it will gain its effect.[8] The »word crime« is often followed by the same »power of word« sanction, and the punishment which never fails is the animistic technique of a magical curse. The curse is spoken by the victim (sometimes also from the grave) or next of kin, and is effective immediately: the perpetrator becomes ill and cannot die for a long time without the victim's forgiveness; or, he is bitten by a snake from heaven, etc. The execution of justice will not be impeded by the »lack of evidence«: the ballad »miracles« reveal the perpetrator: after an innocent wife's murder a church is built at her grave or a well gushes forth (HNP5, No.76); a wind can also intermediate in revealing the truth to the murdered sister's brothers (HNP5, No.99); a revelation that a wife slandered by her evil mother-in-law was pregnant at the time of murder is also a typical »ballad formula« of her innocence; cf. HNP5, Nos.100; 112). Such curse punishments will fall upon the perpetrators of other crimes as well such as turning out one's wife because she is infertile (HNP5, No.112), or father-daughter incestuous leanings (HNP5, No.140), abandoning of one's girl-friend (HNP5, Nos. 93; 97) or a stepmother's evil doings (HNP5, No.155).[9] Moreover, the »power of word« sanctions prove that above

to »unusual narrative genres« (casus, memorabile). (Bausinger 1981:1222).

[8] Especially in ballads which deal with the evil-mother-in-law theme: after the mother's slander, her son always punishes his wife without confirming her guilt (cf. HNP5, Nos. 99; 100; 102; 112). It may even be considered as a characteristic feature of Croatian, i.e. South Slavic and wider Balkan balladry, for the same reaction to slander can be encountered e.g. in the Romanian ballad *corpora* as well (cf. Rechnitz 1978:298-303). On the contrary, taking for example the Western European ballad tradition of Pan-Hispanic modern traditional *romances* - the slander only »works« in *La mala suegra* type, but even in this *romance*, in some unpublished versions from the Archivo Menéndez Pidal (Madrid), it is only taken into account after the mother's threatening her son with a kind of curse. In other types the murdering of the slandered wife is usually avoided (e.g. *La mujer de Arnaldos, La noble porquera*, *La esposa de don García*). The curse motif is also rare in Hispanic traditional ballads, the fact which was pointed out by Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman (1982:164-165, fn.30). The »active curse« as a ferment of the dramatic tension of the ballad is related mostly to the Sephardic branch of the *La vuelta del hijo maldecido* tradition which was interpreted as the result of the crosscultural contacts of the Eastern Sephardic tradition with its Balkan enviroment and the interpretative power of the Sephardic branch to translate the Greek ballad of »the evil mother«, adapting it to the romancero discourse (ibid.: 163-165ff.). According to the *Motif Index of the Child Corpus* the curse motif is rare in Anglo-Scottish ballad tradition, too (cf. Würzbach; Salz 1995:19).

[9] The curse efficiency could be explained by the beliefs of the members of the traditional community that »some unknown forces direct their destinies - and those forces could be used to cause one's prosperity or ruin if one was acquainted with certain rules and procedures« (Žanić 1996:28).

mentioned »family crimes« belong to the very top of the »crime« list in the traditional value system. The ballad »miracles«, the fulfilment of the curse, and the evaluation of the crime against the »absolute virtue« or »absolute guilt« - these features bring the *ballads of order* closer to the evaluation system of the legendary ballad, which can be more closely related to the sermonizing effects of Biblical rhetoric (cf. Botica 1995:10).

Beside the curse sanction, which is the most common type of divine sanctioning, there are also other magical sanctions in the ballad, more closely related to specific ballad types, such as the appearance of the »living dead« (HNP5, No.44); the practising of »contiguous magic« (HNP5, No. 56) or the introduction of demons from hell, which although relatively frequent in Slovene ballads (cf. SLP I, Nos. 25;33), features in Croatian tradition only in a version of the infanticide ballad (Jačke, No. 451).

In ballads of order in which an *earthly* sanction takes place, the very severe revenge of the family members, which is the most common feature (e.g. in the cruel mother ballad, HNP5, Nos. 218, 219; sibling incest ballad, No. 139; adultery ballad, HNP5, No. 205), can also be accomplished in combination with a »miracle« (e.g. in the evil stepmother ballad, HNP5, No. 116). The perpetrator gets his punishment from the non-family world as well, especially where gross crimes are concerned (e.g. betrayal of one's brother, HNP5, No. 198, or blood-sister, HNP5, No. 199). In general, Croatian folk family *ballads of order* end in the triumph of the good and the downfall of evil characters. Although the plot of the ballad may not have a moral, the effect gained is a moralistic one. After all, this is corroborated by ballad titles as they appeared in collections from the previous century (e.g. *God forgives no one*), while the moralizing effect is also enhanced by sententious forms which very often mark family ballads (e.g. *He lived bad, he died worse*). Also, the tradition often uses ornamentalizing endings enhancing the revelation of the crime and prolonging the evaluation of ballad sanctions: thorns and nettles grow on graves in a reinterpretation of the motif of the »sympathetic plants« (HNP5, No.112); the symbols of the victim and perpetrator are seen floating in a mysterious lake (IEF, ms. No. 1621, song No. 14) etc.[10] Thus the *ballads of order*, at least in their »possible effect«, are closest to the concept of »ethical corrective«.

However, while still remaining within the collective ethical evaluation system a ballad can also complicate this mechanism of »crime and punishment« by employing controversial conflicting norms: the burning of the adulteress can be left out in the ballad in which the husband turns away his flirting wife who, unpunished, soon finds another home (HNP5, No.102). The fact that she gets away scot-free could be interpreted by the norm according to which the husband himself is »guilty« for his wife's infidelity because he has not been able to impose his authority as head of the family (cf. Pitt-Rivers 1968:46, in: Peristiany 1968; cf. also Bošković-Stulli 1996:57). Also, while the evil mother-in-law slander is always

[10] This ballad ornamentation is found in an old South Slavic ballad type of the evil daughter-in-law: having committed various crimes (infanticide included), she blames her husband's sister and the latter is unjustly punished by her brother. One of the versions of this ballad has been recently recorded on location of the Pelješac peninsula (8. Feb. 1997, the village of Sparagovici, the Ponikve community, told by Mara Karač, born 1917, interviewed by S. Delić). After relating the ballad, the informant told a story about an old man from her village who actually saw the lake »from the ballad« during his army service near Kotor, Montenegro. He had told her that, when one looks deep into the lake, one can see »a falcon-bird, and on it a little crib, and a small baby in the crib, and its mother's arm at its throat, and she wants to slaughter it, and the small baby shrinks back. Our countryman saw this clear and wide, and it's the thruth!« (1997:23).

directly or indirectly punished in the Croatian tradition, only the ballad of the European type *La porcheronne* (Doncieux, No. 13) forgives a slanderer (Hvar, Nos.10;99). Since there are divergent norm systems which cover different ballad types, we can say that in some cases the ballad is typologically »casuistic«: the same crime is punished in certain types and not punished in certain others, depending on the current ruling norm.[11] However, the ballad is also more expressly »casuistic« at the very level of the plot structure of its individual types, allowing the world of ethical ambiguity to overwhelm the genre. [12]

The *casus* in which the perpetrator of a family's ruin goes unpunished can be found in the ballad about the woman who commits suicide because of her husband's mistress and because her husband's brother refuses to help (HNP5, No.84). The ballad ends luckily for the husband and mistress, who get married, and the absence of punishment seems to be made possible by the context of Muslim society which - as the *other* one - seems to be less »just«. On the other hand, we can also find self-criticism at the expense of the ruling heroic norm in ballads where the individual and the »combat« norms are juxtaposed. In modern ballads about Prince Marko and the Moorish Maiden, which are considered as an »old« version (Miletich, No.6) and deals with the same theme as does the Child ballad *The Fair Flower of Northumberland* (Child, No.9), the Moorish girl, who rescues the hero from prison, is not »forgiven« her religious denomination. She is abandoned or even murdered while the hero is not »adequately« punished (HNP2, No.14). However, a historical context which is receptive to cross-religious »liaisons« - as well as the explicit indictment by the hero's mother - question the validity of the norms of »hostility toward the enemy side« and of »rejection of *others'* values«, directing the ballad's resistance to exogamy with a foreign princess toward the »stratagem of condemnation«.

Nevertheless, it should be said that, apart from the cases mentioned in which the »guilty but unpunishable« *casus* contradiction is materialized, there are much more examples of *casus ballads* in which the crime consists of the »tragic misconclusion« (cf. Jolles *ibid*.: 137). In these ballads »right is at the same time wrong« and »unpunishable is at the same time punishable« (*ibid*.). Here, the evaluation of the crime, or its measuring against different norms, is first of all a measuring of the individual vs. the collective norm. But, while the »social ethics« of *ballads of order* corresponds to the norm of our just and moral self, its confrontation with the »individual ethics«[13] of family ballad characters shows that even this consecrated system is not devoid of contradictions. These ballads point out that even the traditional ethical system - when reflected against the individual, private, norm - can be inappropriate, imposed, and in fact responsible for the tragic dénouement. Unlike the *ballads of order* - in which the »moral of the community«, however flawed in itself, is never questioned - the *casus ballad* necessarily asks the question: how much is the traditional ethical

[11] Of course, this domination of casuistic dénouements in individual ballad types neither excludes certain deviations from the ballad invariance, nor does it preclude the possibility of parallel existence of a dénouement which is in accordance with the »moralistic« effects of the »ballads of order«. Thus, the ballad structure »opens up« in the end in the Croatian ballad which stems from the French *fabliau* »Le chevalier a la robe vermeille« (Entwistle 1939): in modern Croatian tradition there is an equal distribution of those dénouements in which the adulteress is forgiven and of those ones in which she is punished (cf. Hvar Nos. 83; 84).

[12] We consider this feature as a characteristic of the ballad genre in contrast to other folk genres such as e.g. the fairy-tale, which avoids the ambiguity of ethical judgements (cf. Bettelheim 1979:24).

[13] The term »individual ethics« is used in Max Lüthi's sense (1983:506).

system capable of meeting the requirements of the world of emotions, tastes and sensations that we have in the family staging of this genre?

Thus, in the very widespread ballad type (HNP5, No.111) about the son who, threatened by his mother's curse, agrees to throw his wife out of the house although he has no »objective« reason for doing so - the protagonist necessarily comes to a misconclusion: if he does not throw his wife out, he is threatened by the curse of his mother's milk, the »holy bond« between him and her, a curse which is enhanced by showing the mother's breasts, which have a powerful magic (cf. Kuljič et all. 1970:109). If he turns her out, as he does, he likewise suffers and even dies. We can find examples of casuistic ballads among »love ballads« as well. In the popular and widespread Croatian version of the »ballad of the pursued lovers« known as *Omer and Merima*, the protagonist once again is not able to make the right judgment: between his »heart's dictate« and obedience to his family, he chooses the latter, and chooses wrong (e.g. HNP5, No.175). We can also recognize the *casus* form in many other ballads. In all of them, the inevitable »tragic misconclusion« is the »crime« whose only results can be death or suicide.

By concentrating on a character's motivation, which is often absent in *ballads of order*, and by the use of characters who are more »round« (in Edward Morgan Forster's sense),[14] the *casus ballads* with the »tragic misconclusion«, although they cannot extract themselves from the normative system of the community, do confront the »individual ethics« vs. the »community ethics«. With their tragic endings they challenge the value of the victorious norm by *renewing* the clash of interests which they were called upon to resolve. Generally, instead of moralizing, the *casus ballad* asks questions.

If, in the light of the *casus ballad*, we take a look at those ballads that we call *ballads of order*, we cannot help but wonder: could it be that the ballads with a »moralizing« effect are somehow also casuistic with regard to the traditional context in which they originated?

The exponents of the modern Croatian ballad tradition have mostly been and still are women; hence the expression »women's song« in our folk research. The *ballads of order* indeed penalize all kinds of »crimes« and execute »poetic justice«. But the family ballad first of all tells about the conflicts, the family's dramatic history, about the things that the family tries to hide in its effort to keep up the appearance of an »ideal order« of the patriarchial family (cf. Rihtman-Auguštin 1984:174). If the *ballads of order* do strive towards an »ideal culture« (a family without conflicts) - which they try to approach through drastic sanctioning which sharply polarizes the ballad world between Good and Evil - one might say that they first of all promise to explore and inform people of certain extremities of psychological and social behaviour. The revealers of the »realized order« of family conflicts and of »women's subculture« - wiped out in the »ideal order« of the patriarchial family - the female informants, by narrating about the conflicts in the traditional community, implicitly question the meaningfulness of both the »ideal« and »realized« orders. By confronting the norm of silence with the norm of speaking about conflicts, they contribute to the establishment of a »new ideal culture« (cf. *ibid*.: 188).

Thus the family *casus ballads*, but also the *ballads of order*, not only confirm the

[14] This refers to E.M. Forster's term of the 'round' character as opposed to the 'flat' character, which is the type of character that never surprises the reader but, rather, delights by fulfilling expectations copiously (after Rimmon-Kenan 1983:40).

normative system(s) of the community, but also evaluate, modify, and even deny established values. There is a persistent dilemma in Croatian family ballads between the collective and the personal, between harmony and discord, between the force of authority and compromise, so we can sense in them the struggle and birth of the modern sensibility and value concepts with which »the art of moral living seems to be that one is able to live with tensions, contradictions, dilemmas, paradoxes, and ambiguities - and to find solutions not in terms of either/or, but in terms of integration« (Gullestad 1996:21).

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Simona Delić

Imanentna ocena »zločina« po zgodbi v hrvaški družinski baladi

Povzetek

V članku se analizira vrednotenje »zločinov« na sižejni ravni, in to na primerih iz hrvaškega modernega izročila družinske balade (v zapisih iz 19. in 20. stoletja). Glede na mehanizem »zločina in kazni« se razlikujejo »balade reda in balade kazusi.« V baladah reda »zločin« nima posebno izdelane motivacije, liki pa so ostro razdeljeni na »dobre« in »slabe«. Sankcija, ki je lahko zemeljska ali nadnaravno obvezna, je tudi predvidljiva. Balade reda se končujejo s kaznovanjem slabih likov, medtem ko dobri sicer lahko trpijo, vendar dobijo nadomestilo za prenašanje krivice. Nasproti »baladam reda balade kazusi« relativizirajo avtomatizem sankcioniranja ter v svet balade vnašajo dvoumnost, ki jih dela stvarnejše od splošnih balad reda. Zločin je tu lahko kaznovan ali nekaznovan, pojavljajo pa se tudi paradoksi, da je »prav hkrati neprav« ter s tem »kaznivo ali nekaznivo«. Balade kazusi kažejo na obstoj raznih norm pri vrednotenju baladnega zločina, čeprav je prisotnost protislovnih vrednostnih sistemov tudi značilnost tipologije baladnega izročila. Hrvaške »balade reda in balade kazusi« se kot »ženske pesmi« z normo pripovedovanja o spopadih protistavljajo normi zamolčevanja »idealnega reda« izročilne skupnosti in tako omogočajo oblikovanje »nove, bolj idealne kulture«.

BALLAD MOTIFS IN THE CHILDREN'S FOLK TRADITION / BALADNI MOTIVI V OTROŠKI LJUDSKI TRADICIJI

Otroška plesna igra / Children's dancing play
Stari trg ob Kolpi 1961
(fotoarhiv GNI/1153 - Photoarchives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology /1153)

The Ballad Motifs in Lithuanian Children's Folk Songs

Nijolė Sliužinskienė

Ballads are known in Lithuanian folklore as a comparatively recent genre, and the most problematic. They are the most international, and that means not unique in the ancient folklore of all our ethnic regions. And they are not isolated from other local folklore influences either in melody lines and poetry. This is why some our folklore researchers used to raise the general question: Yes, we have ballads in the Lithuanian folklore tradition. But are they *Lithuanian?*[1] Are we able to speak about their specific *Lithuanian* poetry? *Lithuanian* melody lines? From the point of view that »folklore isn't folklore if it doesn't come from the *local* tradition«, Lithuanian ballads can be defined as variants of foreign (mainly Slavonic: Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian and Polish) folklore traditions, *brought* to Lithuania, and *not originating* here at all.[2]

On the other hand, this conservative point of view doesn't help us to understand all the possible (and inevitable!) local influences on folklore on all possible levels: neighbouring ethnicities, neighbouring localities in the same ethnic region, neighbouring villages and even some neighbouring traditional folklore singers in the same village.

»Ballad motifs in Lithuanian children's folk songs«. This topic of mine is also very problematic. Anyway, I will try. I will not touch any melodic problems. The objects of my study here are **poetry** and whole **poetic subjects**. I will not come to the conclusion: »There are ballads in Lithuanian children's folklore!«, but I just will show you some aspects of all that is known in Lithuanian ballad poetry within a very distant folklore genre - our children's folklore.

Lithuanian folklore genres were specified in the late 1960s by the founder of contemporary Lithuanian ethnomusicology, Prof. Jadvyga Čiurlionytė.[3] The full system of **children's folklore genres** was proposed by Dr. Pranė Jokimaitienė in the early 1970s[4] and was generally accepted. According her system, children's musical folklore is divided into two groups: (a) songs sung *for* children by their parents and (b) songs sung *by* children themselves. This folklore has the following sub-genres:

[1] D. Sauka. Tautosakos savitumas ir vertė [The Originality and Value of Folklore (in Lithuanian)]. - Vilnius, 1970, P. 254.

[2] Ibid., P. 254-255.

[3] J. Čiurlionytė. Lietuvių liaudies dainų melodikos bruožai [The Melodic Features of Lithuanian Folk Songs (in Lithuanian)], - Vilnius, 1969, P. 79-192.

[4] P. Jokimaitienė. Lietuvių liaudies vaikų dainos [Lithuanian Children's Folk Songs (in Lithuanian)]. Vilnius: Vaga, 1970, P.13-26.

- *lullabies* (lopšinės),
- *simple playing with baby's arms melodies* (žaidinimai),
- *swing and sway songs* (mylavimai - sūpavimai),
- *simple riding on parent's legs songs* (kykojimai),
- *quiet and soothe the child songs* (maldymai),
- *fun and laughter-making songs* (juokinimai),
- *songs about animals' every day life* (gyvūnijos apdainavimai),
- *formula songs* (formulinės dainos),
- *irritations* (erzinimai).

In some cases the *shepherd boy's* songs are also ascribed as *children's* ones.

So, Lithuanian children's folk songs are very rich, various and numerous. What about **ballad motifs** here? I'd like to repeat that ballads, as a rule, are not considered an independent genre in the Lithuanian folklore classification system by almost all our contemporary scientists. So, we can say that ballads (or so-called »*balladification*«) are just the specific features of some Lithuanian folk songs, developed in their poetic textual forms, and incorporated into the other clear musical folklore genres (especially *wedding, family life* and *war-historical* folk songs). Again I would like to stress - only in the poetry. We can not admit to having any specific ballad melodies in all of Lithuanian folklore.

From this point of view, the ballad motifs can be found only in **lullabies**. Lullabies vary greatly in size here - from short and primitive (repeating 1-2 lines) to quite developed (25 and more couplets, 1 or 2 repeated lines each one) in poetic texts. Some of them share the features of some other genres (lullabies and wedding, family life or war-historical folk songs).

I would like to make an analysis of some the clearest examples of such »balladification« in Lithuanian lullabies. All the ballad motifs can be seen here in a quite clear way in the texts. They are mostly incorporated into some war-historical and family life Lithuanian folk songs (ballads) here. And the melodies are very quiet, monotonous; quite suitable for long narrative stories. Let's take a look at the first example:

Liūli liūli dukrelį,	Lull, lull, my daughter,
A-a a-a mažųjų.	A-a a-a, my youngest one.
Užmik, mano dukrela,	May you sleep, my daughter,
Ramaus saldaus miegelio,	Have a sweet dream.
O aš greitai suverpsiu	And I will spin very soon
Baltuosius sa linelius	The white flax-thread,
Ir iđausiu drobelas,	And I will weave linen for you,
Sukrausiu tau šarvelį.	I will load your dowry for you.
Kab atvažiuos bernelis	When your young beloved will come
Iš svetimos šalalės,	**From the foreign (strange) lands,**
Aš dukrelėm drobelas	**I will take that linen**
Vis nuklosiu kelalį	**And I will pave with it all the long way**
In svecimų šalalį.	**To those far-away lands.**
	LLD I 26

We can find here a very clear wedding ballad motif of a »**far-away country, where the young daughter will have to go after getting married**«. The mother wants to make this trip as easy as possible, because various disasters will await the daughter there for the rest of her life.

The same motif can be seen in a great number of Lithuanian lullabies. One more example:

Čiučia liulia, dukterėla,	Lull, lull, my young daughter,
Mano mielas vaikelėlis.	My dear little child.
Užčiučiavus užliuliavus	When you grow up,
Toli duoč(iu), lauku laisč(iu).	**I'd like to let you go far away, over all the fields [to get married].**
	LLD I 27

The oppositions »***ours - foreign***«, »***near - far away***« are very important in the poetry of our wedding ballads. It symbolises the irreversible change in her life. And her new life is very hard, as a rule. Even the dream of turning into a cuckoo-bird and flying back to the mother's garden is not real for her for ever.

The similar motif of family ballads »**always the worst husband, always the worst life with him**« is also typical of the much more developed poetry of lullabies, family songs about the bride's fate. Here, the cuckoo-bird is the symbol of hard fate. So, the third example reads:

Žaliam berži gegiute kukava,	**The cuckoo-bird was calling in the green birch-tree,**
Kai man mažų mačiute liūliava.	**When my mother lulled me, her young girl (child):**
Čiūčia liūlia mažutį dukrelį,	Lull, lull, my small (young) daughter,
Kakiam teksi tam đelmiui berneliui.	What sort of young fellow will you belong to?
Jei už gera - kai rože žydėsi,	If a good one - You will blossom like a rose,
Jei už bloga - kai mėta suvysi.	If a bad one - You will fade like a mint.
	AM 335

And it is clear for all Lithuanians: she will never blossom like a rose in the poetry of our traditional folklore.

The same text and melody type with the **cuckoo-bird motif** has well-known poetic parallels in the subject of **war-historical ballads**:

Žaliam berži gegute kukava,	**The cuckoo-bird was calling in the green birch-tree,**
Kai man' mažų močiutė liūliava.	**When my mother lulled me, her young son (child):**
Čiūčia liūlia mažų mažutėlį,	Lull, lull, my small (young) son,
Paguldytų baltuos vyst̨yklėliuos.	Sleeping in white swaddling-clothes.
Užaugina mane motinėla,	My dear Mummy reared me,
Užnešioja un baltų rankelių,	Carrying me in her white arms.

Kai man' prausė šiltu vandenėliu,	She used to wash me only with warm water,
Ir nušluostė čystu abrūsėliu.	And wipe me dry only with a clean towel.
Pasodina un bėra žirgelia,	She set me on horseback,
Užkabina auksa strielbytėlć.	And gave me a golden rifle.
Kai aš jojau per pirmŕ laukelį,	I heard the voices of my mother's cocks,
Girdžiu - gieda močiutės gaideliai.	Riding across the first field.
Kai aš jojau per untrų laukelį,	I heard my mother's watchdogs barking,
Girdžiu - loja tėvelia šuneliai.	Riding across the second field.
Kai aš jojau per trečių laukelį,	I heard my mother's oxen roaring,
Girdžiu - baubia brolelio jauteliai.	Riding across the third field.
Kai aš jojau platum vieškelėliu	I reached the hill where the snowball-trees grow,
Ir užjojau putino kalnelį.	Riding the wide road.
Nusilaužiau putino šakelį	**I broke off a snowball-tree twig,**
Ir sušėriau juodbėrį žirgelį.	**And whipped with it my dark horse.**
Ne taip krenta putina uogelės,	**There are not so many snowball-tree berries,**
Kaip man krenta gailios ašarėlės.	**As there are my sorrowful tears.**
	LLD III 203

The last two motifs »**I broke off a snowball-tree twig and whipped with it my dark horse**« and »**There are not so many snowball-tree berries, as there are my sorrowful tears**« are very popular and well-known in narrative folk songs of youth and love (ballads).

There are **lullabies** (possibly lyrical songs of youth) with subjects from **war-historical ballads** but without the tragic endings here. The young son would see great wonders (miracles): ice covering the lakes at midsummer. This poetic motif brings that song very close to narrative **calendar Christmas ritual folk songs**, where such strange changes in nature are very popular and well-known:

Užaugina mani motinela,	My dear Mummy reared me,
Išnešioja in baltų runkelių,	Carrying me in her white arms.
Išlyliava margajam lopšely,	Lull, lull in the motley cradle,
Išbavija sidabra žiedeliais.	Playing with the silver rings to me.
Užsadina in bėra žirgelia	She set me on horseback,
Ir palaide in Vilniaus mestalį.	And asked me to ride to Vilnius town.
Kai aš jojau par žalių giralį,	While I was riding through the green forest,
Ir užtema tamsiuja naktela,	The dark night came,
Ir užkrita gailioja rasala -	The wet dew fell down,
Išgaišena žirgelis kelalį.	And my horse lost the way.

Užgedoja tevelio gaideliai,	My father's cocks began to crow,
Ir atrada žirgelis kelalį.	And my horse found the right way.
Tai man dyvai, dideli pamėnai,	**The great wonders (miracles) started to happen,**
Kad sustoja vasarų ažerai.	**And ice covered all the lakes at midsummer.**
Užtek, saula, par žalių giralį	**Oh you, warm Sun, come to us over the green forest,**
Ir nušildyk vasaros ladelį,	**And warm, please, the summer's ice.**
Pasgirdysiu aš bėrų žirgelį.	**I will water my horse this way.**
Kai pasgirdžiau, žirgelis pilnesnis,	I gave this water to my horse, and it became stronger,
Kai užsėdau, žirgelis graitesnis.	I got up onto the horse, and it became faster.
	[Mother says:]
Nėra mana trys dienas sūnelia.	**I haven't seen my son for three days**
Ir atjoja unksti ryta sūnelis,	**And my young son came back this early morning,**
Apsidžiauge miela matinėla.	**And this made my dear Mummy so happy.**
	LLD III 198

As we see, **there are no full and clear ballad subjects in Lithuanian children's songs (lullabies). Just some poetic motifs.** So, I'd like to use the term »**balladification**« of children's folklore poetry, not anything more.

It is important to note that »balladification« is not very popular here comparatively. We are able to mark the boundaries between children's and the other Lithuanian folklore genres mentioned above just in some hypothetical ways. So, the materials presented here can show us the many-sided and versatile peculiarities of Lithuanian children's musical folklore, including »balladification« as well.

Nijolė Sliužinskienė

Baladni motivi v litovskih otroških pesmih

Povzetek

Litovske folklorne zvrsti je konec šestdesetih let 20. stoletja določila utemeljiteljica litovske etnomuzikologije prof. Jadvyga Čiurlionytė, medtem ko je celotni sistem otroških ljudskih zvrsti v zgodnjih sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja predstavila dr. Pranė Jokimaitienė. V tem sistemu je otroško glasbeno izročilo razdeljeno na dve skupini: (a) pesmi, ki jih starši pojejo otrokom, in (b) pesmi, ki jih pojejo otroci. To izročilo obsega naslednje podzvrsti: uspavanke (lopšinės), melodije za preprosto igro z otrokovimi rokami (žaidinimai), pesmi o guganju (mylavimai – sūpavimai), preproste pesmi za ježo na kolenu staršev (kykojimai), pesmi za pomirjanje otroka (maldymai), zabavne pesmi (juokinimai), pesmi o živalih (gyvūnijos apdainavimai), poštevanke (formulinės dainos) in zbadljivke (erzinimai). Nekatere pastirske pesmi prav tako sodijo med otroške pesmi.

Torej, litovske ljudske otroške pesmi so izredno bogate, raznolike in številne. Kaj pa baladni motivi? Najprej je treba poudariti, da skoraj nihče od sodobnih litovskih raziskovalcev v litovsko folklorno klasifikacijo balad ne uvršča kot samostojno zvrst. Lahko le rečemo, da so balade (ali baladifikacije) posebne značilnosti nekaterih litovskih ljudskih pesmi, ki so se večinoma razvile v svojih pesniških besedilnih oblikah in so bile pozneje dodane drugim ljudskim glasbenim zvrstem (še posebno svatbenim, družinskim in vojaško-zgodovinskim ljudskim pesmim). V litovskem ljudskem izročilu ne poznamo nobenih posebnih baladnih melodij.

Baladne motive lahko večinoma najdemo v uspavankah. Te so različno dolge – od kratkih in izredno preprostih (ponavljanja obsegajo enega ali dva verza) do takih z izredno zapletenimi (petindvajset ali več kupletov, v vsakem od katerih se ponavlja en do dva verza) besedili. Nekatere od njih imajo značilnosti drugih zvrsti (zlivanje značilnosti uspavank in svatbenih, družinskih ali vojaško-zgodovinskih ljudskih pesmi).

V referatu analiziram nekatere od najjasnejših primerov »baladifikacije« litovskih uspavank. Besedila teh uspavank vsebujejo jasne baladne motive, ki so večinoma povezani z vojaško-zgodovinskimi in družinskimi litovskimi ljudskimi pesmimi – baladami. Melodije so zelo tihe, monotone in ustrezne za dolgo pripovedovanje.

Treba je poudariti, da »baladifikacija« ni priljubljena tema. Na meje med otroškimi in drugimi litovskimi ljudskimi zvrstmi lahko nakažemo zgolj hipotetično. Zato v svojem referatu predstavljam večplastne in raznolike značilnosti litovskega otroškega ljudskega glasbenega izročila, skupaj z »baladifikacijo«.

FROM SLOVENIAN FAIR VIDA TO THE ENGLISH BALLAD TRADITION / OD SLOVENSKE LEPE VIDE DO ANGLEŠKE BALADNE TRADICIJE

Pevka pesmi Lepa Vida iz Rezije / Singer of Slovene folk ballad Fair Vida from the Resia region
(fotoarhiv GNI/lxa/54 - Photoarchives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology 1xa/54)

Variants of the Ballad of »Lepa Vida« (Fair Vida) from Resia

Robert Vrčon

The story about a girl or woman who is seduced by a stranger's cunning to get into his boat and who must then leave her baby and her husband behind was in the past widespread in Slovenia in the form of a song, as is evident from written records from as late as the beginning of the present century. The motif is - according to a longer study by a distinguished scholar of Slovenian folk literature, Ivan Grafenauer - of Mediterranean origin, although in a great variety of more or less pure variants it also spread elsewhere in Europe. »Since 'Lepa Vida' (the Fair Vida) first appeared from the calmness of the social environment of the ancient village, when the text and the tune reached the ear of the first field researcher - since then this old ballad has been a sort of enigma for the listener and for the reader,« says Grafenauer in his study.[1]

Post-war researchers of Slovenian folk music believed that old written records of »Lepa Vida« represented everything that could be still found in the field at the beginning of the century, since in the course of their field recordings in Slovenia they nowhere encountered a singer still capable of singing this remarkable ballad. This was the case until, at the beginning of the sixties, they found their way to Resia, an Alpine valley across the state border with Italy but still inhabited by a sparse community of Slovenians. This minority has persisted for centuries in preserving its own folk culture, the main characteristics of which have been above all their archaic Slovenian dialect and their antique forms of folk music.

One of the major »discoveries« on that occasion was the old Slovenian ballad of »Lepa Vida«, which was in Resia still a part of the living song tradition, and in several variants at that. The enthusiasm with which the researchers were filled at this surprising discovery defies description. This is how the late Dr. Valens Vodušek, one of the greatest Slovenian ethnomusicologists, who took part in the first systematic tape-recording of Resian folk music, in a radio broadcast entitled »From the life and work of a researcher« describes his experience from the year 1962:

»In those times I started with a stubborn plan. For, a hundred years ago, there came to Resia - a region at that time already famous for the peculiarities of its language - a Polish philologist (this was B. de Courtenay[2], footnote R.V.), who for the purposes of linguistic study wrote down everything he heard: ordinary conversation, texts of songs, some stories, etc. Among the things he listened to was a story, told by a child, about a certain »barkarjul«,

[1] Grafenauer, Ivan. *Lepa Vida (The Fair Vida), Študija o izvoru, razvoju in razkroju narodne balade o Lepi Vidi* (A study of the origin, development and decay of the folk ballad about the Fair Vida). Ljubljana, 1943: 103

[2] De Courtenaye, Bauduin. 'Materialy dlja južnoslavjanskoj dialektologii i etnologii I. Rez'janskije teksty.' *SPB.* (1895), Chapter XIII. (after I. Grafenauer)

in Slovenian »čolnar«, »brodar« (i.e. a boatman) and a young woman. My colleague, Dr Matičetov, who was also with us in Resia, had already some twenty years earlier drawn my attention to the possibility that the child's story might contain a tiny part of the song about 'Lepa Vida'.« Subsequently, Vodušek describes the encounters with the first informants, among whom was the exquisite singer Luigia di Floriano, known at her home as Lujawa, from the village of Lišćace. »After a few days came the festive moment when we stood in front of the white stone walls of her little house and before women clad in black.« Vodušek continues, »they were waiting like some kind of priestesses in front of the house. And then in the house she and her sister sang together, flawlessly and completely, the whole song from the beginning to the end. We were all feeling quite excited. This is how we got hold of the so far most complete song about 'Lepa Vida', very old in melody and in text, for my taste the most beautiful of them all in its simplicity and clear and picturesque poetic diction. It was night already when we returned from the little village in the mountains down into the valley. Receding behind us was a day that I keep in my memory as one of the most beautiful and happiest of my life.«[3] (Supplement No 1)

On the very same evening the research team was again surprised when, in the village of Osojane, Ana Foladore, at her home known as Kolućewa, sung a second variant of the song about »Lepa Vida« (this time the girl's name was Marjanca). This variant represents so far certainly the most surprising discovery, since it brings into question some assumptions concerning the form and the way of singing narrative songs, for which reason it will be given some additional attention below. (Supplement No 2)

The next research tour to Resia was organized by the Institute of Ethnomusicology in 1963. Among the material recorded on that occasion there was again one of the variants of the narrative song in question. It was sung by Ana Kuražina (at that time 70 years of age), from the village of Bila, who had learned it from her mother. She had started telling the story in prose but later on let herself be persuaded to start singing. (Supplement No 3)

The following example is also interesting. It is admittedly incomplete, but nevertheless contributes towards our understanding of the overall picture of the ballad of »Lepa Vida« in Resia and in Slovenia in general. It was recorded in February 1966 in the village of Solbica, and it was sung by Liugia Lipina at the request of the ethnographer Milko Matičetov. (Supplement No 4)

Although in the years to follow the research into the folk music of Resia was oriented slightly more to the study of the instrumental tradition, it is hard to believe that a prolonged search into the singing repertoire of the Slovenians from Resia would bring up any new, different discoveries of this narrative song.

According to Ivan Grafenauer,[4] all the variants of this type of the ballad, thus of the Slovenian, Croatian, Russian, Albanian, Italian and other ones, are derived from a common predecessor. His investigations, also of all possible related ballad motifs, led him to the realization that at bottom one motif is involved, that of »a young widowed mother, separated against her will from her suckling child«, a motif the origin of which, according to researchers, is

[3] Vodušek, Valens. 'Iz življenja in dela raziskovalca'. *Slovenska zemlja v pesmi in besedi*, Radijska oddaja, Ljubljana 16.12.1975, glej Zapuščina Valensa Voduška (ZVV), mapa št. 4, Arhiv GNI ZRC SAZU (From the Life and Work of a Researcher: The Slovenian Land in Song and in Words: radio broadcast. Ljubljana, December 16, 1975.) (See: Zapuščina Valensa Voduška (ZVV). File No 4: Archive of the GNI ZRC SAZU.)

[4] op cit

related to ancient Indo-European social law.

A survey of the story as presented in the four variants under discussion discloses a considerable amount of mutual similarity. The basis is formed by the motif of a young mother who is on the waterside (seashore) washing her little son's nappies. Since the baby is apparently not too healthy and is crying a lot, the girl (Vida, Lina, Marjanca) lets herself be persuaded by a stranger (a boatman) to get into his boat, where she will receive medicine (wild carrot, coltsfoot) to cure the child. When the woman has done this, the sailor abducts her. In her grief the woman is now asking the sun, the moon and the stars what her son and her man may be doing, and here the answers are slightly different from one variant to another. In the first example the ending is happy, as the son has even got married, but in the second and the third one the son dies.

The differences come up also in the beginnings. In No 1 and 4 (the latter variant is incomplete) the boatman asks the girl why she is not so beautiful as she used to be. The beginning leads one to believe that the man knew the girl even before she gave birth to the son whose nappies she is now washing. But who the boatman was and when he came to know the girl is not said in the song. The beginning brings these two variants from Resia close to the other Slovenian ones, but Vida's answer separates them here. Vida (or Lina, respectively) has lost her beauty through hard work in the fields and not because of the sleepless nights with her baby (although in the variants from Resia the baby is again not very well) or because of her sick and pestering husband (as in other Slovenian variants; in all the variants from Resia the man is young). In variant No 3 the boatman does not ask the girl about her fading beauty, but readily starts to play upon her maternal instincts and at the very beginning offers her medicine for her baby.

But what we fail to learn from the songs from Resia and from other Slovenian variants we have in the variant published as No 2. The girl Marjanca had a boyfriend who was a sailor. But because he was not at home very often, she abandoned him and married a cobbler and had a baby with him. One day she went to the seaside to wash the nappies and there the sailor, whom she had left, met her and accosted her. From here onwards the story of the song is similar to that in other variants. We can ask ourselves: is this perhaps the beginning which is in the extant Slovenian variants left out and in which the abduction is a consequence of jealousy and revenge? Possibly!

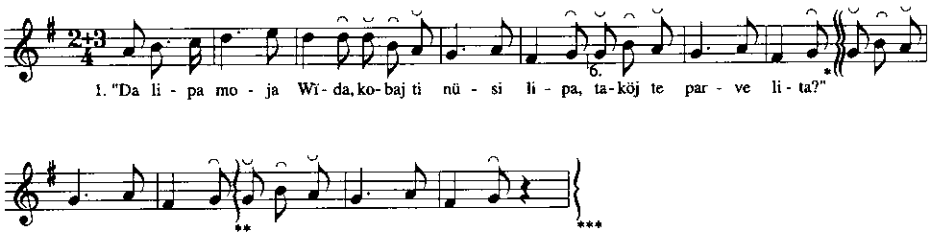
Let us now look at the musical characteristics of the instances in question. The musical construction is in all of them perfectly simple. The melodies in examples No 1 and 4 are basically pentatonic (example No 4 even purely pentatonic), whereas examples No 2 and 3 are in tritones, with the third in example No 2 oscillating between the minor and the major. The two-line stanzas in example No 3 and 4 and the strictly bipartite melody (AB: rise - fall) becomes in example No 1 three-, four-, or even five-part in such a manner that with regard to the number of lines in each stanza the second part of the melody is repeated (MNO - ABB, MNOP - ABBB etc.). In this way the singer is allowed greater freedom of poetic expression, but still within definite melodic, rhythmic, and metrical frameworks. A much greater poetic freedom is permitted by the manner presented in example No 2, where one in fact cannot speak about a firm melodic, rhythmic, or metrical basis, for the singer shapes the narrative material freely by means of, let us say, certain melodic formulae or methods.

In the metrical respect one finds mostly two patterns in the song tradition of Resia: the heptasyllable with anacrusis ((n)ananana), which comes up in lyrical but also in epic songs, and the trochean hexasillable with anacrusis (with the accentual scheme (n)ananan, found in some epic songs, including those about »Lepa Vida«).[5] Variants 1, 3, and 4 are almost consistently constructed in this way. Both the heptasyllable and the hexasyllable are considered archaic metrical modes. In the Slovenian region these modes are on the whole already rather infrequent, most of them existing in the east of our ethnic area. These are mostly songs about the wedding ceremonies of animals or plants which is possibly related to nuptial customs and thus to ancient ritual customs and habits.

Let me conclude by stating that the variants of the narrative song about »Lepa Vida« belong, according to all the criteria mentioned, to a very old Slovenian song tradition. Particularly precious in all respects (also as regards the story - here I am referring in particular to the beginning) is example No 2, with its simple, narrow melodic scope, without any real metrical or rhythmic pattern. This is a case of the so-called narration as it is being sung, which again sends us back to the question of the so-called »long narrative line«, which in the opinion of I. Grafenauer is probably a way of singing narrative songs which is older than those which have a formal melodic and metro-rhythmic basis.

SUPPLEMENT

1) LIPA WÏDA, AT 136b, GNI 25.458; Luigia di Floriano, p.d. Lujawa, Lišćace



* - 1., 3., 4., 7., 9., 11., 13., 15., 17. kitica
** - 2., 5., 8., 10., 12., 14., 16., 18., 20., 21. kitica
*** - 19. kitica
6. - 6. kitica

1. »Da lipa moja Wïda,
kobaj ti nïsi lipa,
taköj te parve lita?«

2. »Kaku ja men bi' lipa,
taköj te parve lita,
ko si zasjala wse te njïve,
wse te dö pöd Morjeno.«

[5] Vodušek, Valens. Ob novih variantah »Lepe Vide« iz Rezije (On the New Variants of »Lepa Vida« from Resia, glej ZVV, mapa št. 4 (see ZVV: Mapa št.4); in Vodušek, Valens. 'Anakruza v slovenski ljudski pesmi.' (and Vodušek, Valens, Anacrusis in the Slovenian Folk Song) *Zbornik kongresa SUFJ*. Celje, 1965: 303.

3. »Za wse te mele vsjanjë,
vilïke ja si vsjala,
ma melu jë pognelu.«

4. »Lipaj ma s̓tara Wïda,
o, djö twöj sïn ti jöče,
o, djö (taga?) mi jöče.«

5. »Da pujdi së s to barćo,
nu wzëmi won te kören,
an dëji ta zibili,
ka an ti wać ni jöčë.«

6. Na jë šla ta-s to barćo,
na wzela won te kören.

7. An jë zagnel to barćo,
pu ti čarnjëli murjë,
pu ti zelëni murjë.

8. »Hudo ti bodi mernor,
ka ti si me rizdëlil,
miga muža mladiga,
miga sinu maliga!«

9. An jë zagnel to barćo,
pu ti čarnjëli murjë,
pu ti zelëni murjë.

10. Nu tu jë srëtlu lüno:
»O, dobro večer lüna,
vidala miga muža,
vidala miga sïnu?«

11. »O, djö, twöj sïn ga vïdala,
ojmë twöj sïn ti jöče,
anu twoj muž ti zübjë?«

12. »Hudo ti bodi mernor,
ka tï si me rizdëlel,
miga muža mladiga,
miga sinu maliga!«

13. An jë zagnel to barćo,
pu ti čarnjëli murjë,
pu ti zelëni murjë.

14. Nu tu jë srëtlu zvïzde
»O, dobro večer zvïzde ,
vidale miga muža,
vidale miga sïnu?«

15. »O, djö, twöj sïn ga vïdale,
ojmë twöj sïn ti spašë,
anu twöj muž se draže.«

16. »Hüdo ti bodi mernor,
ka tï si me rizdëlel,
miga muža mladiga,
miga sinu maliga!«

17. An jë zagnel to barćo,
pu ti čarnjëli murjë,
pu ti zelëni murjë.

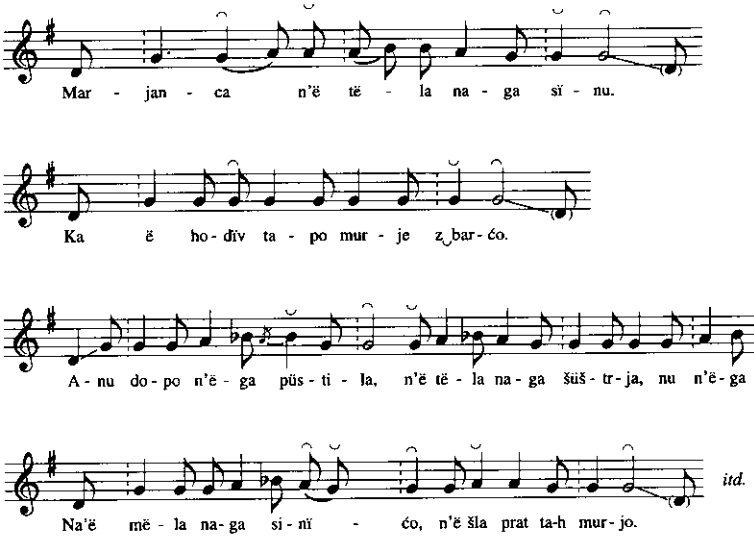
18. Nu to jë srëtlu suncë:
»O, dobro jutro suncë,
vidalu miga muža,
vidalu miga sïnu?«

19. »O, djö, twöj sïn ga vïdalu,
ojmë twöj sïn se žëne,
anu twöj muž pohaja,
pu ti čarnjële murjë,
pu ti zelëni lïnda«

20. »Hudo ti bodi mernor,
ka tï si me rizdëlel,
miga muža mladiga,
miga sinu maliga!«

21. An jë zagnel to barćo,
pu ti čarnjëli murjë,
pu ti zelëni murjë,
da mej konca ni bilo.

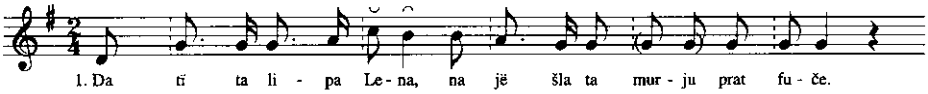
2) MARJANCA, AT 137a, GNI 25.465; Ana Foladore, p.d. Kolućewa, Osojane



Marjanca n'ë tëla naga sïnu.
Ka ë hodïw ta-po murje z barćo.
Anu dopo n'ë ga püstila, n'ë tëla naga šüštrja, nu n'ëga ožanïla.
Na'ë mëla naga sinïćo, n'ë šla prat ta-h murjo.
Na ë oprala füčica, nu ë pršow ti z barćo.
Ë rëkow tu-w nju: »Zakoj Marjanica ti nïsi lipa tejko ta prve lita?«
»Kaku ä män bi' lipa, ko a si sjala pröso ta-dö za Marijano, čiz ta duge lihe, čiz ta širöke brajde.
»Jsö to nï risën ti si oženjena, ti maš naga sinïćo.
»Skoči nu w barćo, popadi to koronjë nu dëj ta-po zibilico, ko an bo ti ökow.«
Anu ë o zmutew, na ë skočïla nutu w barćo.
Na ë skočïla nutu w barćo, anu ë se šprtew z barćo.
Anu na ë talïku šla nu ökala.
Nu ko na ë pršla dalëč, so pršle zvïzde.
»Zvïzde me, zvïzde moje, ko ba dila möj otrök?«
»Twöj otrök än spï anu twöj muž šïwa čriwje.«
Anu n'ëga prosïla: »Da pajï me ta-h kraju!«
Anu na ë talïku (šla) nu (.) ë pršlä lüna.
»Lüna ma, lüna mojä, ko ba dila möj otrök?«
»Twöj otrök öčë nu twöj muž sa kunë.«
Nu n'ë talïku ga prosïla: »Pajï me ta-h kraju!«
Anu ë šow šćë bö dalëč.
Anu ë pršow suncë.

»Suncë mö, suncë mojë, ko ba dila möj otrök?«
»Twöj otrök pana anu twöj muž mu drži svićo nu an sa kunë.«
Anu dopo ë o paow ta-h kraju.
Anu ta hïši n'ë pršlä an ta maji ë bi' mwor.
Nu ko n'ë pršlä ta hïše, nji muž an ë sa klew anu ë rëkuw: »Da maj vić ti nïmaš jti prat ta-h murjo!«

3) LEPA LENA, AT 554, GNI 25.951; Ana Kuražina, Bila



1. Da tï ta lipa Lena,
na jë šla ta murju prat fuče.

2. Anu barkarjul ë rëkel: »Tï ta lipa Lena,
da s̈topni nutu w barćo.

3. Nu wbëri tö lepenjë,
nu dëj je ta zibili.

4. Ki ći twöj sïn ti jöče,
an ti ni jöče vić.«

5. Na s̈topnula tu-w barćo,
barkarjul vijel barćo.

6. Na bila ta-na murjë,
nu.....*(se ne spomni)*

7. Nu na jë srëtla suncë,
nu: »Döbro jütro suncë.«

8. »Si vïdalu miga sïnu,
miga sinu maliga, miga muža mladiga?«

9. »Da njän twöj sïn ti jöčë,
anu twöj muž se draži.«

10. »Huda ti bodi maner,
ki ti si mi zadelal!

11. Da mlënu mimu sïnu,
anu mimu mužu.«

12. Dopo na ë šlä na srëtla lüno,
nu: »Döbro večer lüna!

13. Si vïdala miga muža,
miga muža mladiga, miga sinu maliga?«

14. »Üda ti bodi maner,
si mi lëpu zadelel.

15. Nu mlenu miga sïnu,
miga sinu maliga, miga muža mladiga!«

16. Na šlä, na srëtla zvïzde,
nu: »Döbra večer zvïzde.

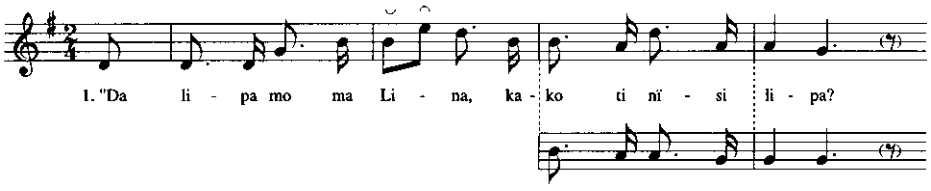
17. Stë vïdale miga sïnu,
nu miga muža?«

18. Da njän twöj sïn ti mrjë,
twöj muž mu drži svićo.«

19. Nu ko na ë pršlä ta jïši,
nji muž gardëžë (?) se poračet.

20. »Nu kë si bila Lena,
tri lite ta-na murjë?«

4) LIPA MO MA LINA, AT 268b, GNI ?; Luigia Lipina (?), Solbica (?); presnetki Milka Matičetova (trak št.T41/2, T30/1)



1. »Da lipa mo ma Lina,
kako ti nïsi lipa?

2. Kako ti nïsi lipa,
teköj te drüe lita?«

3. »Kako man bi’(.) lipa,
ki ja si wsjala jëdo!

4. Ki ja si wsjala jëdo,
ta-dölë za Marjono.

5. Tu-w te valïke lie,
tu-w ti širöke njïve.«

Robert Vrčon

Rezijanske različice balade o Lepi Vidi

Povzetek

V šestdesetih letih se je veliko sodelavcev GNI (Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta) odpravilo skupaj z nekaterimi tujimi raziskovalci v Rezijo, alpsko dolino, ki se nahaja v italijanskem delu Alp in v kateri še vedno živi maloštevilna skupnost Slovencev. Ta manjšina že stoletja vztraja pri ohranjanju svoje lastne ljudske kulture, katere glavni značilnosti sta predvsem arhaično slovensko narečje in starinske oblike ljudske glasbe, ki je že dolgo predmet glasbenih in jezikovnih raziskav.

Ta »ekspedicija« je posnela veliko magnetofonskih trakov in na ta način zabeležila za slovensko kulturo zelo dragocen del rezijanske ljudske vokalne in inštrumentalne glasbe. Eno večjih takratnih »odkritij« je bila stara slovenska balada o lepi Vidi, ki je drugod po Slovenskem med ljudmi že ni bilo več zaslediti (razen enega primera, ki ga je na Ribniškem posnela Zmaga Kumer, glej: Z. Kumer: Ljudska glasba med rešetarji in lončarji v Ribniški dolini, Maribor 1968, str. 280), v Reziji pa je še vedno del »živega« izročila in to v različnih variantah.Referat osvetljuje potek raziskovalne odprave, način dela na tem specifičnem »terenu«, za kar avtor črpa informacije iz terenskih zvezkov GNI in maagnetofonskih posnetkov.

Vključuje tudi radijske oddaje, ki jih je o tem raziskovalnem »podvigu« za takratni Radio Ljubljana pripravil Valens Vodušek, dolgoletni sodelavec GNI in eden glavnih pobudnikov in raziskovalcev te odprave.

Avtor na osnovi transkripcij pesmi skuša predstaviti vse v Reziji posnete primere omenjene balade in jih med seboj primerja.

All is Not Narrative or Whole: The Real Scottish Repertoire

Mary Ellen Brown

I have been particularly struck in the last year or so with underlying assumptions of our practice, most particularly the scholarly attention paid to the ballad – perhaps in the wake of the canonical or presumably canonical works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the hegemonic place of the ballad and prose narrative in the history of folkloristics, particularly in the English-speaking world. Over and over again, however, I have been struck with the fact that the ballad itself is a scholarly construct and that our attempts to come to terms with what it is/has been are often circular: we extrapolate characteristics from a body of material we have already identified as »our« text; our definitions affirm our prior choices. It was, of course, just this self-fulfilling potentiality that led Thelma James to her famous/infamous conclusion about the Child collection, that it contained materials chosen for inclusion by Child – that being its only rationale. James' conclusion suffered from oversimplification and limited examination/understanding of the history and development of the Child collection, Child's own letters and publications – especially the Johnson's Cyclopaedia definition.

Both Michael Bell and Sigrid Rieuwerts have discussed with perhaps different foci Child's socially-based theory of the ballad, his hypothetical postulation of the world out of which the materials already selected must have come – in the face of the fact that no similar materials were currently being developed. Child described that ballad world, an historically prior age, a more or less homogeneous and classless society where the group sentiment counted more than individual expression and where »ideal« social conditions made possible the best popular ballads. The number 305, it turns out, is an arbitrary one: Child had written to Macmath in 1893 – »I confess I should like to go to 300«; that no doubt seemed like a nice round number. At any rate the 305, which Child ended up printing in the 1882-1898 edition, contained, according to Child, traces, sometimes more, sometimes less, of materials that had their origins in the postulated earlier period when oral tradition was indeed THE medium. Child's definition of ballads was then socially-based, his »model« of an environment out of which his materials came. And it was the socially-based theory of David Buchan some one hundred years later that offered – without specific reference, interestingly, to Child's own definition and description of a ballad world – support for the Child canon. Hypothesizing a clannit society, Buchan evoked a small, cooperative fermtoun where work and play together created THE environment for the creative incubation, as if in one voice, of the jewels of the Scottish ballad canon. And yet we have no clear evidence of ballads in THAT environment. While Buchan provides a specific historical context for the Scottish ballads, thus concretizing – in theory – the ballad society Child imagined, Buchan also imagined that perfect world, where gold was spun and the voices of the people made melody together. So whether text-based or

society-based, historical attempts to define and authenticate and canonize ballads have this circular, self-fulfilling tendency.

In large measure such approaches falter because they are not based in concrete, observed reality. Our practice has seen narrowly. The reality of Scottish – or any – tradition is undoubtedly far more muddled, far less idyllic and homogeneous, and certainly a mixed bag – with narrative and lyric, comic and tragic, prose and poetry, rhyme and riddle nestling together in as yet unknown ways. Lived reality, actuality, questions scholarly constructs and theory spinning; I think particularly here of Judy Seeger's elegant interrogation of the ballad concept in dealing with the Brazilian materials. Of course, this is not to say that historical analysis of our constructs, hypothetical and otherwise, and theories is not fascinating and important – and recent work in particular has added enormously to our understanding of the past – and perhaps to our recognition of the limitations of some of the past scholarship which we have accepted as gospel truth.

We – collectively and cumulatively – have created a genre; we have defined it; we have fabricated a history; and we have given it hegemonic status. The very name of our organization continues to privilege »our« genre though our presentations and discussions question that very hegemony. Interestingly, historical materials – often called on to support conservative views of balladry – can also be called in to query our scholarly foci and to enrich and enlarge our understanding of what really was known, probably sung – even if we cannot know all that we would like. People on the ground, people who heard and perhaps even sang the songs, certainly people who collected them early on – and in Scotland there was a pride of locale and nation that gave energy and raison d'etre to that search – actually knew a fuller reality, sometimes underrepresented in their published collections. As we, like Child, go behind the published works to the manuscript collections, we can – unlike our scholarly forefather – be more catholic in our report of what we find: all is not narrative or whole or beautiful – or even evidence of some hypothetical homogeneous world or near classless harmony, a past which always makes the present seem a fall from grace. For what the collectors collected is, in large measure, NOT represented in their publications. Already, narrative song, read poem, was privileged. The manuscripts often reveal varied repertoire and elucidating information – dates and places and singers and reciters. Bill McCarthy's deconstruction of William Motherwell's Manuscript and Notebook provide good cases in point. And in fact, I would like myself to focus one more time on Motherwell – justifying this by the fact that 1997 is the bicentenary of his birth. What we learn when we go behind the *Minstrelsy: Ancient and Modern* and look at the Manuscript Child found so useful, at the Notebook in which he recorded information on his collecting activities, at various miscellaneous manuscripts that have survived, and at his subsequent published comments in the *Paisley Magazine* may enlarge our view of the Scottish repertoire at one place and point in time.

For those to whom the name William Motherwell may not be familiar, let me say quite briefly that he was a Scottish editor, a collector who recorded oral material from a series of west of Scotland individuals primarily between 1824 and 1826. His experience of oral song radically changed his opinions: he ceased to conflate and edit texts; he described a compositional/performance technique which anticipated oral formulaic composition; he recognized the importance of tunes; he offered a discussion of the characteristics of this early, national literature; he recognized the relationship of song and culture, that change in the latter precipitated change in the former. His editorial principles, his recognition of the authenticity of each

version, as well as his orally collected materials made an enormous impact on Francis James Child and on Svend Grundtvig.

What I really want to do here is to share with you evidence of a regional repertoire, haphazardly recorded by Motherwell, which reveals a melange of song types, among which ballads are clearly evident: but there are other songs in the regional repertoire. The protracted publication of the Greig-Duncan collection from the Northeast of Scotland for a later period likewise provides evidence of what we might call a multi-generic repertoire. Yet collections and editions and enthusiasts and scholars have, over time, given priority and focus to that thing we call the ballad. I guess what I want to remind myself and us of is that the focus on the ballad, as fascinating and sometimes useful as it has been and will continue to be, does in fact ignore the fuller tradition of which the ballads were and are a part; and, of course, we also know that those who sang the songs may very well have ignored or been oblivious to or had other distinguishing categories. I'd like then to offer you a birds-eye view of the songs and ballads Motherwell came in touch with.

This survey has been the result rather than a goal of a decade of exploring the Motherwell materials: in this sense it cannot claim to be complete or fully accurate; but it does offer a fuller sense of the general song materials available in the west of Scotland, in and around Paisley, which can be compared with and added to the works of Andrew Crawfurd to enlarge our understanding of the community of song extant in the first third of the nineteenth century.

Scholarly text-centred and historical approaches to the ballad have, as I suggested earlier, been rather circular, closed in on themselves; and as a result they have seldom revealed the full extent of the song repertoires of a period. Yet even published works, whose texts may well be of dubious origin, are sometimes more likely to reflect sung reality than the selective ballad-only approach about which D. K. Wilgus wrote critically – for a later period, most particularly following the canonization of the Child collection. Returning to some early collections is also useful; popular and/or folk taste may well have been more catholic than scholarly and/or antiquarian taste.

Even the famous Motherwell Manuscript and Notebook provide evidence of some non-hegemonic forms: in the Notebook, Motherwell wrote a note: »Memorandum to get from Mrs. Wm Craig the song beginning –

There's bread & cheese for Musquetiers
  And corn & hay for horses
There's fuck & sugar for auld wives
  And lads for bonny lasses« (p.3).

The famous Manuscript itself begins with items more miscellaneous than canonical, destined perhaps to be published separately in a small Garland : »I am a man unmarried,« »The greeting sang,« »Come Kiss me come clap me,« »The Ale wife,« »The mousie in the mill & the Froggie in the well,« »The Moudiewort« which begins

I hae gotten a braw new gown
And Jamie's gotten a waistcoat o't
I bade the tailor gie me room
Case Geordie bevil the body o't

The Moudieworts a wylie beast
A cunning wee beast the Moudiewort
I biggit my house at the foot o-yon brae
And he crap in at the gavel o't.

The latter is grouped together with some twenty others which appear prior to the Manuscript's table of contents; there is a thematic and tonal consistency: items about seduction, pregnancy, mostly from a male perspective. We do not think of Motherwell in connection with this sort of material, the kind Francis James Child preferred to exclude, which Will Walker referred to as »high kilted,« which Peter Buchan cosseted in his Secret Songs of Silence manuscript. In fact, it is possible to gather from the larger body of Motherwell's manuscript materials a fuller picture of the repertoire he himself actually observed, sometimes in full texts and sometimes only with references to song titles, often with singers identified.

I think it is also possible that Motherwell himself had a more catholic view of traditionary song, mercifully not infected with later nineteenth century prudery. He did record other kinds of materials not destined for the *Minstrelsy*; in one of the manuscript records, under the heading »An Attempt to recover Ancient Song,« he refers to songs of sentiment: »In lyrical productions few countries surpass our own. These as illustrating national character(,) national manners(,) language, feeling and peculiar trains of thought and fancy and all that confers an individuality upon the universal mind of a particular race are of deep interest and in a philosophical and historical point are of first importance« (Robertson 6/1223). And in the year after the completion of the Minstrelsy, he published a series of articles in the *Paisley Magazine* on Scottish Song.

There he continued his concern for publishing materials that had not yet been published; he named broadsides as legitimate sources which really don't count themselves as publication. He suggested that a single broadside or text may well seem insignificant, but when it is put together with many others begins to offer a fuller picture of the whole of traditionary song: he printed new examples from broadsheets and recitation; sometimes he comments on the tune; always he urged collection – from whatever sources. Through these materials, he suggested, »our understanding may be enlarged, and wits whetted, by studying the genius and extracting the marrow of the literature of our ancestors« (250-6). He praised the publications of the Maitland and Bannatyne clubs in making available early materials. But he underlined the particularly urgent need to collect from the lips of persons: »we deem it the duty of everyone who has the least unpublished scrap of traditionary on his memory, to get it committed to print in some shape or other« (321-2). Under the topic »A Friendly Notice to Correspondents, with which the public has little to do Unless It likes« he pushes his own hobby horse a bit humorously. In talking about a poet who has submitted some of his own poetry for publication, he writes, »if, in the place of writing original verses for us, he would employ himself in endeavouring to procure a few old traditionary songs of that neighbourhood... could he get these as also some short rhymes of place and persons... It is of use to collect and preserve these rude ditties of our forefathers« (161-3).

Motherwell's experience collecting, begun after the work on the *Minstrelsy* was well underway, had radically changed his view of the subject matter, giving him insight into the mechanism of the ancient ballads. But it had also introduced him in a firsthand way to the diversity of the materials held in memory by those in the West of Scotland from whom he

collected. That diversity, recorded rather haphazardly, offers us a view from the past – a fuller picture of what the song culture of Scotland included. In its diversity, of course, it silently interrogates our exclusionary definitions and constructs, beckoning us perhaps to a more democratic world of song – narrative and lyric, ditty and verse.

Appendix

Motherwell's Informants and Items

(* indicates Motherwell wanted to get their tunes)
(+ indicates he called them »old singing women«)

Margaret Bain parish of Blackford Perthshire	What's become of your hounds King Henrie my son
Mrs. James Baird, husband forrester at Dalrymple	The Water o' Ganrie
Mrs. Bell, Paisley Miss Montgomerie, Edinburgh	The Gay Gos hawk The Gay Gos hawk
Margaret Black, wife of Archie Black (sailor), Ayr	The Earl of Aboyne
Mr. Blaikie	I'll down to my dearest that now in the deep
Mrs. Blaikie	My father has seven plows and a mill O Jeanie Douglas its but, he says The Lass o' Aikengaw
Mrs. Brown, Linsark Parish Lockwinnoch	Jamie Douglas
Brown, of Glasgow, sister of Dr. Jas, learned from blind aunt, Nancy; list of what know; Mrs. Brown's sister is Mrs. Rule, Paisley	The Chronicle of Kings The Turkish Galley The low silver ee Geordie Gil Moric, Jamie Douglas, Johnie Faa, Young Tamlin, Andrew Lammie, Robin Hood and the Pedlar, Young Beichan, Johnnie Armstrong Madam Guy
Robert Brown, Howwood	Lady Dundonald
Mrs Burns, late servant to Mr. Orr, l0 Oakshaw St	Broom blooms bonnie

Mr. John Cleland, Glasgow (marble cutter)	The French Galley/Turkish Galley
Mrs. Wm Craig	There's bread & cheese for Musqueteers
Marrhew/Matthew Crawford, Howwood (weaver)	Jamie Douglas
Mrs. Crum, Dumbarton	Montrose he had a poor Shepherd The Buss o' Bonnie Broom O fair maid and true maid Mary Myles
Mrs. Cunningham, Ayr	The Twa Brithers
Mrs. Charles Drain, Kilmar- nock, husband low gelder	Jamie o' Lee
Mrs. Duff, Kilbirnie	Barbara Allan, The Boy o' the Wood The Widow o' the West Down by yon bonnie bonnie gate, Irish Dragoons The Maskin Rung, The Black Waters of Dee, Open the door love and let me in
Rebecca Dunse, Galloway	Jamie Douglas, Little Sir Grove
Henry French, boy, Ayr	The High Banks o Yarrow
Mrs. John French, Irish wife of porter, quay of Ayr	Johnston Hey and Young Caldwell
friend of Agnes Lyle Kilbarchan	Lizie Wan, Richard Storie
+Mrs. Gentles, Abbey Street, Paisley	Sir Patrick/Spens, Mary Hamilton Sir James the Rose, The Young Johnstone Isbel, Child Norice, The Elphin Knight Lord Ronald
Wm George, Cumbus Michael Perthshire	The Coble o' Cargill
J. Goldie	There were three sisters lived in a hall There were three sisters on a road
Miss Hamilton	I shall do for my true love
Miss Nancy Hamilton	Mary Hamilton (with Gentles)
Mr. Henderson, Glasgow (artist)	Turkish Galley
+Janet Holmes, Kilbarchan if Nancy – a singing woman	Fair Annie*
Mr. P. Jackson, Greenock	Paul Jones
Marjory Johnston (servant to W. Parker, manufr, Paisley)	Lord William, Lady Margaret sits in her bow window Burd alone

Allan Ker, Greenock	King Edelbrode
Mrs...., Kilbarachan	Ritchie Storie
Edward King, Kilbarchan (weaver)	Lamerlin Kin
+Mrs. King, Kilbarchan	There were three Sisters lived in a bouir Hind horn It is talked, it is talked, the warld all over
+Agnes Laird, Kilbarchan	The Brown Bride and Lord Thomas The Wee Wee Man, Johnnie Scot Lord Robert & Mary Florence There was a Knight in Jessamay* The Cruel Mother, Willie of Winsberye/berry* »our king hath been a poor prisoner«/Lord Thomas of Winsbury The King had only one daughter There was a lady brisk and smart, Gay Goss hawk
John Lindsay (cowfeeder)Wallace Street. Paisley	There were three merry maids, Johnnie Scot
+Agnes Lile/Lyle, Kilbarchan (c. 50, learned from father customary weaver,Locherlip) + had two sisters M. also called old singing women	Lord Dunwaters, The Dowie Downs o' Yarrow Mary Hamilton The Eastmure King and the Westmure King Lord Jamie Douglas, Young Patrick Fair Janet and Sweet Willie Sweet William's gone over seas The Broom blooms bonnie &c, Geordie Lukely Lord Barnabas' Lady, Four and twenty ladies fair (Barbara Livingston) Earl Richard has a hunting gone Davie Fla (Gipsy Lady), The Bonny Bows o' London There were three sisters lived in a bower The Cruel Mother, The Turkish Galley Johnie Scott, The Knight & Lady, Young Hyn Horn The Gay Goss hawk, There was a lady liv'd in Luke Fair Margaret of Craignargat, Johnie Armstrang Slippings o yarn – a song
Mrs. McConechie, Kilmarnock	Wee Messgrove
Widow McCormick Dumbarton	Its hold your hand, dear judge, she says Lord Thomas & the Brown Girl
+Widow McCormick Westbrae, Paisley	Tamaline/Tam lin The Knight and the Shepherd's daughters Child Noryce/Child Norice, The Cruel Brother Marjorie & William/Wm & Marjorie The Brown girl, May Colean

Alex(r) Macdowald (coal- heaver, Harkis, parish of Dalry, from his mother, Irish)	Robin Hood
+Mrs. Macindoe, washer woman&&	
Mrs. McLean, Glasgow	Susie Cleland
Mrs. McNiccol	Love, Johnnie Scot
Jean Macqueen, Largs	Queen's Mary
Mrs. Macqueen, Lochwinnoch	Mild Mary
John McWhinnie, Newtown Green, Ayr (collier)	The Deil's Courting
Miss Maxwell, Brediland	The bonnie Wee Croodlin dow
+Widow Michael, Barhead	The Jews Daughter, Child Nourice, Gill Morice
James Nicol, Stricken via Peter Buchan	The Clerk's two sons of Oxenfoord
Jean Nicol	Jamie Douglas
Jeanie Nicol	Sweet William and the Young Colonel
Jenny Nicol	On the Buchan
Miss Nicol	Swift swims the swan on the high ſtreams o Yarrow
+Widow Nicol, Paisley native parish of Houſtoun learned from parents say »not of great value«	The Loyal Lovers The Young Laird o' Kelty Old Row Down a Derry The Trooper, Somebody, Robes of Brown, Captain Kid The Bonnie Lass of Newport I'll tell thee the true reason Its braw sailing here one ſtanza: The Buss o' Bonnie Broom–Mrs. Nicol? Earl of Aboyne or Bonny Peggy Irvine Johnie Scot, Kempy Kane, Charcoal Jenny
+Mrs. Nolman (widow), Buchanan; also called Miss Birchanan, from Crofthead Neilſtoun	Sir Patrick Spens, Willie the Widow's Son Jamie Douglas, Lord Doughlas, Tamlin Mary Hamilton, Wallace My love he's young but he's growin yet Hynd Horne, Lord Gregory Johnie the Valiant Scot, Johnie Scot or McNachton
Mrs. Parkhill, Maxweltown	Lord Thomas
Margaret Paterson, Widow Michael, Covecoteha' Barhead	Gill Morice
Old Pedlar	Where will bonnie ann lie

May Richmond, Old Kirk of Loudon	The Burning o' Loudon Castle
+Mrs. Rule, Paisley	Fair Annie, Geordie Lukelie, The Turkish Galley Jamie Douglas, I have a sister Lord Clifford says Young Tamlin
Old maid servant of Mr. Alex(r) Southbar	Lady Jane
Servant girl, Walkhead	Young Hyndhorn
Robert Sim, Paisley (weaver) (his father knew many heroick ballads)	In Borders bell in there did dwell
Thomas Risk Smith, Paisley (Thomas Rick, Smith ?)	New Gown of Gray, Variation of the Gaberlunzie There was a mouse lived in a mill Montrose he had a poor Shepherd Gilderoy, McNachton When I was a servant into Aberdeen The Jolly Beggar
Widow Smith, George St. Paisley, Widow Nicol's sister	Clerk Saunders The Seven Bluidy Brithers
Mr. N. Steele, Greenock	Lamkin
Miss Stevenson, Glasgow	Earl Richard
Mrs. Storie, Lochwinnich	The Deil's Wowing, Rosie Ann, Bob Norice The Laird o' Ochiltres Wa's The Unco Knicht's Wowing The King's dochter Lady Jean
+Mrs. Thomson, Kilbarchan	Lady Marjory, Lambert-Linkin Catherine Johnson*, King William going a hunting Robs Bridal, Earl Robert*, Skipper Patrick Chield Morice, There was a May and a bonnie May Susie Cleland*, Lord Sanders, Johnnie Scott Lord Brangwill, E down & oh Down*
Mrs. Trail, Paisley	The Mousie in thee Mill and the Froggie in the Well Lord DunWaters, Mary Hamilton, Jamie Douglas
Malcolm Whyte, Moss-raw of Paisley	Lady Essie Dundonald*
Miss Ann Wilson, Tontine Inn, Paisley	The Beggar Laddie
D. Wilson, Glasgow	Here's to you, an' yours
Mrs. Wilson Renfrewshire Tontine	The Wee Wee Man, Hynd Horn
Old Woman, via Buchan	Sir William Wallace

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Ni vse pripovedno sli celotno: dejanski škotski repertoar

Povzetek

V seriji člankov sem predstavila baladne teorije in zgodovinski pomen Williama Motherwella (1797–1835), čigar petletna zbirateljska dejavnost v dvajsetih letih 19. stoletja je dosegla vrhunec v njegovem delu *Minstrelsy: Ancient and Modern* (1827) in obsežnem rokopisu, ki je bil pozneje dragocen vir Francisu Jamesu Childu. V pričujočem članku želim iz ptičje perspektive predstaviti pesmi in balade, na katere je naletel Motherwell. Pri tem ne želim poudariti, da so to pesmi njegovega prostora in časa, temveč podati pregled nad tem, kar je včasih obstajalo, in ponuditi material za nadaljnje proučevanje zgodovinskega repertoarja.

Ta pregled je prej rezultat kot cilj desetletja proučevanja Motherwellove zbirke, zato ni ne popoln ne natančen. Vendar pa ponuja globlji vpogled v razpoložljivi splošni repertoar pesmi v Paisleyju in njegovi okolici na zahodu Škotske, Ta repertoar lahko primerjamo z delom Andrewa Crawfurda, ki ga tudi dopolnjuje. S tem lahko izboljšamo svoje poznavanje skupnosti pesmi iz prve tretjine 19. stoletja.

Besedilni in zgodovinski pristopi k baladi so le redko odkrili celotne pevske repertoarje tega obdobja, saj so se osredotočali na pripovedno pesem. Pregled, ki ga ponujam in ki je nastal večinoma naključno ob pomoči Motherwellove zbirke (večino zbirke hrani knjižnica univerze v Glasgowu), predlaga drug način, s katerim bi lahko izboljšali svoje razumevanje preteklosti.

NO DEATH WITHOUT WARNING: a Supernatural Ballad in Scotland and the Faroe Islands

Frances J. Fischer

In late 1949, a Scots musicologist, Ian Grimble, was returning from Tórshavn in the Faroe Islands to Aberdeen in Scotland aboard a Faroese fishing smack. The October weather was rough but the Faroese captain sang Faroese ballads as he stood at the helm. Grimble was impressed although he was not surprised. In the brief article he wrote following this journey, he mused on the still-living tradition of ballad singing and dancing in the Faroes. He found music in the heart of the Faroese and noted that their interest in collection and composition was still continuing (Grimble 1950).

The setting of this article between Faroes and Scotland is quite symbolic - for a number of writers including Francis James Child and Svend Grundtvig had seen a relationship between the ballads of Scotland and those of Scandinavia. Of particular mention was the Scots »Clerk Colvill« which was seen as a member of that extended ballad family named 'Elveskud' by Grundtvig. Indeed, both Child (ESPB:74) and Grundtvig (DgF lV:865) viewed the Faroese version, »Ólavur Riddararós«, as being the most similar to the Scots »Clerk Colvill«. This, in turn, has led many authors to question the origin of the Scots ballad and/or its possible role in the diffusion of the West Scandinavian versions. From a basis of monogenesis, Liestøl considered the Scots text to be closest to the Faroese and to have entered Scotland through the Shetland Islands (Liestøl 1946:16). Nolsöe, however, saw no direct link between the versions but posited their connection through Norway (Nolsöe 1982:44). Bengt Jonsson favoured a form of polygenesis where more than one text had been created from a single written source - which source he cited for historical reasons as existing in Norway (Jonnson 1992:87). Polygenesis was also favoured by the Faroese writer D. J. Niclasen who saw the creation of »Ólavur Riddararós« as being uniquely Faroese. He saw this version as reaching Scotland, among other areas, before the Faroese version was subject to dilution by other West Scandinavian versions (Niclasen 1947:165-6). Forslin, on the other hand, saw two routes of diffusion from a generally accepted source in Brittany. One went through Germany to Denmark while the other travelled through England and Scotland to the Scandinavian Islands (Forslin 1963:75).

The questions of origin and direction of interest between Scotland and Faroes would thus appear to have as many answers as interested parties. Perhaps, as historical background, we should ask why, or how similarities could have arisen. Then a general comparison of the versions can be attempted.

First of all, there is a geographic proximity. The Faroe Islands lie approximately half-way between Norway and Iceland. The Scottish Shetland Islands, to the south-west of the Faroes, are themselves about half-way between the Faroes and the coast of Norway. In addition, the Shetlands (and the Orkney Islands further south) were, until the end of the fifteenth

century, legally and linguistically part of the same North Atlantic, ninth century Viking settlement area. The economy in both areas has, since then, rested on sheep raising and fishing.

This latter occupation has tied the Faroes to Scotland and continental Europe in varying degrees as the Danish trade monopoly after 1707 permitted. Before that, foreign boats fished around the Faroes in the 1600s - possibly the same Dutch (initially the low German speakers) who played such an important role at the same period in Shetland fisheries. At the start of the nineteenth century, there was considerable Shetlandic fishing off the Faroes. Since their method of off-shore fishing was more productive than the Faroese in-shore system, the Danish Governor of the Faroes in 1839 brought three Faroese to study in the Shetlands. After the dissolution of the Danish monopoly, the Faroes in 1872 started their transition to deep sea fishing by buying old British fishing boats (Joensen 1975:20-1).

Basically, both ballads have a similar general outline. The whole question of what constitutes a ballad type is difficult. Nicolaisen has criticized the general concept of 'Elveskud' by pointing out that the only common feature across the entire spectrum of versions is that a son goes to his mother to tell her he is about to die (Nicolaisen 1992:37). This may well be true (though the Faroese version lacks this explicit expression) but the story lines in the Faroese and Scots versions are like enough to allow some comparison to be made in how the two areas deal with a similar theme. This we can do in terms of structure, phrasing and overall actual content - thus moving from the abstract to the more concrete.

At the gross level of structural analysis, it might be interesting to view both texts in terms of the syntagmatic model of Vladímir Propp in his *The Morphology of the Folktale*. It was specifically designed to be used in connection with Russian *märchen,* but it might apply in some general way to other narrative genres with a supernatural element. Although mentioned in passing by Holzapfel, it has not generally been used in ballad study (Holzapfel 1980:83-4). In this case, the ballad differs considerably from the *märchen* in that there is no happy ending. In addition, since the ballad concentrates on a single incident as against the *märchen's* series of experiences, the full panoply of Propp's schema is not relevant. Furthermore, because of the restricted cast in the ballad form, the main character is also seen to perform those functions normally assigned by Propp to 'a member of the family'. The examples are from the 'A' text of the Faroese »Ólavur Riddararós« and from the 'A' text of »Clerk Colvill« (Clerk Colven) because these are the most complete.

According to Propp, the hero, or chief character is first introduced, perhaps only by name, and then the tale proceeds in a series of steps that are called 'functions' and are given discreet numbers. For us, this happens in

S (Scots) 1 »Clerk Colven and his gay ladie.....« and
F (Faroese) 1 »Hvort skaltú ríða, Ólavur mín?« [Where do you ride, my Olav?]

The functions then follow in order, with here the headings as used by Propp.

Function 1. Absentation. One of the family members leaves:

In S2 the departure is implicit in the interdiction,
»When ye gang to the wall o Stream« but it is made explicit in
S4 »He mounted on his berry-brown steed, / And merry, merry rade he on.«

In Faroese, the departure was explicit in the first line quoted above but is amplified in the reply,
F2 »Eg fari mær á heiði, ...« [I am going to the heath, ...]

Function 2. Interdiction addressed to the hero:
S2 »When ye gang to the wall o Stream,
O gang nae near the well-fared may.«
In Faroese, the prohibition takes the form of a prophesy, a warning of what will happen if Olav does what his lady suspects he has in mind,
F3 »Men tú fert til tína leika-lind.« [You are really going to your 'woman'.]
F4 »Hvít er tín skjurtan, væl er hon tvigin,
í blóði verður hon af tær drigin.«
[White is your shirt, it is well washed,
in blood it will be taken off you.]

Function 3. Interdiction violated:
S4 »And merry, merry rade he on, / Till he cam to the wall o Stream,
And there he saw the mermaiden.«
F8 »Ólavur ríður eftir björgunum fús, / fann hann á eitt elvar-hús.«
[Olav rode along the mountain foot, he found an elf-house.]

Function 4. Villain attempts to get information about victim or vice versa.

Function 5. Villain gets information about victim or vice versa.

These functions in this ballad are obviated by the fact that the hero and the maid appear to be acquainted with each other. This is shown, at least to some extent, by the fact that in the Faroese the maids greets the man (F11) as »Ólavur Riddararós« [Proud Knight Olav] and that his mother had accused Olav (F3) of going to visit his 'woman'. A similar situation seems to apply to Clerk Colven who has been warned away from the maid at the wall o Stream - but who rides directly there.

Function 6. Villain attempts to deceive victim in order to take possession of him by means of disguise, persuasion, magical means or other means of deception or coercion:
S4 »It's a' for you, ye gently knight, / My skin is farer than the milk.«
The Faroese has a double example of this function. In the first instance, the elf maid sweetly invites,
F11 »Ver vælkomin, Ólavur Riddararós, / tú gakk í dansin og kvöð for os!«
[Welcome, proud knight Olav, join the dance and chant ballads for us.]
Olav declines and gives as excuse that he is to be married the next day. The maid is incensed that Olav has not come to court her and then offers him the coercive choice,
F18 »Hvat heldur viltú sjey vintur liggja sjúk, / ella viltú í morgin liggja lík?«
[Would you rather be ill for seven years, / or be a corpse tomorrow?]

Function 7. Victim submits to deception, agrees to persuasion.
S6 »He's taen her by the sleeve sae green, / And he's forgot his gay ladie.«
F22 »Fyrr vil eg í morgin til moldar gá, / enn eg vil sjey vintur liggja á strá.«

[I would rather go to my grave tomorrow,
than I would lie seven years in bed.]

Function 8. Villain causes harm or injury, including murder. In Scots, at this point, there is a lacuna in the text and there is no explanation of how Colven comes by his death blow. The following stanzas, S7-10, where the maid offers a bandage cut from her petticoat make it obvious that murder was the intent.

S10 »'Ohon, Alas!' says Clerk Colven, / 'An aye sae sair's I mean my head!'
And merrily laughd the mermaiden,/ 'It will aye be waur till ye be dead.'«

The Faroese text is more direct:

F25 »hon skonkti honum í drykkjuhorn, / har fór í tað eiturkorn.«
F26 »Tann fyrsta drykkin, ið Ólavur drakk, / hans breiða belti um hann sprakk.«
[she poured out [drink] for him into the drinking horn,
which contained the poisoned corn.
That first drink that Olav drank, / his wide belt around him burst.]

At this point, Propp's functions cease to be relevant. In the *märchen,* this last function is the actual start of the story and the first seven functions are seen as the 'preparatory part' of the tale, the setting of the scene and the point at which the villainy is exhausted (Propp 1968:34). This similarity of these ballads to a part of Propp's model is interesting when compared to Dundes' observation that the last part of the *Odyssey* is »strikingly similar« to Propp's functions 23-31 (Propp 1968:xiv). What follows in the *märchen* is the resolution of the thus-created situation. What follows in the ballad is also a resolution; but it is death and fulfils the warnings given at the start of the texts. There is no death without warning.

One of the main problems of analysis by structure is that it takes the ballads in sections and fits them to the paradigm. Because both ballads fit, they are then assumed to have a possible relationship. Such criticisms have been made concerning the work of Forslin on 'Elveskud' (Ólason 1982:115).

If we come slightly closer to the text, it is obvious that we have examples of another pervasive feature of oral narrative, repetition. The Faroese text is seventy eight lines long (plus irrelevant refrain) whereas the Scots must tell the same story in fifty-six lines. It is thus obvious that the Faroese text will provide the greater scope for repetitions. The question therefore must be whether they are of the same types and in the same proportions. Even a brief examination shows that this is not exactly so. The Faroese tends to repeat stanzas almost verbatim while the Scots repeats single words and phrases in a manner unknown in this Faroese text. An example of this is a repetition occurring almost each time another person is addressed:

S2 »O hearken weel now, my good lord, / O hearken weel to what I say.«
S5 »Ye wash, ye wash, ye bonny may,«
S13 »Oh mither, mither, mak my bed, / And gentle lady lay me down;
Oh brither, brither, unbend my bow, / 'T will never be bent by me again.«

Another difference is that the Scots use the repetition of single words as 'intensifiers' of emotional content. Thus Colven's outward journey is described as »merrily, merrily,« in S4 where, in contrast, the homeward journey in S12 is solidly »dowy, dowy,« [sad]. The lat-

ter stanza is an echo of the former and this adds to the sadness. It is also more similar to the Faroese forms of repetition.

What the two texts do have in common is what has been called »causative repetition« (Andersen et al 1982:6). Here we have a question/answer, order/compliance or intent/action sequence with verbal repetition. In the Scots text, this is demonstrated where in S8-9, the instructions for making a 'curative bandage' are given and followed. These stanzas are, in turn, bracketed by a pair of reflecting stanzas where the second adds a confirmation of the lady's murderous intent - a 'progressive repetition'.

Where the Scots text can be considered to have half its stanzas paired in repetition, the Faroese can show some twenty four of thirty nine in similar vein. There are 'causative repetitions' as in F14-15 where Olav says he cannot stay with the elves and his words are echoed as the elf maid makes it clear that he will be ill, mortally or otherwise, on his wedding day. Exactly the same pattern is followed when Olav in F18-19 is given a choice of illness or death and replies in F21-2.

Not all the repeating Faroese stanzas are causal. Others are merely repetitions without any apparent incremental function. They serve only to stress the 'lingering' rather than the 'leaping' aspects of balladry. Examples of this are F4-5 where Olav's mother says his shirt will be bloody before it is removed, or in the triplet F23-25 where the elf maid pours the poisoned drink. In other cases, the one half of a causal sequence may involve a non-incremental repetition where the word or word order is changed to provide a new rhyme scheme. The reply inevitably follows the same pattern. Examples of this occur in F14-22 and also in the last two stanzas which describe the parade of corpses from the house to the cemetery. There are also repetitions where the second stanza line is repeated and paired with a line that adds more information. There is nothing similar in the Scots text.

Although much of the Faroese text is formed of repeated stanzas, there are a number which stand by themselves. Their distribution is interesting in that they actually provide a rough, skeletal outline of the story which is then fleshed out by the intervening repetitions. Stanza F1 introduces the character, F6 shows how he will press on regardless of what has been foretold, F11 has Olav greeted by the elf, F20 shows the choice faced by Olav, F26 demonstrates the first result of the poison, F27 is the elf's parting demand, F31 brings Olaf home where in F36 he dies. This pattern has no echo in the Scots. It can thus perhaps be said that our ballads follow somewhat different patterns of phraseology. What we actually see here, however, is a difference in form and style. This is a factor quite separate from content. »Ólavur Riddararós« follows the classic type of Faroese ballad (shorter variety) with repetitions and »Clerk Colvill«, however, is, in the Scots manner, more tightly knit and comes starkly to its climax. (Conroy 1974: 16,31).

If we now look at the actual content of the ballads themselves, we can see that there are similarities and differences. Both start with a warning and a hint of past relationships. Neither contains the widespread 'deception of the bride' motif. These and the possible derivation of the name 'Colvill' (Colven or Colin) from the Scandinavian 'Olav' are what have promoted the idea of closest relationship. Nicolaisen sees, as did Grundtvig, that it is possible that the addition of the epithet 'Clerk' to the name 'Olav' could well have brought about the introduction of an extra 'C' before the following 'O' (Nicolaisen 1992:36). The warning is a more complex matter. It exists in Faroese but not in other Scandinavian versions. On this account,

much has been made by many scholars of the possibility of 'contamination' from the Danish ballad »Frillens Hævn« [The Mistress' Revenge] (e.g. Parker 1952:66). The origin of the warning in the Scots versions A and B is not clear.

After these similarities, however, the details begin to differ. In the initial conversation, Olav talks to his mother while Clerk Colven talks to his (presumed) wife. Much is made of this lady's jewelry (S1) which fact Parker finds reminiscent of the versions in the Icelandic and Faroese traditions where the elf maid has a gold band around her shoulders (Parker 1952:71). In the ensuing conversation, Olav gives an evasive destination (F2). His mother knows better and in F4-5 issues him a grim warning. Colven is not asked his destination but is directly warned (S2). Both then reach their destination - an elf house for Olav and the wall o Stream for Colven.

The ladies they meet are dissimilar. Olav in F9 encounters an elf with braided hair while Colven (S4-5) meets a mermaid washing laundry. Parker connects this act with the clean shirt in the Faroese text and sees this as a case of motifs being 'misplaced' when a ballad crosses a language boundary (Parker 1952:81). This, however, would appear to be at the outside edge of probability. Olav is then invited to dance and sing but declines on account of his upcoming marriage (F14). Colven is given no invitation but immediately commences a seduction. This is followed in the Scots text by a most unfortunate lacuna that prevents us from forming any clear idea of how Colven receives his death blow. There is no similar confusion in the case of Olav for he submissively chooses death rather than suffer seven years of illness (F21). Thus he is given a poisoned drink. Colven, on the other hand, has suddenly developed pains in his head and accepts a 'cure' that makes them worse (S9).

Each will ride home to his mother. Before he leaves his lady, however, Olav, in F28, gives the maid a grudging, parting kiss. Colvin, however, in S11, attempts to stab his maid to death, but fails when she turns into a fish and escapes. Parker feels that the kiss was the original cause of death in Clerk Colven and that the bandage is a remnant of a stabbing (as exists in other West Scandinavian versions) that has disappeared - or even been misplaced and attributed to Colven (Parker 1952:77). Colven is, after all, the only victim who attempts any form of revenge against the fairy murderess.

The arrival home follows the pattern of the earlier departure. Olav is asked where he has been and replies with a falsehood before admitting the truth (F33-4). He then goes to bed, dies and is followed to the grave by the corpses of his bride and his mother. Colven is not questioned and never says where he has been. He makes a few basic requests to his family and is then presumed to have died as the ballad ends. It is interesting to note that in Faroese culture where the ballads were usually sung by men as music for the dance, the mother asks questions such as »Where are you going?« and »Where have you been?«, after which she suitably dies in sympathy and sorrow. In Scotland the informants were female and Colven's relatives neither asked questions nor died in sympathy.

There are many differences here and, in actual fact, the Faroese ballad in phraseology and content is closer to the Norwegian versions than to the Scots. What ties »Ólavur Riddararós« to »Clerk Colvill« is the initial implication/statement of a possible relationship to a mistress (later found to be supernatural), the lack of the 'deception of the bride' motif and the warning against a journey that ends in death.

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Ni smrti brez opozorila: bajeslovna balada na Škotskem in Ferskih otokih

Povzetek

Številni znanstveniki so že opozorili na podobnosti med škotskimi in skandinavskimi baladami. Vendar pa balado Clerk Colvill lahko primerjamo predvsem s ferskim besedilom Ólavur Riddararós. V referatu želim podati kratek opis mogočega stika. Sledi primerjava obeh balad, in sicer njune zgradbe (z uporabo sintagmatičnega modela Vladímirja Proppa), frazeologije (z omembo pogostosti in tipov repeticije) ter posameznih detajlov zgodbe obeh besedil. Treba je omeniti, da besedili na splošno ustrezata Proppovi paradigmi, da razlike v uporabi repeticijskih sredstev odsevajo razlike v slogovnih normah škotskih in ferskih balad in da se v podrobnostih besedili izredno razlikujeta. Glavna podobnost, ki ti dve besedili ločuje od drugih, pa je odsotnost motiva »zavajanja neveste« in poprejšnjega opozorila.

The Ballad as the Special Genres of the Lithuanin Folk Songs

Rimantas Sliužinskas

There are no epos in Lithuanian musical folklore. In any case, most developed, narrative Lithuanian folk songs are called *ballads* here. In fact they are not on the same genre level as the literary ballads in a great number of European (etc.) folk traditions. Lithuanian ballads are close to them in their character, subject development and poetic style only. Their texts are based on *lyric and epic poetry* as a rule.

It is not easy to identify ballads in all the Lithuanian singing folklore. Nobody can identify them on the basis of some specific peculiarities of their melody lines. And the text subjects are sufficiently heterogeneous to state the general impossibility of defining the clear boundaries of Lithuanian ballads. However, the international ballad subjects, well known in some European nations as narrative folk songs, are also known in this sort of Lithuanian lyric folk song. In this way the typical features of ballad narratives disappear here, as a rule.

Research studies about Lithuanian ballads are still short and not numerous. Lithuanian ballads were mentioned for the first time in 1899 by Eduard Volter.[1] Much later, in 1938, the problem of Lithuanian ballads was raised by Dr. Jonas Balys.[2] This well-known folklore researcher gave the first and fragmentary classification of our ballads, following the scheme of Volfgang Kayser: the *horrible,* the *emotion,* and the *fate ballads.* Not all Lithuanian ballads fit into that scheme clearly enough, so we were faced with a number of new problems. Later, in 1954, J. Balys presented new study about our ballads (narrative folk songs).[3] He was the first researcher to acknowledge the impossibility of defining the clear place of ballads in our folklore. The founder of the entire Lithuanian School of Ethnomusicology, Prof. Jadvyga Čiurlionytė, also briefly touched upon the ballad problems in 1966[4] and 1969.[5] Donatas Sauka, a famous researcher of Lithuanian folklore, raised the general problem: Do we have *Lithuanian* ballads at all? If so, are they *Lithuanian* at all? May we put ballads together with epos, as the objects, not found in Lithuania as *Lithuanian* folklore?[6] And, finally, we can recommend the

[1] E.Volter. 'Romantisch sagenhafte Motive der litauischen Volkslieder'. *Mitteilungen der Litauischen Litterarischen Gesellschaft*. Bd. 4. Heidelberg, (1899): 64-69.

[2] J.Balys. *Lietuvių liaudies baladės* [Lithuanian Folk Ballads (in Lithuanian)], Kaunas, 1938.

[3] J.Balys. *Lithuanian Narrative Folksongs. A Description of Types and a Bibliography*. Washington, 1954.

[4] J.Čiurlionitė. 'Povestvovatelnyje piesni-ballady' [Narrative Songs-Ballads (in Russian)]. *Litovskoje narodnoje pesennoje tvorchestvo*, Moskva-Leningrad, (1966): 158-165.

[5] J.Čiurlionytė. 'Pasakojamojo pobūdžio dainos-baladės' [Narrative style Songs-Ballads (in Lithuanian)]. *Lietuvių liaudies dainų melodikos bruožai*. Vilnius (1969): 157-164.

[6] D.Sauka. *Tautosakos savitumas ir vertė* [The Originality and Value of Folklore (in Lithuanian)]. Vilnius, 1970: 254-258.

only special research study on Lithuanian ballads by Pranė Jokimaitienė, published in 1968.[7] The main principles of this article will be cited in my paper presented here as well.

Some foreign researchers touched upon the problem of Lithuanian ballads as well. We would like to mention J. V. Entwistle,[8] who ascribed Lithuanian and Latvian ballads to the so-called North group, and Vladimir Toporov,[9] who made studies on Lithuanian ballads using the structural method, trying to find the ratio of lyric and epic backgrounds.

As far as we know, ballads as the main form of narrative folk songs are known in a great number of national folk traditions in Europe and all over the world. At any rate they depend on the general features of all local folklore everywhere. Lyric and narrative Lithuanian folk songs (ballads) are known in all the ethnic localities in Lithuania. The main features of their **composition** are their conciseness and fragmentariness. Dialogues are interrupted by narration or lyric conclusions (and the opposite) in a very unexpected way, and they are free to change with each other some times in the same strophe. The narrative episodes are short and laconic here. Dialogues are dynamic, poetic and with figurative expressions. All the action also develops in a fast and dynamic, very often strained way. We encounter Lithuanian ballads with 12 - 15 and sometimes over 20 strophes, as a rule. But there is no space for poetic details, landscape views etc. there, just the general reflections of the main narrative subject.[10]

Ballads are the most international of folklore formations. And we know the international **subjects** here as well. The Lithuanian ballads feel the main influence of Slavonic (Russian, Polish, Byelorussian, Ukrainian, etc.) ballad subjects. Let's make an overview of them.

The most well-known in Lithuanian musical folklore are the ***family life*** ballads. There are two groups of subjects here:

a) *hostile relations* between family members (daughter-in-law mother-in-law; husband - wife; sister brother),

b) various *disasters* in family life (death, illness).[11]

The **first group** have a great number of subjects known in Slavonic ballads:

Mother-in-law curses the bride, and turns her into a linden-tree (or rowan-tree). Known in Russian, Ukrainian and Czech folklore. The mother-in-law thrice (the magic quantity of 3) asks the bride to do inconceivable tasks. After the failure she turns the bride into a tree. The husband, a young man, comes back from the battlefield and he can not find his young wife. Mother asks him to fell down the linden-(rowan-)tree. After the first chop chips fly down, after the second chop blood appears, after the third chop (once more the magic 3!) his wife (the tree) tells him all the history of the misdeed. It's strange, but in Lithuanian versions the son remains passive. He doesn't seek any retribution and also stands as the victim of his mother's horrible hatred.

Bride turns into a cuckoo-bird, and flies to her father's garden. Well-known in Slavonic folk traditions. Ballads about the tragic fate of the young bride who has to go very

[7] P. Jokimaitienė. 'Lietuvių liaudies baladės' [The Lithuanian Folk Ballads (in Lithuanian)]. *Literatūra ir kalba*. vol. 9., Vilnius (1968): 297-353.

[8] J.V. Entwistle. *European Balladry*. Oxford (1939): 26-27, 285.

[9] V.N.Toporov. 'K analizu neskolkich poeticheskih tekstov' [Concerning the Analysis of some Poetic Texts (in Russian)]. *Poetics, Poetyka, Poetika, vol. 2*., The Hague - Paris - Warszawa. (1966): 61-120.

[10] See: P.Jokimaitienė. 'Lietuvių liaudies baladės' [The Lithuanian Folk Ballads (in Lithuanian)]. *Literatūra ir kalba, vol. 9*. Vilnius (1968): 306.

[11] Ibid., P. 311.

far away from the mother's farmstead are very popular in Lithuanian folklore. Sometimes the young bride is so homesick for her mother that she becomes a cuckoo-bird, and takes a long and difficult journey under nine seas and nine forests (magic quantity of 9!) to reach her parents' garden. There she would cry and sob on the limb of a cherry-tree, but nobody could recognise her. In some variants the three brothers (magic 3!) are even going to shoot her. Only the youngest brother realises that the cuckoo-bird is his sister. He invites the bird to drink green (tasty) wine. But it is too late: she is already full of sorrowful tears. It is forever impossible to change herself back into the young girl.

Sister poisons her brother, wishing to become married. The idea is the same everywhere here: we feel sympathy for the poor bride, we are indignant towards the heartless mother-in-law, we protest against all sorts of meanness and violence in family life.

I'd like to give a full example of the last subject (sister poisons her brother). It is the very typical ballad about Ulijona (Ulijana, Julijana, etc.). This ballad is well-known in all of Lithuania. As far as we know, such ballads are known in Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak, German, Romanian, Albanian, etc. folk traditions. So:

[Example No. 1. (see Appendix)]

There are some more not so popular subjects in Lithuanian ballads, such as:

- mother-in-law slanders the bride, during the time her son has to fight in a battlefield somewhere far away.

- **mother-in-law convinces her son to kill the bride** (or kills the bride herself),

- **husband cuts off the head of his wife** (or flogs her to death).[12]

We find the subjects of these ballads to be quite brutal and savage, and they are close to the so-called »cruel romances« - folk songs from the first part of the 20th century, still very popular among the sufficiently aged Lithuanian people at the present time, together with »sentimental romances«.

The **second group** (various disasters in family life, such as death or at least illness) is comparatively less well-known in the tradition of Lithuanian ballads. All the disasters would happen at the time the husband was absent from the home, as a rule. It may be a war-battle, hunting or simply »some journey far away«.[13] He has a fatal dream during his night's sleep (a flying swan or black jackdaw) which means something very bad has happened at home. In other ballads the man perceives the signs of sorrow on the way home: the wind isn't howling through the trees in the forest, the birds keep silent, the dogs don't bark at all etc.[14] And he finds the dead wife at home, near his crying new-born son, as a rule. This purpose of her death makes the situation much more tragic.

I'd like to give a second full example of such ballads:

[Example No. 2.]

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[12] Ibid., P. 311.
[13] Ibid., P. 326.
[14] Ibid., P. 327.

The subject of this type of ballad is known in a great number of Slavonic folk traditions. We know a lot of this sort of Lithuanian folk song - ballads about the sickness and death of the relatives, about the hard fate of the motherless children, etc.

The **war-historical** ballads never show us the heroic and victorious pictures from the field of battle. The main idea there is the reflection of the impressions of a young man from the country (not a professional soldier!). He was forced to take the sword into his hands against his own desires. He would rather grow the rye, take care of his family, or build a new farm-stead. At any rate he would be very strong in the battle, and he is never afraid of his enemies. We can understand this whole picture just from his impressions here. And, as a rule, a great part of these ballads have tragic endings: old mother and young sister are waiting for him all the time, and only his nice but very sad **horse comes back alone to tell them the worst news**.

Well-known in southern Lithuania (near the borders with Poland and Byelorussia) is the ballad subject about the mother's son, a young **soldier, tragically turned into an oak-tree** (a symbol of strength in our ancient beliefs). Almost the entire content of such ballads consists of a dialogue between the old mother and her son/soldier/oak-tree. Let me give here the third and final full example:

[Example No. 3.]

The motif of **turning into a cuckoo-bird** is also known in Lithuanian war-historical ballads. Three cuckoo-birds would fly down near the body of young man who had been killed. The first cuckoo-bird was his young wife. She called for him mourning for three weeks. The second bird was his young sister. She kept herself in mourning for three years. And the third cuckoo-bird was his old mother. She was in sorrow for all her life. In this way maternal love is shown to be the strongest.

Some Lithuanian ballads are closely associated with agricultural field work (during the haying and rye harvesting time, flax-pulling season) or calendar ritual (Christmas - Advent, Fast, Shrove Tuesday, Easter Day) traditional Lithuanian folk songs. As we have heard, some reflections of ballads (so-called »balladification«) can be found even in the poetry of our children's folk songs.

We have a great number of much more ancient folklore genres in Lithuania, compared to ballads (e.g. *sutartinės, laments, calendar ritual folk songs*, etc.). Ballads, as a quite contemporary and to the greatest extent the most international of our folklore genres, have not been given sufficient attention till now. Nonetheless, they are still in our living local folklore traditions, so we have to study them, research them, and compare them with the ballads in all the other national folklore traditions in Europe and all over the world.

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APPENDIX

Example No. 1.

ULIJONA LINUS ROVĖ

1. Ulijana linus rovė, Ir atjoja jenarolas Jenarolas gražus ponas.	Ulijana was pulling flax, And a young, handsome officer (general) Came to her on horseback.
2. - Padėk dievas, Ulijana, Ulijana, graži pana	- Let the Lord help You, Ulijana, Ulijana, pretty Young girl.
3. Ulijana, graži pana, Ženykimės mudu jauni.	Ulijana, my pretty young girl, I'd like to marry You.
4. - Jenarolai, gražus ponai, Kad ma brolis nevelija	- Oh You, my handsome officer, My brother won't allow me to.
5. - Ulijana, graži pana, Nutrotykie brolį savo.	- Ulijana, my pretty young girl, You may poison Your brother.
6. - Jenarolai, gražus ponai, Kad nežinau tokių žolių.	- Oh You, my handsome officer, I don't know any grass (flower) for it.
7. - Ulijana, graži pana, Atsikelkie anksti rytą Ir nuaikie vyšnių sodan.	- Ulijana, my pretty young girl, Get up early in the morning And go down to the cherry garden.
8. Tu ten rasi tokią kvietką, Baltais žiedais pražydusią, Juodom vuogom apsirpusią.	You will find the flower, Blossoming in the white blossoms, And ripening in black berries.
9. Tu nuskinkie juodas vuogas Ir išvirkie juodas pyvas, Ir įpilkie į sklenyčią.	Pick those black berries And prepare a black drink from them, And pour a full cup.
10. Parjos brolis iš vainelės, Sveikys tave už rankelės.	Your brother will come back from the war, And he will take Your hand in greeting.
11. Tu neduokie baltą ranką, Tiktai duokie sklenyčaitę.	You needn't give him Your white hand, You just have to give him that cup of drink.
12. Da nei pusę neišgėrė, Jau nuo žirgo virst pradėjo.	Brother took a half a cup, And started to fall down from the horse.

13. - Vai broleli, brolužėli, Ko tau reikia, brolužėli?	- Oh, You, my dear brother, What has happened? What do You need?
14. Ar tau reikia daktarėlių, Ar tau reikia patalėlių?	Do You need any doctors? Do You need any sick bed?
15. - Ma nereikia daktarėlio, Ma nereikia patalėlio.	- I don't need any doctors, I don't need any sick bed.
16. Tik ma reikia šešių lentų, šešių lentų, naujo grabo.	I just need six planks, Six planks and a new coffin
17. Da saulutė netekėjo, Jau brolelį išlydėjo.	The Sun didn't rise early in the morning The brother was put into the coffin.
18. Da aušrelė neišaušo, Jau brolelį pakavojo.	The daybreak didn't begin, The brother was buried.
19. - Jenarolai, gražus ponai, ženykimės mudu jauni.	- Oh You, my handsome officer, I am ready to get married now.
20. - Ulijona, graži pana, Kad bijosiu aš ženytis.	- Ulijana, my pretty young girl, I am afraid to marry You!
21. Nutrotijai brolį savo, Nutrotysi mane jauną.	You poisoned Your brother - You will poison me, young officer, as well.
22. - Vai dievuliau dievulėli, Ką aš jauna pasidariau.	- O my Lord, my dear Lord, What I have done, silly young girl!
23. Nei brolelio, nei bernelio, Vai nei slaunos giminėlės,	I've lost my brother, I've lost my fellow, I've lost all my family (relatives).
24. Dabar aisiu ubagautie, Už brolelį poteriautie.	I will leave as a beggar now, All I have to do now is just to pray For my dear brother...

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Example No. 2.

IŠLAIDŽIAU LAIDŽIAU BROLĮ MEDŽIOTĮ

1. Išlaidžiau laidžiau Brolį medžiotų,	I let my brother Go on a hunting trip.

Išlaidžiau laidžiau
Brolį medžiotų.

2. - Nušauk, bralali,
Pilkų kiškelį,
Nušauk, bralali,
Pilkų kiškelį.

- Oh, my brother,
Will you shoot down
The grey hare?

3. Išvaikštinėjau
Par čielų dienų
Ir nenušavau
Pilka kiškelia.

I was hunting
For all the day,
But I didn't shoot
Any grey hare.

4. Sutema tema
Tumsi naktela,
Ažnaktavoja
žintas par uošvį.

The dark night came
And I decided to spend that night
At the home of my father-in-law.

5. Ažnaktavoja
žintas par uošvį,
Ir susapnava
Naujienų sapnų.

I did it,
And I had a strange dream
Strange news, sleeping here.

6. - Uošvela mana,
Matula mana,
Kų aš regėjau
Toj tumsioj nakty:

- Oh You, my dear father-in-law,
What a strange dream
I had this last dark night!

7. Pa tiesiu runku
Sakalas nuskrida
Ir nusiskridįs
Un dungų nuvej.

The falcon-bird flew up
Straight ahead
And he flew directly to heaven.

8. - Ai žinte mana,
Sūneli mana,
Kinkyki žirgus,
Skubinkis nama.

- Oh You, my dear son-in-law,
Hurry up!
Take your horses,
And ride home as fast as possible!

9. Jau tava pati
Sūnų pagimde,
Ir ana pati,
Pati numire.

Your young wife
Gave you a new-born son,
And died herself
At the same time ...

10. Važiuoju laukų -
Laukas da neartas,

I passed the first field -
This field wasn't ploughed at all;

Važiuoju untrų -
Untras neakėtas.

I passed the second field -
This field wasn't harrowed at all.

11. Važiuoju sodų -
Sodas nežaliuoja,
Važiuoju dvarų -
Kurteliai neloja.

I passed the garden -
There are no green leaves on the trees;
I reached the yard of our farmstead -
The watchdogs don't bark at all.

12. Ainu seklyčian -
Naujas grabas stovia,
Pažiūriu graban -
Mana pati gulia.

I entered the first room -
The new coffin lies here,
I looked at the coffin -
My young wife lies in it.

13. Šainu untran -
Lapšelis linguoja,
Pažiūriu lopšin -
Mana sūnus gulia.

I entered the second room -
The new cradle swings here,
I looked at the cradle -
My new-born son sleeps here.

14. - Oi lylia, lylia,
Lylia sūnaitėli,
Oi lylia, lylia,
Lylia našlaitėli,

- Oh, lull, lull,
My little son,
Oh, lull, lull,
My little orphan.

15. Gausiu sau pačių
Pačių naimieliausių,
Negausiu tavi
Matulas meilas

Maybe I will find in future
Another dearest wife for myself,
But I will never find for You
Another Mummy so sweet for You..

16. Nenešias tavi
Un baltų runkelių,
Neguldys tavi
Un švelnių kelalių.

Nobody will take You
In her white hands,
Nobody will put You
On her soft knees.

17. Nemylas tavi
Kaip sava vaikelį
Nežadins tavi
Meilaisiais žadeliais.
18. Nekalbins tavi
Meilaisiais žadeliais,
Nebovys tavi
Auksiniais žedėliais.

She will not love You
As her own child
She will not wake You up
With the sweetest words.
Nobody will wake You up
With the sweetest words,
Nobody with play with You
With any golden rings ...

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Example No. 3.

ŽALIOJ GIRIOJ, LYGIOJ LANKOJ

1. Žalioj girioj, lygioj lankoj, Ten stovėjo ąžuolėlis.	An oak-tree was growing In a green forest, in a flat field.
2. Ten stovėjo ąžuolėlis, Po ąžuolu - aukso krėslas.	A golden arm-chair Was put under that oak-tree.
3. Po ąžuolu - aukso krėslas, Tame krėsle - motinėlė	An old Mother Sat in that golden arm-chair.
4. Ten sėdėjo motinėlė, Sėdėdama gailiai verkia.	She was sitting here, And she was crying here.
5. Sėdėdama gailiai verkia, į sūnelį meiliai kalba:	She was crying here And talking to her young son:
6. - Vai sūneli mano mielas, Ko pavirtai ąžuolėliu?	- Oh, you, my dear young son, Why did you turn yourself into an oak-tree?
7. Ko pavirtai ąžuolėliu, O žirgelis - šiauriu vėju?	Why did You become as the oak-tree, And Your nice horse - as the (cold) north wind?
8. O žirgelis - šiauriu vėju, O balnelis - akmenėliu?	Your nice horse - as the north wind, And Your saddle - as hard as stone?
9. O balnelis - akmenėliu, Kančiukėlis - žilvitėliu?	Your saddle - as hard as stone, And Your crop as a willow-tree twig?
10. - Vai motule, vai širdele, Pasbijojau žaunierskėlės,	- Oh, my dear old Mummy, my heart, I was affected in the worst way in the war-field.
11. Pasbijojau žaunierskėlės, Tai pavirtau ąžuolėliu.	I was affected in the worst way in the war-field, And I became as the oak-tree.
12. Tai pavirtau ąžuolėliu, O žirgelis - šiauriu vėju.	I became as the oak-tree, And my nice horse - as the (cold) north wind.
13. O žirgelis - šiauriu vėju, O balnelis - akmenėliu.	My horse - as the north wind, And my saddle - as hard as stone.
14. O balnelis - akmenėliu, Kančiukėlis - žilvitėliu.	My saddle - as hard as stone, And my crop as a willow-tree twig.

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Rimantas Sliužinskas

Balade kot posebna zvrst litovskih ljudskih pesmi

Povzetek

V litovski glasbeni folklori ni epov, in najbolj razvite pripovedne ljudske pesmi so *balade*. Vendar te ne pripadajo isti zvrstni ravni kot književne balade številnih drugih evropskih ljudskih izročil. Družijo jih le značaj, razvoj teme in pesniški slog. Besedila so praviloma zasnovana na lirsko-epski poeziji, in balad ni mogoče ločevati od drugih pesmi glede na določene posebnosti melodičnih linij.

Lirsko-epske litovske ljudske pesmi – balade najdemo pri vseh etničnih skupinah Litve. Prisotne so tudi mednarodne teme, na katere je morda vplivalo slovansko (rusko, poljsko, belorusko, ukrajinsko itn.), baltsko (latvijsko) in nemško izročilo.

Teme so praviloma izredno razdrobljene. Dialoge nepričakovano prekinjajo pripovedovanje in lirični zaključki in ponekod se spremenijo v istem verzu. Zgodbe so kratke in lakonične. Dialogi so dinamični, poetični in figurativni. Dialogi nekaterih litovskih balad so dolgi od dvanajst do petnajst ali celo več kot dvajset verzov.

V litovskem glasbenem izročilu so najbolj znane vojaško-zgodovinske, svatbene in družinske balade.

Vojaško-zgodovinske balade nikoli ne opisujejo junaških in zmagoslavnih prizorov z bojišča. Osrednjega pomena so občutki in premišljevanje mladega kmečkega fanta (in ne poklicnega vojaka). Za meč je prisiljen prijeti proti svoji volji. Veliko raje bi gojil rž, skrbel za družino ali zgradil novo domačijo. Ne glede na to se bo v boju izkazal in ne boji se svojih sovražnikov. Vse to lahko razumemo zgolj iz njegovih občutkov. Velika večina balad ima nesrečen konec: ostarela mati in mlada sestra nenehno pričakujeta njegovo vrnitev, vendar se žalostno vrne le njegov iskri konj, ki jima sporoči slabo novico.

Svatbene in družinske balade imajo številne teme. Poglavitne pripovedujejo o tragični usodi mlade neveste, ki živi daleč stran od domačije svoje matere. V nekaterih primerih se mladi nevesti tako toži po materi, da se spremeni v kukavico ter se poda na dolgo in nevarno pot, ki vodi pod devetimi morji in devetimi gozdovi proti vrtu njenih staršev. Tam jokajoč obsedi na češnjevem drevesu, saj se ne more več spremeniti nazaj v mlado dekle.

Poznamo veliko litovskih ljudskih pesmi – balad, ki govorijo o bolezni in smrti sorodnika ali težki usodi sirot. Nekatere litovske balade govorijo o delu na polju (spravljanje sena, žetev rži ali lanu) ali koledarskih praznikih (božič, advent, post, pustni torek in velika noč).

The Poetic of the Gipsy Ballads from the Collection of Piotr Bogatyrev in the Context of the Russian Folklore

Oleg V. Nikitin

The main stages of development of Russian traditional folk studies are reflected in Piotr Grigor'jevich Bogatyrev's fate. During his lifetime he wrote a number of articles and various monographs on the problem of the folk art of Russian and Slavic peoples: from mediaeval epos to the history of national art and folk costumes. But his most fundamental result is in the following achievement: Bogatyrev, basing his scientific methods on the 19th century traditions of studying national folk culture, managed to combine the research of different types and themes of folk pieces into one whole complex of studying people's art. The separate components of his polyaesthetic field appeared as special forms (see, e.g., one of his early studies coauthored by Roman Jakobson, »Folklore as a special type of creation«). Bogatyrev avoided the favourite methods of his contemporaries of analyzing works by indicating »original« genres, motifs, etc. and explaining what was borrowed and where from. He was not much interested in the problem of »secondary« and »primary« origin of a work, but he was a great deal more absorbed in native folk art. He saw in it the unification, with regard to their origin and features, of various elements of the cultural traditions of the Slavic world. In it the ethnic psychology itself assisted the way of creation of one or another folk piece. Not without reason do we see similar folk motifs and customs in many Slavic countries. Bogatyrev noted: »In some cases it is better to speak not about borrowings of cultural wealth by a single nation from the neighbouring nation, but about their coauthorship« (Bogatyrev 1958:12). He also paid attention to one of the interesting but unsolved points: tradition and improvisation in folk art. He thought that they both »contain a dialectic unity« (Bogatyrev 1971b:400). We draw attention to his classification of »ethnographic facts«. He proposed the following »facts« as possible genres of people's art: »active collective, passive collective, productive and non-productive« (Bogatyrev 1971a:384 386). The difference between these elements of folk art is in the authorship of a work and its correlation to the concrete collective. The scientist supposed that passive collective ethnographic facts are such caracteristics which, though considered a general property of a given collective, are created by separate persons who even can not belong to this group (ibid.:384).

One of Bogatyrev's basic achievements is his attempt to synthesise the research methods of studying different genres of folk art. In this aspect the comparative study of three principal elements of folk culture are important: verbal, graphic, and choreographic arts (Bogatyrev 1971c:422 431).

Among many of his manuscripts we found valuable unknown sources in the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow (from scientific materials for future studies, such as his notes on the semiotics of bread (see the illustration enclosed: Arhiv RAN, f. 1651,

op. 1, No. 116, p. 16«), and up to his cahiers on Slavonic dramitic art and its function in different countries. We consider his correspondence of special interest for research. Among his correspondents we can note such names as Roman Jakobson, Jurij Lotman, Boris Unbegaun, etc. When searching his archives we have been surprised at the variety and profundity of his scientific pieces, many of which have not yet been published.

For the proposed discussion we have selected one of the interesting and original files from his collection containing »Gypsy Ballads Translated into Russian by Roman Demeter«. We offer the following four ballads:

1). The Gypsy Ballad (Arhiv RAN, f. 1651, op. 1, No. 139, pp. 55-56).
2). Vajda and Ruža (ibid., p. 57).
3). Song About a Serb (ibid., pp. 58 - 61).
4). Song About a Snake (ibid., pp. 75-76).

Our choice was influenced by thematic parallels, and also we would like to present the specificy of the plot of each of them. Reading these pieces one can feel style of their own and the interior structure, keen humour, vividness and vitality of the plot, a well aimed and metaphoric poetic rhythm.

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SUPPLEMENT

1. Цыганская балада

Небогатая цыганка
Свой платок стирает белый.
Подошел кудрявый парень:
– Что ты делаешь, девчонка?

– Видишь, я платок стираю,
Мой платок шелковый, белый.
Ты ж иди своей дорогой,
А то брат увидит строгий
И убьет тебя за это,
Или свиньями затравит,
На куски тебя изрежет
И в канаве закопает!

– Слушай, что тебе скажу я:
Ты отправся в лес зеленый
За змеею ядовитой,
Чтоб сварить обед для брата.
Ты свари обед змеиный,
Накорми им сытно брата!
Накорми им сытно брата!

Брат с сестрою повстречались.
– Что ты варишь иам, сестрица?
– Я варю обед из рыбок,
Чтобы вдоволь ты наелся…
С первой ложки, что хленул он,
Сердце вдруг окаменело.
А когда хлебнул второй раз,
Голова его поникла.

– Поднеси, сестра, подушку,
Дай прилечь, я обессилел.
– Жить тебе осталось мало,
Обойдешься без подушки!
Брат на землю повалился,
А она пустилась к парню:
– Вот теперь женится можно,
Я ведь брата отраввила!
– Не нужна ты мне, злодейка, -
И меня ты также сгубишь,
Ведь теперь тебе известно
Это средство – яд змеиный!

И когда узнали люди,
Суд цыганский совершили:
Тот кричит: – Убить злодейку!
Тот сказал: – Ее повесить!
Тот сказал: – Сжечь на костре!

– Боже, что я натворила?!
Как я брата погубила?!
А без брата и без мужа
Белый свет теперь не нужен…

2. Вайда и Ружа

Как по берегу Дуная
Вайда ходит, Вайда бродит,
Вайда ходит, Вайда бродит,
Своего коня пасет.
На коня верхом садится
И к цыганкам подъезжает:
– Эй вы, девицы–смуглянки,
Не встречался ли bам брат мой?
– Третий день шатры раскинуты,
И никого здесь не видали мы.
Эй вы, девицы–смуглянки,
Поворожите, погадайте мне,
Да всю правду расскажите-ка.
И позвали они Ружу.
Ружа карты разложила,
Вайда ей отдал все деньги,
И красавице сказал он:
– Слушай, что скажу я, Ружа.
Я – цыган! Ты не узнала?
Так сбежим с тобою ночью,
Будем жить вдвоем до гроба!
– Нет, нет, Вайда, невозможно:
Мои братья нас догонят
И жестоко отомстят нам…
Что же сделал тогда Вайда?
Ночью тихою, украдкой
Он увез с собою Ружу.
На коней вскочили сытых
И догнали их у леса,
И в лесу лишили жизни
Молодой, влюбленной пары…

3. Песнь про серба

Как быть сербу молодому?
Где бы денег заработать,
Чтоб налоги уплатить?
Ходит он из угла в угол,
Размышляет и горюет.
Мучает его нужда.
Вот жена к нему подходит
И такую речь ведет:
– Эх, эх, эх, мой бедный серб,
Пригорюнился к чему ты?
Отчего, скажи, ты грустный?
– Как могу я передать,
Отчего такой я грустный?
Доля тяжкая досмалась:
Уплатить должен налоги
За отца я и за деда.
Денег нет же у меня.
А жена ему в ответ:
– Не беда, что денег нет.
Нынче, знаешь ты, суббота,
А вот завтра воскресенье
Все на ярмарку сойдутся.
Отведи меня туда
И продай. Получишь деньги
И налоги все уплатишь.
Только я тебя прошу,
Ты продай меня такому,
Бравому, как ты, мой муж.
Ночь проходит, спозаранку
Просыпаются они.
Вот она обмыла тело,
Платье новое одела,
И на ярмарке вдвоем
Они скоро появились.
Обступили их кругом.
Многие купить хотели,
Но ему не по душе
Покупатели такие.
Подошел один высокий,
Статный, сам сбвой красивый,
Да и сербу так сказал:
– Сколько просишь за нее?
– Три мешочка золотых.

Ничего тот не ответил,
Дорого ли запросил он,
Только лишь ему сказал:
– Расстилай свой плащ пошире,
Да считай, серб, золотые.
Что же сделал тогда серб?
Разостлал свой плащ пошире,
Три мешочка золотых
Аккурат он отсчитал.
Возвратился серб домой,
Уплатил за все налоги.
Молодец домой приходит
С раскрасавицей женой,
Пировали и гуляли,
А в ночи спать полегли.
Мысль пришла ему на ум,
У жены своей узнать,
Из какого она рода.
Замечтавшись, отвернулся
От жены лицом к стене он,
А она к нему с упреком:
– Эх, эх, эх, ты мой супруг,
Отчего же с первой ночи
Я тебе противной стала?
Почему ты отвернулся?
Он в ответ ей говорит:
– Нет, ты вовсе не противна,
А хочу тебя спросить я,
Чья ты родом, кто отец твой
И кто матерь.
Мой отец умер давно,
Я тогда была ребенком.
Мать свою не помню я.
У меня еще был братик,
Я отрезала ему
Кончик уха и остался
Шрам большой на этом ухе.
Он к ней сразу повернулся
И сказал ей:
– Я об этом тоже помню.
Ты женой мне быть не можешь,
Ты ведь мне сестра родная!
Посмотри на шрам на ухе.
Обняла она тут брата
Да и лоб поцеловала,
И пируют, и гуляют
Брат с родимою сестрою.
А на завтра поутру
Пару серых брат запряг
И сестру свою позвал:
– Поскорей садись в пролетку,
Отвезу тебя я к мужу.
Вот она в пролетку села,
Брат ее привозит к мужу
Да и так ему сказал:
– Здравствуй, здравствуй,
Зять мой добрый,
Я твою жену привез.
Я ж ей брат и быть женою
Мне она никак не может…

4. Песнь про змею

Свинопас девятилетний
Пас свиней на солнцепеке.
Солнце припекло его,
Он под дерево пошел
И в тени заснул так крепко,
Что не слышал, как к нему
Змей за пазуху заполз.
Как проснулся, побежал
К матери своей родной:
– Мать родимая моя,
Видишь, я изнемогаю, –
Змей за пазуху заполз.
Вытащи его скорее!
А родная мать в ответ:
– Нет, мой сын, я не осмелюсь.
Лучше ты умри, чем я.
Ты сходи к отцу родному,
Вытащит он змея злого…
Вот приходит он к отцу
И отца все также просит:
– О, родимый мой отец,
Видишь, я изнемогаю, –
Змей за пазуху заполз.
Вытащи его скорее!
– Нет, мой сын, я не осмелюсь.
Лучше ты умри, чем я.
Ты сходи к своей сестре,
Змея вытащит она…
Он к сестре тогда пошел
И сестру все также просит:
- О, сестра моя родная,
Видишь, я изнемогаю, -
Змей за пазуху заполз.
Вытащи его скорее!
– Нет, мой брат, я не осмелюсь.
Лучше ты умри, чем я.
Ты сходи к своей любимой,
Змея вытащит она…
Вот приходит он к любимой
И ее все так же просит:
– О, любимая моя,
Видишь, я изнемогаю, –
Змей за пазуху заполз.
Вытащи его скорее!
К сундуке она бежит,
Достает платок шелковый,
Им обматывает руку,
И берет немедля змея,
Грохает его об земь.
И посыпались из змея
Серебристые монеты…
Девушку за руку взяв,
Свинопас к ней обратился:
– Дорогая ты моя,
Благодарствую тебя я.
Знай, не та мне мать родная,
Что на свет произвела,
А лишь та, что жизнь спасла…

Poetika ciganskih balad iz zbirke Pjotra Bogatireva v kontekstu ruske folklorne tradicije

Povzetek

Članek obravnava nove materiale iz zbirke rokopisov Sklada P. Bogatireva v Arhivu Ruske akademije znanosti. Za najpomembnejši vir slovanske in sodobne humanistike štejejo tako njegova pisma kot teoretične študije o etnografiji, zgodovini folkloristike in semiotiki umetnosti. V teh razpravah, ki so nedvomno izrednega pomena za sodobno znanost, najdemo nove ideje in poskuse interpretiranja etnokulturoloških tem, ki jih lahko uporabimo pri preučevanju baladnega izročila. Pri predstavitvi tega gradiva se želim osredotočiti na tiste primere, ki so zanimivi tudi danes. Mogoče so Bogatirev in številni »Evrazijci« (N. S. Trubetzkoy, P. N. Savitski, G. V. Vernadski in delno P. Bizilli) do določene mere napovedali moderne tokove v jezikoslovju in kulturologiji. Zato je rehabilitacija pozabljenega klasičnega izročila aktualna znanstveno-raziskovalna naloga.

Kot dodatek želim podati uvod v temo *Izbrani arhivski dokumenti – neznane ljudske balade v izvorni obliki* iz prej omenjenega gradiva.

Ballads and »Danishness«: the 19th Century Revival

Hans Kuhn

Icelanders derive their pride and feeling of national identity to a considerable degree from their conviction of being heirs to an old and noble literary tradition represented by the sagas and by Skaldic and Eddic poetry. Norwegians, like Icelanders members of a young nation in modern terms, have the kings' sagas culminating in Snorri's *Heimskringla* to go back to as the reflection of a period of glory. Swedes and Danes have been politically dominant in Scandinavia since the Middle Ages, but they could not boast of a literary legacy of similar significance. Both nations had periods when they were major players on the international scene, mainly in the 16th and 17th centuries, when royal antiquarians and royal historiographers were appointed to furnish the realm with a noble past. Denmark, indeed, had had such a period already in the 12th and 13th centuries, under the Valdemars, and Saxo's monumental *Gesta Danorum*, 'The deeds of the Danes', was a fruit of that time. Only, as a Latin work, and written in a not very readable Latin, its impact beyond a circle of scholars was limited.

Anders Sørensen Vedel, a 16th century royal historiographer, never got very far with the royal history he was supposed to write. But among the materials he collected there was a considerable number of ballads, many of them purporting to be about Danish kings or queens or noblemen. They were, like most ballads, mainly stories of love, jealousy, revenge, murder, or exile, but the names occurring in them were an invitation to treat them as historical evidence. Vedel printed a hundred ballads in 1591; an anonymous collection of a further 30 ballads, called *Tragica,* was published in 1657, and in 1695, Peder Syv re-edited Vedel's collection and added a further hundred ballads. The Swedish nobility was as fond of dancing ballads as the Danish, but there the collections remained in manuscript form and hence entered the general consciousness to a much lesser degree.

While the aristocracy moved on to other forms of fashionable entertainment in the 18th century, many of these ballads lived on, if in reduced form, among the peasantry and as broadsheets. Writers of the Enlightenment such as Ludvig Holberg tended to look down on them, but in the second half of the century, when Bishop Percy in England and J. G. Herder in Germany had published their folk song collections, the Danes, too, took a new interest in these anonymous remnants of the past. In 1780 and 1784 a collection appeared called, in translation, 'Remnants of the Poetry of the Middle Ages', a title clearly inspired by Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry.* Rasmus Nyerup, the editor of the second part, already then planned a complete critical edition of old ballads, but almost three decades were to pass before it finally appeared, in five volumes, as 'Selected Danish Songs from the Middle Ages'.

In the meantime, Denmark had gone through traumatic times. It had, in the Napoleonic Wars, first lost its merchant marine, the basis of its wealth, then its navy, which Nelson did not wish to fall into French hands; Copenhagen had been bombed and occupied, and in 1814

Denmark was to lose Norway to Sweden, which had changed sides in time. The damage was no less psychological than material; a loss of self-esteem which made people look back to times when the Vikings had roamed the seas unhindered and Danish kings considered the Baltic and the North Sea their own.

Romantic interest in folk songs and ballads was a general European phenomenon. Germany got its first national collection with *Des Kanben Wunderhorn* in 1806-8, and Wilhelm Grimm included a number of Danish ballads in his *Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen* of 1811. What distinguished Abrahamson, Nyerup and Rahbek's Danish collection from such publications was the inclusion of melodies. It is true that only 61 of the 222 ballads had melodies printed in the final volume, but some of them with up to three or four variants, and a further 22 melodies were attached for songs not appearing in the text edition. Not all of the melodies were of impeccable folk extraction; in one instance, it was later shown that a collector had composed it himself, and in another case it was known that the poet Oehlenschläger had written it for a ballad of the 'Bridegroom in the Grave' type, to be used in a play of his in 1810.

This was quite typical of the principal use made of the old ballads up to about 1840. The central cultural institution in Denmark at the time was the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, and the favourite form of theatrical entertainment was the *singspiel,* spoken drama with occasional songs and often some instrumental music at the beginning and/or in the intervals. Ballads or ballad pastiches were often introduced to create a mood, an atmosphere, and one such *singspiel*, produced for a royal wedding in 1828, became the most popular play ever on the Danish stage and is still performed regularly - in 1996, the summer open-air performances were sold out before the season began. Its title, 'Elves Hill', is taken from a ballad that is sung, in adapted form, in the play, and the author, Johan Ludvig Heiberg, was very specific in his instructions to the composer, Friedrich Kuhlau, that certain Danish and Swedish ballad tunes should be used, both for instrumental and vocal numbers; for the Swedes, in the meantime, had also published a comprehensive collection of ballads, Geijer and Afzelius's 'Swedish folk songs from ancient times'. The play was about Christian IV, the great Danish Renaissance king, visiting, with his court, a part of the country where old traditions and superstitions still were rife and where he brings enlightenment in more than one sense, and this provides an opportunity both for all layers of society to meet on the stage and for old ballads with supernatural elements to be used effectively as part of the local scene.

This was the proper romantic employment of ballads in Denmark; but there were more and more people who thought they ought to be used not only as evocative witnesses of the past or of archaic rural societies but as an expression of 'the common people' and as a means of building a national consciousness which was no longer to be centred so much on loyalty to a living monarch or his dynasty as on loyalty to abstract ideal entities such as the fatherland and the mother tongue. This had to do with growing tension between the Danish-speaking majority in the Kingdom proper and the German-speaking minority in the Duchies when the Liberals agitated for a parliament and a constitution - Denmark was an absolute monarchy until 1849 - and aspired to a unified Denmark of Danish speakers rather than a multicultural accident of history, as Denmark had been for centuries. This political development led to the two Slesvig wars of 1848-50 and 1864, with the traumatic loss of all of Slesvig-Holstein, including its Danish-speaking minority, as a result.

The desire to give the old ballads a new and wider life as songs was not unique to Denmark. Kretzschmer and Zuccalmaglio's immensely popular *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Original-Weisen* appeared in 1838-40; but in Denmark, the desire to relaunch them as embodiments of Danishness had very topical overtones. In 1836, the Society for the Right Use of the Freedom of the Press commissioned two collections for popular reading, one called 'Danish Songs', the other 'Poems about National History'. Each of them contained three folk ballads; this was the first time such texts appeared in general anthologies. 'Danish Songs' included a number of melodies, including two ballad melodies the editor, Henrik Hertz, had heard his mother sing; for the national-history collection, Andreas Peter Berggreen provided melodies in a separate publication four years later. 1836 was also the year when the third part of Berggreen's 'Songs for use in schools' included, for the first time, two ballads, and another general anthology of the same year entitled 'Poetic reader for children and childlike souls' had three historical folk ballads. In 1839, a Danish paper, *Dansk Folkeblad,* published an appeal to its readers to cultivate the old ballads as a national treasure and to spread them among the common people. In 1840, Oehlenschläger, the recognised senior Danish writer of the period, made a selection of ballads from Nyerup and Rahbek's collection in a cautiously modernised and partly shortened form; four years later, Frederik Schaldemose reprinted the Vedel and Syv collections and added a section of 'Newer heroic ballads', which were Romantic ballad pastiches, including some of his own; and in 1847, theologian, historian, hymn-writer, educationist and reformer N. F. S. Grundtvig, a giant in Danish intellectual history, published 'Danish heroic ballads for use in schools', where a number of ballads from Nyerup/Rahbek and from old manuscript collections were re-written with considerable liberty.

Even more important than these text editions of the 1840s was the attention given to the **melodies** during the same years. Song, for the educated middle class, meant singing around the piano, and not until the ballad tunes appeared with piano accompaniment were they able to make the jump from occasional use on the stage to wide-spread use in private homes. This happened when C. E. F. Weyse, who was to Danish music what Oehlenschläger was to Danish literature, published a selection of 50 ballads in 1840, followed by another 50 two years later. In the first volume, he stuck to melodies found in the 1814 Nyerup/Rahbek edition. In the second, he also included a number that a clergyman by the name of Winding had taken down in the 1820s, mostly from singers who had grown up in the Faroe Islands; these often sounded more archaic than the rather harmless, light-hearted Danish ones. A few years later Berggreen, the editor of 'Songs for use in schools' published the first three fascicles of a collection entitled 'Folk songs and melodies, native and foreign, arranged for piano', which over the years was to grow into a veritable treasure-house of European folksong. Berggreen was more concerned with the living musical and textual tradition than with old manuscripts and, a true ethnomusicologist, he was careful about identifying his sources, even though has was so firmly caught in the 19th c. major/minor key frame of harmonization that he rejected the archaic melodies in church modes taken down by Ewald Tang Kristensen in Jutland as faulty. Finally, there were musicians who were content just to spread the ballad melodies such as Niels W. Gade, then an up-and-coming young composer, who published *Skandinavische Volkslieder* as pure piano arrangements in Germany in 1842 and two years later in Denmark.

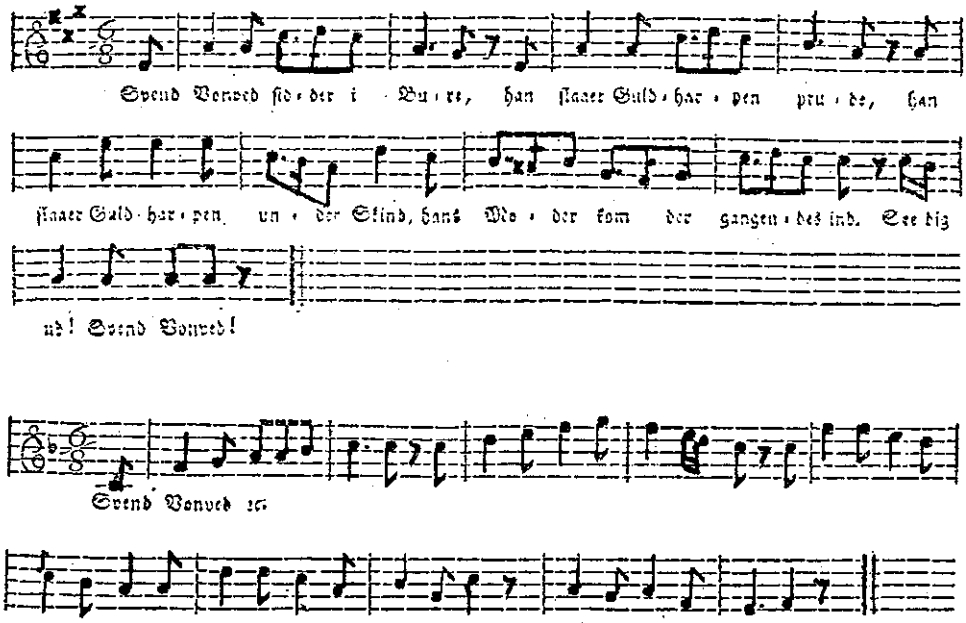
Finally, in 1843, Grundtvig's son Svend, then only 19 years old, appealed to the public to collect folk literature systematically. Subsequently, he translated English and Scottish ballads, and in 1847 he advertised a plan for a comprehensive critical edition of Danish ballads,

something like Ludwig Uhland's *Alte Hoch- und Niederdeutsche Volkslieder* of 1844, but on a more ambitious scale. He was a true philologist, making the 16th and 17th c. manuscript collections the basis of his edition, which, after a delay caused by the war of 1848-50, in which he participated as a volunteer, started appearing in 1853. *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* took more than a century to be completed; on the other hand, the twelve large folio volumes making up this edition have remained an invaluable research tool until this day.

Both Nyerup/Rahbek and Svend Grundtvig believed that the subject matter of ballads was an indication of their age, so they arranged them in groups thought to be roughly chronological. In the 1812-14 collection he gave first 22 'heroic ballads', products, they thought, of a Germanic heroic age, where a lot of fighting and killing took place and figures such as Sivard/Siegfried, Brynhild and King Diderik/Theoderic appeared. Next came 33 'ballads of magic', then 65 'historical ballads' about figures mostly from Danish, some from Scandinavian history. By far the largest group were the 112 'romances and ballads', which they subdivided into an almost even number of 'sad' and 'happy' ones. This was the real ballad stuff and also the dominant group in the old handwritten collections; a check of the nine oldest collections, all dating from before 1600, shows that the favourites, in number of occurrences, were 4 heroic ballads, 2 ballads of magic, 2 historical ballads and 12 ballads of chivalry.

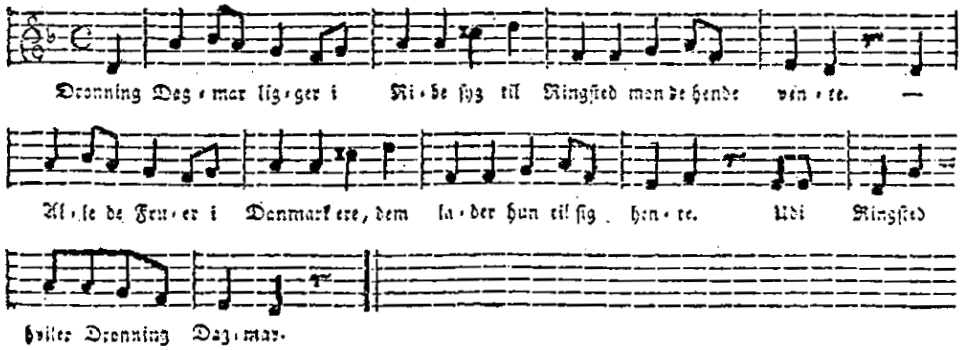
But these were not the kind of songs the promoters of ballads as embodiments of Danishness wished to spread. True, they were the most popular group in the oral tradition that could still be found among the peasants and in the lower classes in towns, as they had been in broadsheets when these were not concerned with recent wars, crimes, or natural disasters. But jealousy, murder, adultery and revenge were hardly schoolboy stuff, especially in an age where bourgeois respectability ranked high on the scale of values. Heroic ballads were all right as they were thought to strengthen character, at least in young males, and the ballads of magic had their assured place on the stage and in the still prevailing Romantic taste for the mysterious. What editors liked best was the historical ballads, especially if a Danish hero did well against foreigners, like the Jutish nobleman Niels Ebbesen, who in the 14th c. killed an arrogant German count, or a saintly queen like Dagmar who came back to life to say goodbye to her husband and tell him whom to marry next. But there were unsavoury bits among so-called historical ballads, too, such as Queen Hellevi, burning her husband Valdemar's sweetheart Tove to death in a sauna out of jealousy. And unfortunately, it was mostly the unsavoury ballads rather than the edifying ones that had surviving melodies. Many of the latter had probably never been part of a living oral tradition but rather were written by patriotic schoolmasters who hoped the poems would spread more easily if dressed up in the popular ballad form.

The other worry was that the melodies often seemed light-hearted, even trivial, in relation to the subject matter. Take the heroic ballad »Svend Vonved«, where a young man, just as he is playing the harp, is goaded by his mother to avenge his father. This makes him go completely berserk and slay a large number of people, especially people who cannot answer his questions, including, finally, his own mother who had disturbed him in his harp-playing. Nyerup/Rahbek had printed four melodies for this ballad, which indicated continued popularity in their time. Two of them were frequently used in 19th c. songbooks, both equally care-free.



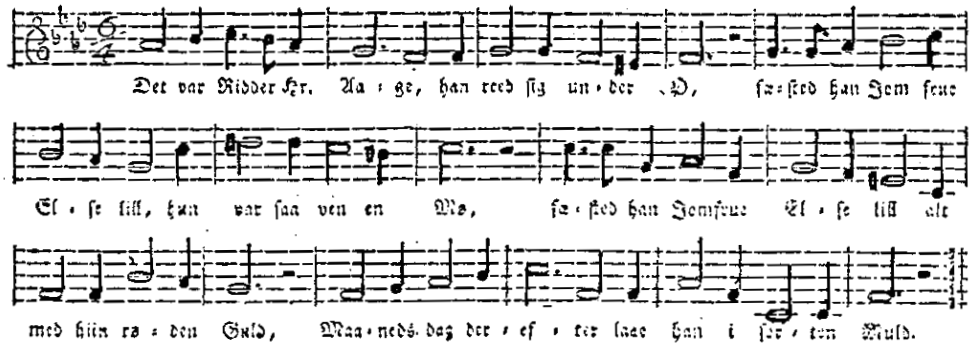
In adapted form, the latter melody survives in the modern Danish book to go with a hymn by Grundtvig senior. The popularity, among the editors, of the dying Queen Dagmar probably also had to do with the melancholy melody which embodied what the Romantics thought an old ballad melody ought to sound like:

And it must have been the same reason that made Nyerup and Rahbek accept Oehlen-



schläger's melody for one of the ballads of magic as a true folk melody:

Otherwise there was some reluctance to adopt new melodies since the melodies no less



than the texts were supposed to be immeasurably old emanations of the folk spirit.

Another difficulty was the length of the really old ballads. While **dancing** through 50 or 100 stanzas might be quite enjoyable, **singing** through the same amount of text or **listening** to it could be rather strenuous. In the oral peasant tradition, the ballads had usually been reduced to about 10-15 stanzas, and some editors cut them back even further; but the romantics clung to the idea of the oldest text being closest to the original, and Grundtvig junior in particular found it hard to leave anything out that was preserved in old manuscripts. He made an exception during the First Slesvig War, when he produced a few short synthetic ballad versions for a songbook his brother-in-law P. O. Boisen put together for use by the Danish troops; he knew that soldiers could not be expected to learn to sing lengthy songs. The 'Elfshot' ballad he wrote on this occasion became widely adopted, but it was not included in the critical edition of its variants in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* No. 47. Decades later, some researcher took it down from an old man in Jutland, and it was published as an independent local variant in one of the supplements. The editor of the time did not recognise it for what it was, a modern re-write that the old man probably had learnt from Boisen's songbook during the war.

These efforts to revive the ballads as songs peaked in the last third of the 19th century when the folk high schools inspired by Grundtvig senior sprang up all over the place. The first common songbook of these institutions was published in 1895, and revised editions have appeared ever since. But it was the earliest editions that contained the largest number of old ballads, usually in Grundtvig senior's re-worked form. Part 10 of Berggreen's 'Songs for use in schools', which contained nothing but ballads, was published in 1865, a year after the loss of Slesvig, when patriotic feeling ran high. His versions, which more often were 19th c. recordings than deriving from the old Vedel and Syv collections, spread in Danish homes through *Danmarks Melodibog,* the first three volumes of which appeared between 1895 and 1902.

With the decline of romantic nationalism in the 20th century, especially after the return of the Danish-speaking part of Slesvig in 1920, the desire to revive the old ballads as songs also decreased although they retained their place in the Danish literature curriculum in schools. In a revised edition of Vol. III of *Danmarks Melodibog,* which appeared in 1927, it was mostly the old ballads that were replaced by new songs. What has survived until today are some romantic re-workings of ballads or romantic pastiches, invariably quite short ones. This again confirms the general rule of thumb that very few folk songs are kept in continuous use for more than three generations.

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Balade in danskost: preporod ljudskih balad v 19. stoletju

Povzetek

Zbiranje in tiskanje balad na Danskem sega v 16. stoletje, vendar pa melodij niso začeli zbirati in tiskati vse do začetka 19. stoletja. V napoleonskih vojnah je Danska pretrpela materialno in psihološko škodo in romantično navdušenje nad ljudsko literaturo je zato pridobilo nacionalno razsežnost. Balade so veljale za dediščino iz obdobja narodne veličine. Kot pesmi so jih najprej v prirejeni obliki uporabljali v gledališču. Vendar so se v času dansko-nemške napetosti po letu 1840 razbohotila prizadevanja za njihovo popularizacijo prek posebnih antologij in pesmaric. Zbiratelji so tako rekoč prečesali podeželje, da bi našli ostanke ustnega slovstva. Le manjši del balad je ohranil melodije. Večinoma so bile to zgodbe o ljubezni, ljubosumnosti in maščevanju, in ne zgodovinske in junaške balade, ki so jih želeli razširiti zagovorniki ljudskega preporoda. Nazadnje so se ta številna prizadevanja za oživitev *starih* balad, zlasti prizadevanja članov gibanja Grundtvigian za izobraževanje ljudstva, večinoma izkazala za neuspešna in do danes so se ohranile zgolj številne romantične priredbe in paštiči.

Cades Cove: A Study in Regional Song Culture

John D. Niles

Visitors to Cades Cove, Tennessee, are likely to be impressed by the contrast between the broad, fertile expanses of the valley floor and the steep mountain ranges that ascend beyond it on all sides, cutting it off from the neighboring regions of Tennessee and northern Georgia. With its single road circling the valley and its scattering of cabins, barns, and other wood-frame structures dating from an earlier era, this secluded oval valley located toward the western end of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park seems an island in time, an oasis of calm set down by God's own hand in the midst of the surrounding wilderness and, not far beyond the mountains, the confusions of modern urban life.

This strong impression of order and tranquillity, however, obscures a turbulent history. The Cove is not God's work; it is a carefully shaped landscape that is the result of 175 years of politics, litigation, and controversy. Before turning to my main subject, the folksong culture of one family formerly of Cades Cove, it may be helpful if I summarize this history.

Although Cades Cove had long been occupied by Native Americans, its recorded history begins in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Dunn 1988:1-141; Shields 1977:4-15). In 1820, the State of Tennessee took possession of lands previously occupied by the Cherokee Nation. The forcible eviction of the Cherokees to Oklahoma – their »trail of tears,« as that event is known today – is remembered as one of the shameful episodes of the American expansion west. Most of the land formerly occupied by the Cherokees was sold to speculators. Settlers moved in to those regions, like Cades Cove, that offered good prospects for agriculture. Among those pioneers were John and Lurena Oliver, who bought legal title to a tract of land in 1826 and who are thought to be the first white settlers in the Cove, having first settled there in 1818.

For more than a hundred years, until the late 1920s, the community at Cades Cove developed in interdependency with mainstream American society, from which it remained geographically isolated. Cades Cove was a farming community where corn, wheat, oats, and rye were grown, as well as enough hay to support plentiful livestock. Families were largely self-sufficient and there was much dealing »in kind,« for no good road linked Cades Cove with neighboring cities and towns. By the 1920s, logging companies had bought up most of the surrounding mountains and had begun to clear their forests, which included some of the finest stands of virgin hardwoods in North America. The railroad never reached Cades Cove, but the advent of the automobile introduced tourism on a small scale. In 1922 the present road into the Cove was completed, linking it to Maryville and other cities and towns of eastern Tennessee. In 1924, John W. Oliver, a descendant of the John and Lurena Oliver who first settled the Cove, began renting out tourist cabins, and in 1928 he opened a spacious lodge from which visitors could explore the surrounding areas of the Smoky Mountains. Word began to get out about the area's exceptional natural beauty.

It was not long before this publicity resulted in legislative action designed to preserve the central parts of the Smoky Mountains as a national treasure to be kept free from further logging and commercial development. In 1928, the same year that Oliver opened his tourist lodge, the State of Tennessee and the Federal government passed laws establishing the Great Smoky Mountains National Park as the first national park located east of the Mississippi River. In future, Cades Cove would be a part of a wilderness area where visitors, many of them arriving by car from the urban belt that extends along the Atlantic Coast from Virginia to Massachusetts, could appreciate the beauties of the Southern Appalachians in a nearly pristine condition.

Cades Cove was not a pristine wilderness, however. By 1928, it was populated by 110 families and a total of about 600 individuals. After negotiations concerning the Park's boundaries were complete, it remained the only major settled area to be included. During the next five years, despite previous pledges that no people living within the proposed Park would be deprived of their homes, almost all of the inhabitants moved elsewhere. Some of them readily accepted government buyouts. One group of inhabitants, led by Oliver, unsuccessfully fought their evictions in court. Most of the buildings in the Cove were levelled after being vacated, although a few were allowed to remain standing for their interest as a record of American vernacular architecture. In his book *Cade's Cove: The Life and Death of a Southern Appalachian Community*, Durwood Dunn, Oliver's son-in-law, has described with grim precision what he calls the Cove's »death by eminent domain« (1988:241-54).

My point in this paper, however, is not to exhume the bones of that controversy but rather to examine some aspects of the folksong culture of Cades Cove in the late 1920s. Such a study offers instructive lessons for ballad scholarship through what it reveals about the interrelations of folksong, folksong collection, politics, and ideology.

The best approach to the traditional song culture of Cades Cove is through the collection made by Mellinger Edward Henry (1874?-1946) during the period 1928-33. Although Henry and his wife (née Florence Newton Stokes) collected folksongs in many parts of the Southern Appalachians, they had particular success in recording from a single family, that of Samuel Harmon of Cades Cove. The chief singers in that family were Samuel himself, his wife Polly (née Hagerman), their daughters Laura and Mary, their son Austin, and their granddaughter Rachel (Mary's daughter), whose married named was Brackett. Sometime before Mellinger Henry came on the scene, Mary, whose married name was Tucker, had moved to Varnell, Georgia, in the mountains southwest of Cades Cove, and some of Henry's collecting efforts in 1932-33 took place there.

Henry was an educator who made his home in Ridgefield, New Jersey. While an undergraduate at Harvard University he had studied with George Lyman Kittredge, the dominant figure in American ballad scholarship during the first decades of the twentieth century. An avid outdoorsman and hiker, Henry had come to the Smokies by automobile in the 1920s in search of a wilderness experience. His work in folksong should be seen in relation to the prevalent ideology of intellectuals of his class at that time. For him, love of mountaineering and a fascination with British balladry formed elements in a romantic and primitivist ideology that also typically encompassed American racial Anglo-Saxonism, or confidence in the natural superiority of people of »pure« English descent, language, and culture. Henry liked his nature untouched, his culture unimproved. His collecting efforts in the Southern Appalachians, like the seminal fieldwork undertaken by Cecil Sharp in the same region during the period 1916-

18, is best understood with attention to the tendency of many urbane people of that time to glamorize the Southern Highlander, as he was sometimes called with a backward glance at Sir Walter Scott's border heroes, as an embodiment of the finest strains in the American character (see Whisnant 1983).

During 1929-31 Henry published important parts of his collection in the *Journal of American Folklore*, for which Kittredge then served as Associate Editor. He also published brief accounts of his experiences in the Smoky Mountains in the *New Jersey Journal of Education* (1926-31). An anthology of his lighter and more sentimental song texts was brought out in London (Henry 1933). His definitive collection of Child ballads and other traditional songs, based on the *Journal of American Folklore* publications but with the inclusion of an introduction, photographs, and additional musical notations, was published in 1938 under the title *Folk-Songs from the Southern Highlands* (Henry 1938).[1]

From today's perspective, it is easy to criticize aspects of this latter book. As was the norm in his day, Henry concentrated on older songs of British origin and gave them pride of place. He included no hymns and few songs of recent origin. Many of his texts are published without tunes, particularly if they came to him by correspondence. Since his book is organized by songs rather than by singers or regions, he conflated materials deriving from different sources with little attempt to account for the personality of individual singers. Henry seems to have made little effort to collect anything but folksongs, and so his collection falls far short of representing the culture of the region as a whole. In evaluating Henry's achievements, we must remember that he was a man of his time. He was not a university scholar. As Arthur Palmer Hudson gently observed in the course of an appreciative obituary notice, »One introduction and notes to Mr. Henry's published collections testify rather to his human than his scholarly interest in folklore« (1946: 316). He had no formal training in fieldwork, and his competence in music seems to have been minimal. Still, to his credit, he felt himself under no compulsion to normalize the results of his fieldwork by eliminating nonsense and smoothing out irregularities of meter and stanzaic form, as had been the common practice of editors ever since the time of Percy and Scott. The texts and music that he prints are therefore of great importance as records of what singers actually seem to have sung, as opposed to what ballad mediators thought they should have sung. In addition, Henry's account of his experiences in the field reveals an honest affection for his singers as well as a journalist's eye for vivid detail; and those of his materials that relate to Samuel Harmon and his family are of exceptional interest for what they reveal about continuity and change within a single family of singers.

The members of the Harmon family were truly remarkable tradition-bearers. Although Samuel had lived in Cades Cove for most of his life, he was not a native of that area. On the side of his father, John Goulder Harmon, he was a grandson of »Council« Harmon of Wautauga County, North Carolina (1807-1896), a key figure in the transmission of the »Jack« tales that are among the important contributions of the Southern Appalachians to American folk culture (see McCarthy 1994). On the side of his mother, Nancy Jane Hicks, he was a grandson of Samuel Hicks II (c. 1798-1880), who in turn was a grandson of David Hicks, Sr., who emigrated from England in about 1760, shortly before the American Revolution. »Council« Harmon was a great-grandson of this same David Hicks. On both his father's and his mother's side of the family, therefore, Samuel Harmon could trace his lineage back to an English patriarch,

[1] Curiosly only the 1993 book, not far more 1938 book, receives mention in Wilguis 1959.

although the surname »Harmon« itself appears to be German.[2] When Samuel was still a small boy, his mother Nancy and her father Samuel Hicks II moved from Watauga County to Cades Cove. It was there that he eventually married Polly Hagerman, a native of the Cove whom he had known since he was a child and she was a baby.[3] Both Samuel and Polly seem to have learned a substantial part of their repertories from Samuel Hicks II, with whom both children had spent much time when young. The couple had been raising their family in Cades Cove for some while when Mellinger Henry met them in the summer of 1928.

By local standards Samuel Harmon was a small landholder. According to Park Commission records, at the time that the Park was established he owned 32 acres, for which the Commission paid him $1700, or about $53 per acre, slightly over the median price (Shields 1977:107). The Harmons appear to have accepted the government's price without a quarrel. Perhaps they knew that they had no choice but to sell; very likely they had never seen this amount of cash before. At any rate, they moved on to Varnell, in the mountains of northern Georgia, where their daughter Mary had already settled.

Mellinger Henry was elated by the success of his initial collecting efforts with the Harmons in 1928. Two summers later he returned to the Cove to stay in one of the cabins belonging to John Oliver. Oliver served as his guide on a trek by horseback through the most rugged part of the Smokies. When Henry returned to the cabin after this expedition, he had a stroke of good fortune about which he writes as follows (Henry 1938:19):

It is doubtful if ever such luck has fallen to a ballad collector as that which came to us in Cade's Cove on my return from the mountain tops. A bit of kindness to a Great Smoky mountaineer while we were visiting the Cove two years before had... led to an introduction to the Harmon family from whom we at that time obtained some rare songs.... Then the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Commission bought out our family of singers, and all its members removed to the mountains of northern Georgia. Now the unexpected happened when our singers returned to Cade's Cove for a visit on August 11. There were sixteen of them – all in one truck. They spent the best part of two days at our cabin and sang twenty-four songs which Mrs. Henry recorded.

The Henrys had stumbled upon a rich harvest of traditional song, including rare examples of the older ballads that were prized by Kittredge and other members of the university establishment. From Samuel, either in August 1930 or at another time, they recorded versions of Child 73 (»Lord Thomas and Fair Ellender«) and Child 81 (»Little Mattie Groves«). From Polly they recorded versions of Child 4 (»Pretty Polly«), Child 7 (»Earl Brand«), Child 10 (»The Two Sisters,« in two versions), Child 20 (»The Cruel Mother«), and Child 43 (»The Merry Broomfield«), Child 85 (»George Collins«), Child 200 (»Gypsy Davy«), and Child 286 (»The Merry Golden Tree«). From the Harmons' daughter Laura they recorded versions of Child 17 (»Lamkin«), Child 53 (»Young Behan«), and Child 99 (»Johnny Scot«).« From Mary Tucker they recorded versions of Child 68 (»Loving Henry«), Child 79 (»Lady Gay«)

[2] The complex genealogical relationships of the Harmon and Hicks families, with their branches that include a number of well-known singers and storytellers (including members of the Ward, Presnell, and Proffitt families), have recently been charted in detail by W.F.H. Nicolaisen (1994:128-29).

[3] Polly was Samuel's step-sister, as it happened, by virtue of Nancy Jane Hicks's remarriage.

and Child 155 (»Sir Hugh«). Songs not numbered in the Child collection that the Henrys recorded include such favorites as »The Derby Ram,« »The Sheffield Apprentice,« »The Foggy Dew,« »The Butcher Boy,« and »Pearl Bryant,« to name just a few out of a large and miscellaneous total.

Both Samuel and Polly provided versions of Child 164, »King Henry V's Conquest of France.« The differences between the two texts are instructive. Samuel's version, in 11 complete stanzas, derives closely from a broadside source which it sometimes follows verbatim. Polly's version, in 7 stanzas numbering 3 to 5 lines each, gives just the narrative core of the song rather than reproducing its words with any great fidelity. She herself wrote down the words of this song for the collector. She clearly felt under no constraint to produce a text that fulfilled normal literary expectations regarding meter and stanzaic form. I think it likely, in fact, that she did not know what those expectations were, but rather was accustomed to recomposing her songs in a freely creative technique that progressed from phrase to phrase, one phrase fitted to the next in accord with a rough-and-ready sense of rhythm. As far as one can tell from Henry's collection, she had neither musical nor literary training. Her lack of an outsider's perspective on American folksong is in part what makes her songs so interesting from a scholarly perspective.

What did these songs sound like to the ear?

It is difficult to say. Mellinger Henry lacked the benefit of modern recording equipment. Those song-texts that he received through correspondence came to him without tunes. At first, the Henrys seem to have made no effort to record tunes for the songs that they recorded in the field. For whatever reasons, the collection that Henry published in London in 1933 includes no tunes.[4] In his introduction to that book, Henry acknowledges this neglect and apologizes for it as follows (1933:xxiii):

> It may seem unfortunate that this book is one more collection of half-songs, that is, of the words only, the lacking half of which (the tunes) are lost. Undoubtedly it is unfortunate.... The only reason why the dissectors have taken out the literary part, preserved it, and thrown away the tune part, is that they have been unable to save the latter. It is very difficult to record a tune as it is sung.... The tunes-words collector will have the blessings of many. The after-world will enjoy his work when we poor collectors of the words only are a thing of the past.

In partial compensation for the lack of music in the 1933 collection, Henry's far more comprehensive 1938 book includes a fair amount of music, including tunes for 30 of the songs that derive from the Harmon family. Henry gives no account, however, as to how he obtained and transcribed these tunes. Possibly either he or Mrs. Henry first took down the texts to these songs in longhand, and then at a later date either one or the other of the recorders may have written down approximations of the tunes after having internalized them, perhaps imperfectly. This is speculation. What is indisputable is that Henry's 1938 musical transcriptions are problematic at many turns. If the Henrys had musical training, it

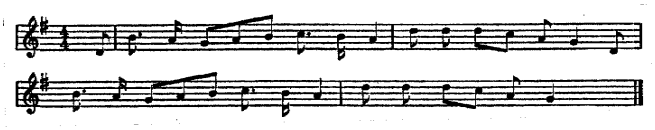
[4] The ten songs in that anthology that derive from members of the Harmon family are those beginning on pp. 7, 23, 28, 32, 116, 118, 190, and 229.

[5] Herbert Halpert, one of the preeminent North American fieldworkers of the twentieth century, recorded the singing

was clearly inadequate for the task of rendering the tunes in conventional notation.[5]

Of all the family members, Polly Harmon seems to have been closest to an oral-recreative mode of singing. Many of her songs show evidence of an unusual degree of creativity, together with an indifference to literary standards. Of the transcriptions that Henry provides of her singing, however, some are confusing and some are clearly wrong. Take for example Polly's version of »George Collins« (Child 85). This song appears to be an American offshoot of Child 42, »Clerk Colvill,« which in its older forms is a tragic ballad that relates to the Danish *elveskud* tradition. Henry prints the song in five stanzas of varying length as set to the following tune (Henry 1938:89):

»George Collins.« Recorded by Mrs. Henry from Mrs. Samuel Harmon, Cade's Cove, Tennessee, August 12, 1930.



1. George Collins rode home
One cold winter night
And taken sick and died.

2. Little Nellie being in the other room
A-sewing on her silk so fine,
And when she heard her George was dead,
She lay her silk aside.

3. She weeped, she moaned for her true-love.
.....
»O daughter, O daughter, what makes you weep?
There are more pretty boys than George.«

4.»O mother, O mother, I know that's true,
But he's got this heart of mine.«
.....
.....

5. »Set down the coffin, unscrew the lid,
And roll back the linen so fine,
And let me kiss his cold clay lips.
I'm sure he'll never kiss mine.«

---

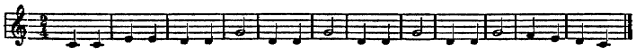
of several members of the Harmon family on portable equipment in 1939. From Samuel Harmon he recorded a very interesting version of »Sir Lionel,« or »Wild Boar« (Child no. 17), for which see Bronson 1959-72, I:268 (version 2). Halpert also recorded Samuel's son Austin singing »George Allen« (alias Laws G3, »The Wreck on the C & O«) with his own banjo accompaniment at Maryville, Tennessee, in 1939 (Green, n.d., track A9).

[6] This procedure involves replacing Henry's dotted eighth notes with quarter notes and his sixteenth notes with eighth

Despite the lilting 6/8 character of this tune as Polly must have sung it, Henry notates it in 4/4 time. The result is a musical impossibility. Henry's erroneous transcription can easily be corrected by converting it into 6/8 time while making necessary adjustments of the time value of individual notes.[6] If this course is taken, then most of oddities of the transcription appear as the products of editorial misunderstanding. The song is revealed as a sequence of words fitted to a single musical idea that is repeated eight times (for phrases 1 and 2 of Henry's musical transcription are virtually identical). Instead of comprising 5 stanzas with lengths that vary chaotically in their number of lines, the words can be resolved into a sequence of 8 unrhymed line-pairs, or (if one prefers to think of them that way) 8 long lines. The fourth long line in this sequence (= the first 2 lines of stanza 3 above, beginning »She weeped, she moaned«) is indeed imperfect, though there is no fault in the narrative sense at this point. The lacuna here probably reflects a lapse of memory on the part of the singer. As for the rest of the song, it is musically and textually complete, although no more than rudimentary in both story and tune.

Also worth consideration as an example of Polly Harmon's singing style as well as the difficulties that one experiences in interpreting Henry's musical transcriptions is the second of this singer's two versions of Child 10, »The Two Sisters« (Henry 1938:43-44):[7]

»The Two Sisters.« Recorded by Mrs. Henry from Mrs. Samuel Harmon, Cade's Cove, Tennessee, August 13, 1930.



1. Was two sisters loved one man
   Jelly flower jan;
   The rose marie;
   The jury hangs o'er
   The rose marie.
2. He loved the youngest a little the best (*etc*.)
3. Them two sisters going down stream (*etc*.)
4. The oldest pushed the youngest in (*etc*.)
5. She made a fiddle out of her bones (*etc*.)
6. She made the screws out of her fingers (*etc*.)
7. She made the strings out of her hair (*etc*.)
8. The first string says, »Yonder sets my sister on a rock, tying of a true-love's knot« (*etc*.)
9. The next string says, »She pushed me in the deep so far«
   Jelly flower jan;
   The rose marie;
   The jury hangs o'er
   The rose marie.

notes while adding bar signs after each of the two main beats. Cf. Bronson 1959-72, II:399 (version 23).

[7] Cf. Bronson 1959-72: I:182 (version 92). To save space, I omit repeating the words of the refrain after each line. The »jury« in line 3 of the refrain seems to be a corruption of the »dew« of other versions.

Here Henry's 2/4 time signature obscures the musical character of a tune that would be more accessible if notated in six bars set in 4/4 time, with eighth notes and dotted quarter notes added as necessary to allow for syllables that are otherwise unaccounted for musically. Stanzas 8 and 9 are obviously of anomalous length. As printed on the page, these lines have 19 syllables and 12 syllables, respectively, as opposed to an average of 8 syllables in the corresponding line of earlier stanzas. The oddity here can be explained by several hypotheses. The simplest of these is that the extra words of stanzas 8 and 9 reiterate, as often as necessary, the leap from D to G that is the main musical idea of the song. We will never know if this is how Polly Harmon performed this song, but a solution along these lines makes musical sense. As often happens with these transcriptions, what looks like an anomaly on the printed page disappears when the song is reconstructed in accord with a reasonable hypothesis of what it must have sounded like. Here, the simple pentatonic tune impels the song in a circular form that is well suited to a play-party version of a venerable ballad. It is worth noting that Polly Harmon's version of »The Two Sisters« preserves the ancient motif, present only rarely in North American versions, of the drowned girl's transformation into a musical instrument. No passing minstrel happens on the scene here, however, as happens in some archaic versions of this song. Instead, the older sister herself fashions the musical instrument. In a callous (or perhaps simply comic?) twist on the earlier story, the murderess plays a fiddle that she has fashioned out of the body parts of her dead sister. Her crime, still, is dramatically revealed at the end.

In general, what one finds with Polly Harmon's songs, and to a lesser degree with the songs of other members of the Harmon family, is both a broad familiarity with British-American ballad tradition and a remarkable fluidity in the fitting of text and tune. This fluidity sometimes takes on the appearance of chaos when one consults the songs in Henry's imperfect transcriptions. Still, the likelihood is strong that each song, as sung, had a definite musical integrity. Furthermore, some of these oral performances embody an aesthetics that seems relatively unaffected by the mentality of print. With Polly Harmon, one seems to have entered a musical thought-world that is comparable to what Linda Williamson has traced in her research among the travelling people of Scotland (Williamson 1985). What especially mattered to the singers that Williamson recorded in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as well as to some of the other travelling people who have been recorded in the British Isles (see MacColl and Seeger 1977), was the integrity of the musical phrase. The concept of the stanza did not necessarily exist for them independent of the musical phrase. What counted, for them, was the coherence of the song as a seamless sequence consisting of repeated rhythmic and melodic units. To try to describe these units in terms of the stanzaic notation that is a feature of the conventions of print is often a quixotic task.

Since what I am offering now is no more than a preliminary report on the song culture of the Harmon family, I will stop here. If space permitted, I would give additional examples of Polly Harmon's singing with attention to her unusually fluid manner of recreating songs. I would contrast her style with the more fixed style of her son Austin, who accompanied himself on the banjo and who favored popular songs like »The Texas Rangers« or »Frankie and Albert,« both probably picked up from the radio or phonograph, over the older ballads and lyric songs that formed an important portion of the repertories of his parents. Within the three generations of this one family can be traced changing patterns in American folksong that were characteristic of a transitional period when an older tradition was being supplanted by the mass-mediated products of the culture industry.

I will close by reproducing one of Polly Harmon's songs that is published without a tune in Henry's 1933 collection. Collectors usually like to think of themselves as masters of the collecting situation, blessed with a knowledge that is superior to that of their informants. The folk whose lore they record do not necessarily share the same viewpoint. The following variation on an old rhyme gives an instructive glimpse into Polly Harmon's view of the process by which her songs were recorded:[8]

Sing a song [of] sixpence
A pocket full of rye,
Twenty-four blackbirds
A-baking in a pie.

The pie begin to open;
The birds begin to sing.
Isn't that a pretty dish
To set before the king?

Sing a song of sixpence,
Setting on a stool.
I am not a-singing this song for myself,
But I am a-singing for a fool.

As I interpret this song, the reference to a »fool« at its end was meant to be a playful dig at Henry rather than a genuinely provocative statement. Henry may have been a Northerner and a college graduate, but he was no fool. The members of the Harmon family seem to have welcomed his presence in their homes just as warmly as he welcomed them to the Oliver cabin. The result of this interaction was one of the remarkable chapters in the history of North American folksong. Working during the height of the »Heroic Age« of ballad hunting and at the onset of the Great Depression, temporarily abandoning his usual routine so as to indulge his love of the Smoky Mountains and their vanishing way of life, Henry tapped into an important vernacular song culture. He worked with a family for whom ballad-singing was part of the air they breathed, not a precious thing to be recreated by artificial resuscitation. To his great credit, Henry did little to »improve« his texts or reduce them to conventional literary standards. Since he was content to publish songs essentially as he heard them, his collection remains a precious record of what certain »rooted« Americans sang in a particular region during one period of history.

As was suggested at the beginning of this essay, study of the Mellinger Henry collection also offers instructive lessons in the politics of folklore. If I am not mistaken, the cabin where he stayed in 1930, and where Mrs. Henry very likely took down the first two of the three examples of Polly Harmon's singing that I have discussed, is the same »John Oliver cabin« that still stands as one exhibit in the loosely structured open-air museum that now occupies Cades Cove. The cabin is well maintained, and it is empty of inhabitants. Its emptiness serves as a reminder that a good deal of what people popularly call »folklore« is in fact a secondary creation. It is something that has been either preserved or manufactured as an outcome of governmental, scholarly, and commercial interventions into the life of the folk. While appreciating these cultural productions

[8] Henry 1933: 229, my spacing. Cf. Opie 1951: 394-95 (no. 486).

for what they are, we may still regret that they sometimes displace rooted forms of expression and draw attention away from genuine folk cultures that continue in the interstices around us and that deserve ongoing respect and support. Of the indigenous song culture of Cades Cove, little can be known today apart from what can be inferred from Mellinger Henry's fascinating but flawed book.

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John D. Niles

Cades Cove: študija regionalnega pesemskega izročila

Povzetek

Med letoma 1928 in 1932 je zbiratelj ljudskih pesmi Mellinger Edward Henry nekaj mesecev zapisoval pesmi pri družini Samuela Harmona iz Cades Cova v Tennesseeju. Tako nastala zbirka ilustrira repertoar treh generacij družine in osvetljuje lokalne tokove ljudske pesmi v ključnem prehodnem obdobju, ko so iz pokrajine izseljevali prebivalstvo, da bi jo vključili v nacionalni park Great Smoky Mountains. Zlasti zanimive so pesmi, ki jih je Henry zapisal po petju »tete« Polly Harmon, saj izražajo miselni svet pevke, ki se je prav malo ozirala na književne standarde. Vendar pa so Henryjevi notni zapisi očitno neustrezen zapis njenega petja. Raziskovanje ljudskega pesemskega izročila v Cades Covu odpira možnosti za učenje tradicionalnih pesmi, seveda z ozirom na vse nevarnosti, ki jih prinaša zbiranje balad, in politike zvezne vlade do ljudskega načina življenja.

Broken Ballads: the Art of Fragmentation

Mary Ann Constantine

This paper grows out of my work with the ballads of Breton-speaking Brittany, though it has been stimulated by a number of writings on English-language ballads. It can be read as part of the long-running discussion of 'variation' in ballad and folk-song studies, but I hope it will also encourage some rethinking about a neglected area of ballad research.

In various explorations of individual Breton ballads I have developed a particular affection for versions that pull furthest away from the type-model, that play the strangest variations on the theme. I began thinking about explaining the effect of these condensed or truncated pieces. Could one develop a poetics of fragments? The question has clearly interested others. Tristram P. Coffin, discussing the ballad 'as an art form' described what he saw as the genre's implacable desire to become lyric. His concept of an 'emotional core' has provided a fundamental, if somewhat slippery, term to the variation debate, but his whole emphasis on the movement *away* from plot offers possibilities which have perhaps not been sufficiently explored (Coffin 1957). More recently, Gerald Porter's analysis of the process or processes of *Variation in Four Traditional Ballads* includes a study of the poetic language of some fragmentary ballad versions in the context of a ballad group, and examines what Albert Lord memorably called the 'tension of essences' - the pull of certain themes towards each other (Porter 1991). These and other works have been instrumental in giving shape to the ideas outlined here.[1]

There are fragments and fragments, and I should define mine a little more clearly. The word may well be inappropriate. Some ballad versions are literally broken up abruptly at the collecting or collating stage by non-oral processes - manuscripts break off, pages are lost, a published version accidentally or deliberately skips certain lines; or perhaps in a written discussion only part of a ballad may be used to make a point. Others are the result of momentary or even permanent lapses by singers who are themselves conscious of breakdown: who make it clear that they can't remember the rest and are aware of incompleteness. But the really interesting cases are those extraordinarily condensed versions of ballads where the narrative line has collapsed - texts almost invariably classed as 'fragments' by editors, but still perceived as 'whole' songs by their singers. These are ballads which have imploded. They are a result (Coffin would argue the ultimate result) of the processes of oral transmission. The largely invisible sequence of changes which separates them from the notional ballad-type is thus as valuable an area of investigation as the changes which turn a broadsheet into 'classical' ballad.[2]

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1. For an overview of work on variation see the surveys by Tristram Coffin and Roger de V. Renwick in (Coffin 1977).
2. Thomas Pettit (1997) has usefully reopened the question of a poetics of the 'classical' ballad, with some stimulating thoughts on the nature of the 'ideal' form and the processes by which it is achieved. How far such observations might hold in an area well *beyond* the 'target-form' seems to me an intriguing question.

The first problem arises when dealing with material for which the singing context has been lost. Information about singers, the milieu and conditions of performance - and even the tunes - tends to be a relatively recent luxury. Earlier collectors generally did not feel the need to question informants about their own perceptions of what they sang, and as a consequence it is often impossible to distinguish 'incomplete' versions from the complete-but-condensed variety. Omission marks in printed texts and manuscripts can be misleading (who has left what out, and why? Were the gaps acknowledged by the singer?) and sometimes utterly baffling.[3]

Taking each case on its own merits is the only sensible solution, and I shall look closely here at one example from Brittany, following it up with some briefer comparative comments on English material. These two traditions are suited to this type of exploration, since they both have a large body of oral ballads with an inherently 'strong' narrative tendency (the 'heavy ballad' style); in other traditions (for example Irish-language or Lithuanian) the narrative style would appear to be already more lyrical and allusive, and to employ more of the features that develop in these so-called 'fragmentary' forms.

It is instructive to approach these things from the wrong side for a change. Most of the time, discussion of fragments or hyper-condensed ballad versions comes in the light of discussion of their full or fuller versions. Traditionally this has given a decidedly negative slant to the treatment of texts viewed as aberrations or perversions, the product of sadly 'degenerate' tradition-bearers (for examples see Smith 1928: 54-55). More positively, one can argue that prior knowledge of the longer version is both practical and sensible, since there is increasing evidence to suggest that, to many singers themselves, the ballad is not the whole story, that the song stands centre stage in a performance where the backdrop is a generally-known fuller plot. But there are reasons for starting from a position of ignorance: firstly, I don't think enough thought has been given to the effect of such shortened versions on the uninformed first-time hearer, and secondly, it focuses the mind much better not on absences, but on what is actually there, on the relationship of the few lines or stanzas to each other, and helps produce possibilities of meaning which an informed hearer might exclude. Let us attempt to look at Mari-Josephe Merrien's remarkable version of *Catherin An Troadec* as if for the first time. The song was collected in 1920 from Lanrivain (Perennès 1938).

Catherin An Troadec

Catherin 'n Troadec zo klevet	Hear Catherin An Troadec
E fons ar mor tregont gouled	Under the sea, thirty fathoms deep
Tregont gouled e fons ar mor	Thirty fathoms deep under the sea
O c'houlen Doue d'hi zikour.	Begging God to save her
O c'houlen Doue d'hi zikour	Begging God to save her
Ha sant Matelin Moncontour	And Saint Matelin Moncontour
Ha sant Matelin Moncontour	And Saint Matelin Moncontour
A c'houarn an avel hag an dour	Who governs the wind and the water

[3] For an example of a nineteenth-century 'collage' of traditional fragments see Constantine 1995.

»Me rei en ho ti eur presant	»I'll give you a gift, for your house:
Eur c'haliç aour, eun en arc'hant	A chalice of gold, and one of silver
Eur c'haliç aour, eun en arc'hant	A chalice of gold, and one of silver
Ha d'ho seiz aoter guiskamant	And cloth for your seven altars
Me rei n'ho ti eur baniel gwen	I'll give you a white banner for your house
Vo seiz kloc'h arc'hant deus e ben	With seven silver bells on it
Hag a vo kaer de ho pardon	It will be lovely on your feast day
Dont araok ho prosision	At the front of the procession
Eur c'houriz koër endro d'ho ti	A circle of wax around your house
Hag a vo kaër d'ho enori	Which will be lovely in your honour
Skubei ho ti var ma daoulin	I'll sweep your house on bended knees
A gerc'ho dour en ho pinsin	And fetch the water for your font.
Skubei ho ti var ma daoulin	I'll sweep your house on bended knees
A gerc'ho dour en ho pinsin	Fetch the water for your font
A gercho dour'n ho pinsinaou	And fetch the water for your fonts
Setu aze ma vresanchaou.«	These are my presents to you.«
Digoret frank kleud ar vered	Open wide the graveyard gate
Arru Catherin an Tredec	Catherin An Tredec is here
Arru Catherin an Tredec	Catherin An Tredec is here
Debret c'hi jodaou gant ar pesked	Her cheeks eaten away by fish
Debret c'hi jodaou gant ar pesked	Her cheeks eaten away by fish
C'hoaz 'ch e rouanez ar merc'hed	She is still queen among women
Rouanez var an oll verc'hed	Queen over all women
Ha var an oll demezeled.	And over all young girls.

The piece splits obligingly into three parts, the girl's spoken prayer in the centre is surrounded by a narrative voice or perhaps voices at the beginning and end. Both beginning and end are satisfactory as such - neither is abruptly truncated, although there are plenty of questions left unanswered. In eight stanzas a situation is announced - the girl under the sea calls out for help - and concluded - she arrives at the graveyard. Note that there is considerable repetition of individual lines (the pattern of repetition is probably linked to the tune),[4] and that stanza six indeed says almost nothing new: a shortened ballad is not necessarily a concise one, or one into which action is visibly crammed.

So what is going on? A woman, drowned or drowning, calls on God and the local saint Matelin (Mathurin), to save her. Since *sikour*, like save, can refer to body or soul, it is not clear whether she is supposed to be alive or dead. Her promise of gifts to the saint perhaps suggest the former, the thirty fathoms notwithstanding, but the question is never really resolved, even at the end. Her impressive litany of riches takes up a great deal of the song - vivid, ceremonial,

[4] This is identified by title as *Pa guz an heol, pa goenv ar mor* (Perennès 1938).

the images of the chalice and white cloth are peculiarly evocative in the context of the drowning speaker, calling up fleeting associations with sea treasure. Catholic rites and practices and mentality permeate the Breton tradition as a whole, and there is nothing overly exotic about the circle or cordon of wax around a chapel: it was still apparently a feast-day custom in the early part of this century (Perennès 1938). Then comes the strong command: open wide the graveyard gate, she has arrived. But *how* has she arrived - as a corpse? The rather Gothic combination of corruption and beauty suggest a body being brought to the church, but the form of her 'arrival' is not clear. If she has drowned, then her prayer has not been answered - but is there enough in the last two stanzas to suggest a kind of supernatural living-dead arrival, in the tradition of the miracle ballad? It may be more simply that her soul that has been saved, and that Saint Matelin's gift is the grace of a proper burial.

It would not be difficult to hypothesize a number of different interpretations of this song, but to keep things short I shall concentrate on its immediate 'textual' background, the specific web of the plot or plots in which it is held. This, on closer inspection, proves rather complicated. It is possible that more than one song is involved, that the reduction of the song to a few salient elements leaves it ambiguously open to a relationship with two different ballads on similar themes. This in itself may be too forthright an explanation, as the 'two different ballads' may in any case be related. The ballad tradition in Brittany, as elsewhere, is and was in a state of permanent flux: boundaries between songs, so necessary for editors, are endlessly erased by the constant drift of stanzas from one narrative group to another. But two (or perhaps three) groups of songs suggest themselves as obvious relations of *Catherin An Troadec*. These versions are mostly earlier than Mari-Josephe Merrien's by eighty or so years.[5]

Closest to our text are two songs which also name the girl as Catherine (in its Breton form Katell or the diminutive Katellik) An Troadec. The first opens with her request not to be sent on an unspecified sea journey: she asks her father to send one of her sisters instead. But she is made to go, and drowns 'thirty fathoms under the sea'. As she sinks she says that if only she may stand on her two feet she will send gifts (a cross and banner, a chalice, cloth for three altars...) to the church at Ar Folgoat. She is instantly transported to the square. Her father calls for the door of the porch (of the church?) to be opened wide since his daughter has come. The recorded text breaks up (or is illegible) here, and then we hear Old Troadec as he is 'cutting bread with his children':

me gar ve real tou kreis ar ster
me mech Katel ghenon er gher
me gar ve reel tou kreis ar mour
me mech Katellik toul ma dour

(I wish my other [children] were in the river and my daughter Katel with me at home. I wish the others were in the sea and my daughter Katellik on my door-step.)

5. There are about a dozen. Most can be found under the heading *00132: Sant Matellin Moncontour* in P. Malrieu's classification at the Dastum archives in Rennes. Two additional examples come from Donatien Laurent's edition of Hersart de La Villemarqué's notebooks (Laurent 1989: 109 and 146). It should be stressed that this is a preliminary survey, not an exhaustive one.

To which comes the reply (and the end of this version):

me sadik paour pechi a ret
an dour ar mour so bennighet
ar ſteriou ret re zé nint ket
(Laurent 1989: 146)

(Father, dear, you sin. The water of the sea is blessed; the running rivers are not.)

This response also occurs in the other version, which begins with an unspecified shipwreck and then turns to the inconsolable An Troadec. He addresses his other children directly: 'I wish you had all been drowned in the river if I could have my daughter Catherine here at home'. The editor glosses their reply with reference to the belief (noted at second or third hand) that the sea is blessed because 'at the end of the world there must be as many corpses in the sea - plus one - as there are in all the graveyards on land' (Perennès 1939). As he speaks, Katell arrives home and explains her miraculous escape: Mary of Folgoat put a stool beneath her feet and Mary of Forwen 'swept the water from around her neck'. The family go to offer gifts of thanks at Ar Folgoat.

Most of the elements of our original text can be gleaned from these two versions - yet it is fascinating to note just how many narrative possibilities the three songs offer between them: even the fundamental question 'is she saved?' is hardly clarified. But one feature of our *Catherin an Troadec* is not to be found in this first group: instead, it forms a line of contact with two other groups of shipwreck ballads, a contact which drags a whole new range of associate narratives into orbit around this little piece.

This feature is the prayer to Saint Matelin, usually invoked, as here, as 'governor of the wind and waves', and central to almost all the other versions. The second group consists of two ballads. Here the heroine still bears the family name Troadek, though her Christian name is either Mari or (a nice blend of Katell and the patron saint) 'Matelina'. Like Katell she is reluctant to go on a sea voyage, but her mother insists: she must 'show the Marquis his son'. She dresses the baby and herself in fine clothes and boards the ship. As it goes down she sees her mother on shore cutting cabbages, and in one version curses her; she calls on Saint Matelin to save her baby. In both versions the girl drowns, while the baby's fate is unclear (he drowns in one and is washed up 'on a plank' in the other). In both cases he is clutching a branch of seaweed.

This baby is also central to the third and largest group (about ten ballad texts), which goes under a number of titles: *Pardon San Jan*, or *Pardon Braz Landreger*, *Ar vag kollet* ('The lost boat') or *Sant Matellin Moncontour*. A reasonable consensus of the different versions, which again are susceptible to dramatic change, gives something like this (I have italicised the section corresponding to our text):

A voice asks to go to the pardon (a religious fair) at Landreger (Tréguier) or Sant Yan (St-Jean-du-Doigt). The parents refuse, the wind is too strong. A narrator-voice says there has been a terrible tragedy, a boat of 107 people has sunk. The narrator adds that the case of one

victim was particularly upsetting, that of a young woman pregnant with her first child. *As the boat goes down the woman prays to God and Saint Maturin/Matelin Moncontour to save her* unbaptised baby: *she offers a vivid list of rich gifts*. What happens next is extremely variable.

1. (One version only). Mother and baby are transported to the beach at Sant Yan, the baby clutching a symbolic branch of seaweed. She tucks him up in bed at home then goes to Moncontour on her knees to give thanks - you could follow her by a trail of blood and tears. She goes three times round the church and weeps because it is locked, she can't get in. The bells begin to ring and a procession comes out to meet her - and only then does she die, presumably of gratitude. (In another version both are transported to the graveyard in Sant Yan: it is unclear whether they are alive or dead).

2. Only the baby is alive, holding his seaweed and a testamental note from his mother; he is baptised and she is buried.

3. Both are found on the shore dead and are buried in the church.

The last ending is just about predominant, with many of the texts encapsulating the child's brief life in neatly balanced couplets:

Kri vije er galon na voelje
En od er Yeodet nep a vije

O voelet eur bugel ganet flam
O vont da interin gant he vam

Hard the heart that would not have wept / to be on the beach at Le Yeodet / and see a child, newly born / going to be buried with his mother.

A similar idea pulls together the words *sakramant* (sacrament, last rites) and *badezant* (baptism) in other couplets. The baby always has seaweed in his hand and his miraculous birth is clearly central to this branch of the story: yet his and his mother's fate remain interestingly open-ended. As with the first group, the different versions fluctuate between a miracle ballad in which the protagonists are physically saved, to a more poignant loss of life in which their bodies are recovered for burial. The ambiguity of *Catherin An Troadec* on this point is thus an exemplary reflection of the story's potential.

This association of our first text, via the prayer to Saint Matelin, with the miraculous birth ballads has curious consequences. It has the effect of invoking the birth of a baby at sea as a kind of sub-plot, but one which remains completely invisible. That the baby is not part of the 'original' group is beside the point. The sub-plot is there to be sensed by anyone familiar with the 'group three' area of the traditional web: the drowning girl and the prayer will simply 'summon' the third element.

The promise to the saint and the drowning person are a good example of Lord's 'tension of essences'. Mutually magnetic, they coalesce in another ballad, that of *Dom Iann Derrien,* who, tossed overboard by an infidel while on a pilgrimage for his dead mother, promises a similarly rich list of offerings and obtains a more immediately gratifying response from his chosen saint (Luzel 1868: 122). Where all else is flux, this list of gifts remains fairly constant.

Variation seems to be chiefly a matter of added exoticism - as for example the 'white banner with seven silver bells and a whalebone pole (or better still, a *troad olifant,* an elephant's foot!) to carry it'. It acts as a node at which different sea-journey ballads meet, mix, split and go off on their different routes.

By way of comparison, and to finish, I would like to look briefly at another 'imploded' ballad, this time in English. It is a version of Child 4 ('Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight') from the repertoire of one singer in Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger's excellent collection of *Traveller's Songs from England and Scotland* (1977: 59-60). Nelson Ridley, a traveller from Kent, was recorded in 1974 and claimed to have learned all his songs before he was twelve, that is, in the late 1920s.

Don't prittle nor prattle, my pretty Polly
Don't you tell any tales about me;
Your cage will be made of the glittering gold.
You'll have the door of the best ivory.

Now you go and get me your father's bright gold,
Then likewise your own mother's money;
Your cage will be made of the glittering gold,
You'll have a door of the best ivory.

Now you go and get me your father's bright gold,
(To the stables remounted I'm told);
For the gold it will waste and your silver may shine,
You'll have the door of the best ivory.

This provocative text deserves to be examined in detail, but even at a glance it can be seen, for example, that about eighty-percent of the plot has been jettisoned, that what remains is effectively the end scene cut through with the imperative lines of the very beginning, and that what has pulled them so violently together is the *gold* (her father's money, the parrot's cage). The whole thing has become fugue-like, or like a mosaic, gold and ivory interlaced; language is used associatively. Note, as in the Breton ballad, the disproportionate repetition of lines, and the drastic confusion of voices.

I recommend the editors' comments on Ridley's use of language (Mac Coll and Seeger 1977: ?) and Gerald Porter's discussion of his astonishingly condensed *Brake of Briars* (Porter 1991: 9-21) in considering the further implications of this and similar pieces. Incidentally, comparison of Nelson Ridley's songs with songs from other travellers in this collection shows that there is something distinctively personal in his condensed style. Though clearly, as Porter says, 'a frequent result of ballads being sung repeatedly to the same audience' (11) this crushing of narrative is not an automatic result, nor, (though the point needs further investigation) one related by necessity to a specific cultural milieu .

I showed a number of Ridley's song-texts to non-ballad-literate friends, and asked them to explain the stories behind the songs, with interesting results. Most failed to spot the

parrot in *Lady Isabel* (Polly, as in many traditional versions, became the girl), or the merest hint of a second woman in his equally condensed *Lord Beichan*. But it was striking that many tried hard to conjure up some kind of narrative framework to make sense of the lyrics. Being 'ballad-literate' within a culture confers the ability to sense the 'pull' of a theme with the bare minimum of information - to the extent, as we have seen, of sensing layers of narrative that remain entirely implicit. Even so, Ridley's songs must push interpretation to the limit.

That limit is an interesting thing. It has shifted a long way since ballads started being collected for non-traditional audiences. In Brittany ballad collections began with a volume in which epic narrative poetry was created from imperfect, incomplete, fragmentary pieces of oral tradition.[6] Later more 'conscientious' collectors published their actual collected texts, but always the fullest, most coherent versions with any wrong or unusual words tidied up; at the first hint of 'inconsistency' the omission marks would be sprinkled liberally (see for example Luzel 1868). The most recent collection of Breton ballads includes a wider selection of different versions, long, short, 'incoherent' pieces and all (Kemener 1996). As editors and presenters of such work we hope no doubt that in giving space to such pieces we are getting closer to the poetic world of the singers, but it is pretty clear that we are also reflecting changes in literary poetic trends. Modern and post-modern writing and other art forms have given us a far more elastic sense of how language can convey meaning than was available to our nineteenth-century predecessors; we are more at ease with the possibility of different, even conflicting, interpretations, less reliant on external logic, less demanding of plausibility.

The twisted, vanishing lyrics at the 'fragment' end of the ballad scale seem to me to be ripe for real critical exploration.[7] Far from being unfortunate accidents of transmission, visible only as the ragged edges of a fuller, more coherent plot, they are, in many (and sometimes mysterious) ways, where the action is.

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6. Hersart de La Villemarqué's *Barzaz-Breiz* of 1839.

7. A current project jointly undertaken by Dr Gerald Porter and myself aims to take some of these ideas much further. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the many helpful contributors to the discussion of this topic at the Gozd Martuljek conference.

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Mary Ann Constantine

Razbite balade: umetnost fragmentacije

Povzetek

Referat govori o estetski »fragmentaciji« tradicionalnih balad in opozarja, da bi bilo treba različice balad, ki se izredno razlikujejo od norm oziroma baladnega tipa, še enkrat oceniti. O »potvorjenih« ali »fragmentiranih« pesmih, kot jih označujejo uredniki in zbiratelji, imajo njihovi pevci pogosto drugačno mnenje. Prav tako nam standardi, ki se razlikujejo od (pogosto dušečih) standardov, ki smo jih podedovali od učenjakov 19. stoletja, potrjujejo, da ni res, da se te pesmi vedno pojavljajo v nepopolni obliki. Podrobna analiza takšnega primera iz bretonsko govoreče Bretanje potrjuje obstoj »zgoščene balade« in razkriva izreden pomen teh pesmi za razumevanje procesov variantnosti.

An English Ballad Tradition?

David Atkinson

It is well known that Francis James Child completed his edition of 'every valuable copy of every known ballad' (Child 1882-98: I, vii) just prior to the beginning of the English folk song revival, and that consequently *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Child 1882-98) is largely representative of Scottish ballad tradition. The point is in some degree arguable, since English collectors like Sabine Baring-Gould did make a small (and in the end uneven) contribution to Child's work (Atkinson 1997); and perhaps more importantly, substantial numbers of the oldest ballad versions are early broadsides printed largely in London, indicating at least some kind of English provenance. Nevertheless, there is no denying the preponderance of Scottish versions in Child; and when the English revival gathered its full momentum, most of the collectors published not collections of English ballads and folk songs so much as collections from particular regions of England (see Atkinson 1996; Dean-Smith 1954).

Of course, to a considerable extent this is simply a reflection of the opportunities for song collecting that were available to men and women who were not paid for their efforts. Nevertheless, it does seem that English collectors have considered it valid and useful to classify folk songs primarily along regional lines, usually by county, rather than simply to speak of English ballads or songs. This is perhaps the more surprising in that so much of the momentum behind the early revival derived from a form of nationalism and the desire to re-create an 'English national music' (Boyes 1993; Stradling and Hughes 1993; Sykes 1993). In addition, it may be the case that the earlier county collections are actually somewhat circumscribed in terms of their coverage of the counties in question (Gammon 1980; Harker 1972).

The present study represents a preliminary investigation of the extent to which Child ballads have been collected in England, and it raises a number of different questions:

- Can ballads really be meaningfully classified on a local or regional basis, by county for instance?
- Can the ballads which have been collected in England, mostly since the death of Child, be considered as a body of English tradition to counterbalance the preponderance of Scottish versions in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*?
- What might the answers to those first two questions suggest about the nature of balladry as such, perhaps in contrast to other kinds of traditional song?
- How do such answers as can be offered to all these questions fit in with current conceptions of the nature of 'tradition' at large?

The project poses very substantial methodological difficulties. The piecemeal publication of English folk songs over the years (not to mention the often uncertain provenance of printed texts and tunes, as well as interference with them by collectors and editors) means that published volumes are virtually worthless for any kind of numerical compilation, and the

only way to gain an idea of the prevalence in England of particular ballad types is to look at manuscript collections of songs from English, oral (as opposed to printed) sources. This in itself is fraught with difficulties because it requires that such collections be accessible; reasonably well understood in terms of their provenance; properly indexed; of reasonable size and extant in a fairly complete form; and that the different collections do not overlap to a significant extent (since the early collectors corresponded widely). As a beginning, then, all references to English manuscript collections have been listed for each of the 305 Child ballads, using the Song Index at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London. Of these collections, four seem to be the most systematically indexed, and most conveniently to meet the above requirements: those of Cecil Sharp; George B. Gardiner; the Hammond brothers; and Clive Carey. In addition, there are published indexes to the manuscript collections of Percy Grainger (O'Brien 1985) and of Frank Kidson (Palmer 1986). Among them, these six collections provide a substantial sample of ballad versions from England, from the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries.

Table 1 lists the numbers of versions of different Child ballad types indexed to the six manuscript collections. A number of caveats need to be entered here:

• The tabulation is mainly reliant on indexes. None of these manuscript collections has been properly researched and edited, and they present problems of various kinds. Accordingly, the numbers listed here must be considered indicative rather than definitive.

• Little account is taken of variation among versions of the same ballad type.[1] However, some doubtful forms, which may or may not properly belong with the Child ballad type, such as those included in appendixes in Bronson (1959-72), are listed separately, in italics, in Table 1.

• The choice of manuscript collections introduces a significant bias towards southern England, which reflects the pattern of folk song collecting in the early English revival, and is only partially compensated for by Kidson's collection, Grainger's material from Lincolnshire, and northern material in Sharp's and Carey's collections.

The exercise is not a statistically accurate one: that would be quite simply impossible with material of this kind. Nor does it mean that Child ballad types not represented here have never been collected in England.[2] Nevertheless, no-one familiar with English folk song collections – manuscripts, books, journals, broadsides, recordings, and various indexes – will be altogether surprised by the results: the ballads which occur most frequently in this sample are indeed those which have been most commonly encountered by collectors in England, and numerous additional versions of many of them could be added to the list from printed and recorded sources. Moreover, ballads collected more often in any one region of England are on the whole more likely to be encountered elsewhere in the country as well. To some extent, this finding tends to compensate for the historically greater intensity of folk song collecting in

[1] In fact, the extent of variation across the country may well be no greater than that observable within a small local area (Russell 1987: 335).

[2] Other Child ballads that do appear to have been collected in England include: 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' (Child 1); 'The False Knight upon the Road' (Child 3); 'Earl Brand' (Child 7); 'The Fair Flower of Northumberland' (Child 9); 'Edward' (Child 13); 'The Three Ravens' (Child 26); 'Lady Maisry' (Child 65); 'The Lass of Roch Royal' (Child 76); 'King Henry Fifth's Conquest of France' (Child 164); 'Rookhope Ryde' (Child 179); 'Lord Delamere' (Child 207); 'The Suffolk Miracle' (Child 272); 'King Edward the Fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth' ('King James the First and the Tinker') (Child 273).

certain areas. Only ballads which are in any case rare in England can be said in any definite way to have a distinctively regional distribution, and these may well be restricted to small numbers of singers with a distinctive background.[3] The major caveat to be entered at this point is that this sample does not encompass the northern border region, and especially Northumberland, where it seems possible that a number of ballads better known from Scotland may have been encountered.[4] The overall pattern, though, is of a group of ballads most popular in England, which collectively comprise a different group from those generally regarded as the most popular in other places such as Scotland, and which therefore have at least the potential to counterbalance the Scottish domination of Child's definitive work on ballads.

A number of possible inferences can be drawn from this survey of ballad types in England. In the first place, it seems apparent that the more popular ballads do not in any obvious way belong to the counties in which they were collected, since they are just as likely to turn up elsewhere. They can, though, on occasion be associated with individual carriers, and in certain cases with identifiable chains of transmission from one carrier to another. On one level, therefore, it is possible to argue that the entire pattern across the country can be simply ascribed to such chains of transmission, even when they are no longer recoverable from the extant records, and that these tend to operate at a very localised, and even very personal, microcosmic level.[5]

Equally important, however, is the fact that over a long period of time ballads have frequently appeared in printed form, especially on broadsides or in garlands, and that this provides a documented means of ballad transmission which is intrinsically likely to operate over a much wider geographical area.[6] English collectors from Baring-Gould onwards have regularly encountered oral versions (that is, sung without aid of written or printed copies, and very probably learned by word of mouth) of folk songs that nonetheless existed in print. Some two-thirds of the ballad types listed in Table 1 are known to have been in print at one time or another.

It might, then, be argued that since the same ballad narratives have been perpetuated in different communities in different parts of the country, the implication is that they have survived because they fill comparable places in the culture of those communities. This sort of cultural correlation would not be entirely surprising, in that the early collectors did

[3] A good example would be the revenant form of 'The Grey Cock' (Child 248), collected from Cecilia Costello, who was of Irish descent though a resident of Birmingham, which appears to originate from Ireland (*JEFDSS* 1953: 97-98). Similarly, Margaret Eyre, who lived in Gloucestershire and sang 'The False Knight upon the Road' and 'The Fair Flower of Northumberland', had Scottish forebears (*JEFDSS* 1962: 155-157).

[4] The provenance of texts in collections like the *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* (Bruce and Stokoe 1882) and its antecedents is difficult to determine. Possible English 'border' ballads include: 'The Battle of Otterburn' and 'The Hunting of the Cheviot' (Child 161 and 162); 'Jock o the Side' (Child 187); 'The Death of Parcy Reed' (Child 193); 'The Keach i the Creel' (Child 281).

[5] The finest example of this approach is provided by Russell (1987), who rejects the grand historical and geographical 'conclusions' of Sharp (1907) about continuity and variation in favour of a detailed exposition of the mechanisms of song transmission, stability, and change among a group of singers in the West Sheffield area. Although itinerant workers, including navvies and gypsies, can perhaps be invoked in certain places at certain times to explain song transmission over a wider area, this has in fact rarely been observed or documented in England (Russell 1987: 323).

[6] For a variety of different studies touching on the place of print in ballad transmission, see Andersen (1982); Donatelli (1995); Dugaw (1984); Pettitt (1982); Spufford (1984; 1985; 1994); Thomson (1974); Watt (1991); Wehse (1975). Buchan (1972: 215) remarks on the importance of print in accounting for the observed differences between English and Scottish balladry.

selectively take down songs of similar kinds from similar people (agricultural labourers, for example) in somewhat similar places (Gammon 1980). Yet it is also the case that, at the microcosmic level especially, the various locales in England visited by collectors must nonetheless encompass a substantial range of social, economic, and historical experiences, which cannot just be lumped together as one. Given, too, that the process of learning new songs from other singers, or of selecting them from printed sources, necessarily involves elements of chance and of choice, influenced by such things as opportunities and worldview, relationships and aesthetics, then any straightforward cultural correlation might be expected to be at best rather crude.

Nevertheless, for other kinds of folk songs it has proved to some extent possible to relate narrative themes to socio-historical contexts at the macrocosmic level. Gammon (1982), for instance, was able to demonstrate a substantial degree of cultural fit between erotic songs and sexual mores in England over some two-and-a-half centuries. It does seem, therefore, worthwhile to try at least to consider ballad themes in relation to socio-historical conditions. Rather obviously, the sometimes brutal ballads of Scottish national and domestic history and of border reiving are most closely associated with those geographical areas where they have some historical relevance, and they might also be related at least tangentially to a way of life marked by physical isolation and privation. On the other hand, the Robin Hood ballads are not exclusive to England even though they appear to tell of the adventures of a hero who has come to be considered typically English; and it would not be easy to demonstrate that there is anything particularly English about the conception of justice they embody.

More interestingly perhaps, in comparison with Scotland, fewer of the ballad types collected in England contain a strong sense of the immediate physical presence of the otherworld. There may be a degree of cultural fit in this distinction, as suggested by the persistence in Scotland of certain supernatural traditions, especially those concerning fairies, which may have played a significant part in the exercise of social control. The devil, too, is arguably a more potent presence among Scottish ballads than in those encountered in England (see Buchan 1991: 69-72), whereas the ballads recounting Christian legends are more widespread in England: suffice it to say that the religious histories of the two countries have differed markedly.

A more sustained attempt has been made to tabulate the Child ballad types collected in Canada, and in Newfoundland in particular, and in some degree to relate the findings to their historical, cultural, social, and physical contexts (Doucette and Quigley 1981; Peere; 1986; 1989; Quigley 1980). Most remarkable is the prevalence of revenant ballads in Newfoundland, which has been related to the precarious existence of isolated communities dependent upon the sea (Peere 1986). On the other hand, considerations such as the widespread relevance of the great ballad themes of sex and death, the somewhat unpredictable part played by print in ballad transmission, and the presence of considerable heterogeneity within social contexts as complex as those of Scotland and England, all militate against the possibility of describing the totality of most ballad traditions in terms of a fit with their socio-historical contexts at the macrocosmic level. To a significant extent, the respective ballad traditions of, say, Scotland, Newfoundland, and England remain simply empirically different from one another.

Regardless of locality, though, ballads tell their stories in a particular way: indeed, ballads are best defined by their manner of telling a story, where the narrative is subjugated

to distinctive conceptual and verbal patterns. Intrinsic to this ballad style is a distancing effect, sustained by all the well-known characteristics of ballad language: economy of narrative and vocabulary; formulas; lack of moralising comment; formalised refrains; and also traditional tunes which counterpoint the idea of narrative development with melodic repetition. The kind of storytelling contained in the Child ballads may, then, be such that it does not encourage an immediate reflection upon the lives of those who sing or hear them, so much as a freer play of responses over the substance of the narrative. The ballad stories treat of events and characters which are in various ways marked as being out of the ordinary (formulaic situations and epithets, for example, serve as markers of this), so that they invite the exploration of their experiences at a distance. They allow singers and audiences to go through such things as adventures, supernatural encounters, and the extremes of romantic or tragic relationships. While not ruling out a degree of cultural fit at either the microcosmic or the macrocosmic level, it may be that the ballad as an art form is nonetheless substantially concerned with deliberately vicarious experience.

There is some support for this distinction of the Child ballads from other kinds of songs on broadly stylistic grounds in the classic account of village pub singing at Juniper Hill in North Oxfordshire in the 1880s contained in Flora Thompson's *Lark Rise to Candleford*. In spite of its problems as a factual record, it has been accepted as demonstrating that songs of different kinds coexisted in the village repertoire and that distinctions among them were recognised by those present, to the extent that an emic system of song classification is discernible. Renwick (1980: 114-118) classifies the songs sung in the course of the evening according to the 'relative closeness or distance of the song's phenomenal province of meaning to the company's experiential present'; and places the two Child ballads ('The Outlandish Knight' [Child 4] and 'Lord Lovel' [Child 75]) at the distant end of this spectrum, where they lack reference to their immediate socio-historical context. Accordingly, these ballads are seen as deriving their cultural significance primarily from their aesthetic value as poetry, and also from their association with singers noted for their age and singularity. For Pickering (1984: 495), Child ballads that tell of 'a world past and gone' would nonetheless necessarily have been understood in a historically specific way. Accordingly, their textual distance from the experiential present would have been culturally significant in itself, productive of a meaning specific to the immediate socio-historical context and its prevailing concerns. These two approaches, which are not in fact mutually exclusive, effectively suggest that ballads may be both vicarious and culturally referential, perhaps at one and the same time.

If, then, ballads at large share stylistic differences from other kinds of folk songs, and their distinctive, vicarious, cultural functioning is a product of those differences, they inevitably present themselves as a group of texts that make inherent reference to one another.[7] At the same time, though, the group of Child ballads popular in England, empirically different from those popular in other places and possibly having some cultural specificity within England, also present themselves as a group of texts that make reference to one another, and perhaps in some degree to other English folk songs. In effect, ballads can comprise self-referential groups of texts both within and outside of the constraints of

[7] This self-referentiality of the ballad genre is readily illustrated from recent scholarship such as Andersen's analysis of ballad formulas (1985) and Buchan's development of the tale role as an analytical tool (e.g. 1991, and references therein).

geography. There is therefore an element of seeming paradox in the very act of characterising an English – or any other – ballad tradition. This paradox can, however, be approached via the semiotic principle that language itself is an endlessly self-referential system, and that texts accordingly make endless reference to other texts and potential texts, and derive their signification from their differences from other texts. There is therefore a theoretical basis for a group of ballads popular in England to signify collectively by virtue of their collective difference from ballads popular elsewhere; while at the same time signifying by virtue of their collective difference from other kinds of songs, which is shared with representatives of the ballad genre from elsewhere.

Consequently, an English ballad tradition has, at one and the same time, an empirical existence, and a more theoretical existence which depends on its referential relation to other traditions: it is both the sum of its parts and more than the sum of its parts. At the microcosmic level, the term 'tradition' as used here describes the organic processes by which ballads are transmitted from one carrier to another; at the macrocosmic level, though, tradition is seen not so much as a superorganic *process* as a convenient way of referring to a series of interlinked questions regarding degrees of difference, which are potentially limitless but are in practice restricted by the field-collected data. This dual view of ballad tradition, moreover, suggests a link of sorts to some recent discussions of the concept of tradition, deriving from an ethnographical perspective, which emphasise both the volitional, selective, personal, and social expression of tradition on the one hand, and on the other the transcendental, or 'gestalt', nature of tradition, whereby its overall meaning is greater than the sum of its possible expressions (McDonald 1997: 64).

For Henry Glassie (1995), tradition is the volitional creation of the future out of the past. It can be characterised on the basis of 'differences among cultures', mediated by scholarly interest:

> In different situations, tradition can be identified with the products, whether casual or canonical, of historical action, or as the historical axis within creative acts, or as the style of historical construction peculiar to a culture. As resource and process, as wish for stability, progress, or revitalization, tradition – or something like it with another name – is the inbuilt motive force of culture. (1995: 409)

Tradition, in other words, is identified both with the potential means of deriving the future from the past in a culture-specific way, and with the product that is its concrete expression. For Barry McDonald (1996; 1997), however, tradition cannot be identified with cultural objects per se, but instead resides more definitively in the individual's conscious decision to engage in a historical relationship, with people, action, and cultural products all together. Tradition is seen as a transcendental phenomenon possessing transcultural status, though it can really only be identified at points of expression which share certain recurrent characteristics:

> a) a shared, repeatable activity or complex of activities. Music, dance, and storytelling are obvious examples, but almost any activity could be the focus of tradition; and b) the generation of a certain spiritual/emotional power in the relationship of those involved in the collaboration. This power is produced by, and in its turn activates, the conscious desire for the performance, its objects, and the relationship-network itself to continue – out of the past, and into the future. (1997: 58)

Tradition in this formulation is in essence a personal relationship (although it still seems that it could never be identified in the absence of its cultural products); accordingly, it may well be circumscribed by the limits of affective personal communication, so that 'there can be no such thing as a national tradition' (1997: 62).

It may, then, be possible to regard the English ballads, described empirically from the manuscript collections and characterised in terms of their collective difference from those of other places, as representing a transcendent but substantially culture-specific tradition (as per Glassie). At the same time, some of the ballads may well represent for their particular carriers points of expression for a personal, spiritual/emotional engagement, which can be equated with tradition as a transcendent phenomenon which can be identified transculturally (as per McDonald).[8] These simultaneous approaches encapsulate the duality that emerges from considering the Child ballads in England – as a body of tradition (for want of a better word) different from that encountered elsewhere, but perhaps best *not* defined in national terms. There is substantial scope for further research here, not just into ballads – for instance, increasing the numerical basis of the survey; taking more detailed account of variation (both textual and melodic); and bringing into the equation the perceptions of singers and audiences, and their socio-historical contexts (see Porter 1981) – but into all those areas of cultural transmission, revival, and scholarship which have been subsumed under the heading of tradition. There are implications, too, for the whole concept of 'Englishness' as a cultural category, which is nowadays usually consciously (and somewhat paradoxically) dissociated from nationalism, and which might again really only make reference to potentially limitless questions regarding degrees of perceived difference.[9]

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[8] Here an analogy of sorts with the post-war English folk revival might be worth pursuing. Revivalists have established their own canon (which is in fact a quite eclectic construction, and includes the entire corpus of Child ballads regardless of the fact that many of them have no record in England), designated 'the tradition', which can be invoked as a transcendent concept to justify all revival activity (the underlying idea being one of 'authenticity', though the practice may be something quite different). In fact, most revivalists in England have not had any direct personal relationship with the singers from whom the songs have been collected, or even with their way of life; and although many have engaged with the transcendent concept of 'traditional song' at a spiritual/emotional/ideological level (most readily traced through the perceived ideological commitment of the earlier revival, and still in terms of a conscious rejection of mass market commercial music in favour of musical activity with a less capitalistic and more participatory ethos), many others have not done so and have effectively sought to perpetuate folk song as mere entertainment.

[9] For an overview of musical strategies in the construction of ethnic identities, from a perspective of social anthropology and ethnomusicology, see Stokes (1994).

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Table 1. Child ballad versions in six English manuscript collections

		Sharp	Gardiner	Hammond	Carey	Grainger	Kidson	TOTAL
4	**Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (The Outlandish Knight)**	38	11	6	2	2	3	**62**
78	**The Unquiet Grave**	25	9	8	8	1		**51**
84	**Bonny Barbara Allan**	33	7	2	5	2	2	**51**
53	**Young Beichan (Lord Bateman)**	23	4	3		6	3	**39**
200	**The Gypsy Laddie**	19	8	4	2	1		**34**
250	**Henry Martyn**	18	5	5		1		**29**
112	**The Baffled Knight**	19	3	5		1		**28**
12	**Lord Randal**	19	1	3	1	2		**26**
	Billy Boy	*5*	*1*	*2*	*1*			*9*
24	**Bonnie Annie (Banks of Green Willow)**	12	4	5	1			**22**
286	**The Sweet Trinity (The Golden Vanity)**	12	2	2		2	4	**22**
209	**Geordie**	10	3	6		2		**21**
43	**The Broomfield Hill**	13	3	3				**19**
283	**The Crafty Farmer**	5	8	3				**16**
73	**Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor)**	10	1	3	1			**15**
105	**The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington**	5	3	5	2			**15**
289	**The Mermaid**	3	6	4	1	1		**15**
75	**Lord Lovel**	6	3		1	4		**14**
279	**The Jolly Beggar**	10	2	1		1		**14**
110	**The Knight and Shepherd's Daughter**	6	3	3		1		**13**
54	**The Cherry-Tree Carol**	9	1			1		**11**
95	**The Maid Freed from the Gallows**	5	4	2				**11**
93	**Lamkin**	4	4		1			**9**
155	**Sir Hugh, or, The Jew's Daughter**	4	2			2		**8**
274	**Our Goodman**	3		3	1	1		**8**
42 /85	**Clerk Colvill/Lady Alice (George Collins)**	1	6					**7**
100	**Willie o Winsbury**	4	2	1				**7**
278	**The Farmer's Curst Wife**	3	2	1	1			**7**
295	**The Brown Girl (Sally and Her True Love)**	2	1	2			2	**7**
2	**The Elfin Knight**	3		1	2			**6**
	An Acre of Land	*1*	*5*	*1*				*7*
20	**The Cruel Mother**	1	1	3	1			**6**
74	**Fair Margaret and Sweet William**	4		1			1	**6**
170	**The Death of Queen Jane**	2		2	2			**6**
10	**The Two Sisters**				3		2	**5**
248	**The Grey Cock, or, Saw You My Father?**		2	3				**5**
	The Drowsy Sleeper	*7*	*4*	*5*				*16*
	A Health to All True Lovers		*1*					*1*
287	**Captain Ward and the Rainbow**		4			1		**5**
56	**Dives and Lazarus**	4						**4**
126	**Robin Hood and the Tanner**	1	3					**4**
140	**Robin Hood Rescuing Three Squires**		2	1		1		**4**
275	**Get Up and Bar the Door**	2		1				**3**
285	**The George Aloe and the Sweepstake (The Coast of Barbary/High Barbary)**	3						**3**
45	**King John and the Bishop**		1			1		**2**
55	**The Carnal and the Crane (King Herod and the Cock)**	2						**2**
79	**The Wife of Usher's Well**	2						**2**

131	**Robin Hood and the Ranger**				1		1	**2**
132	**The Bold Pedlar and Robin Hood**	1	1					**2**
144	**Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford**		1	1				**2**
188	**Archie o Cawfield**							
	(The Burglar/Bold Archer)	1				1		**2**
276	**The Friar in the Well**			2				**2**
277	**The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin**	2						**2**
11	**The Cruel Brother**	1						**1**
18	**Sir Lionel**						1	**1**
44	**The Two Magicians**	1						**1**
	Hares on the Mountain	*5*		*4*				*9*
	Sally My Dear	*4*						*4*
51	**Lizie Wan**		1					**1**
81	**Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard**	1						**1**
106	**The Famous Flower of Serving-Men**		1					**1**
125	**Robin Hood and Little John**		1					**1**
173	**Mary Hamilton**						1	**1**
208	**Lord Derwentwater**		1					**1**
221	**Katharine Jaffray (The Green Wedding)**	1						**1**
243	**James Harris (The Dæmon Lover)**			1				**1**
293	**John of Hazelgreen**	1						**1**
299	**Trooper and Maid**		1					**1**
92	**Bonny Bee Hom**							
	The Lowlands of Holland	*7*	*5*	*4*		*1*		*17*
7	**Earl Brand**							
	The Lady and the Dragoon	*7*	*3*	*4*				*14*
65	**Lady Maisry**							
	Mother, Mother, Make My Bed	*5*		*6*				*11*
204	**Jamie Douglas**							
	Deep in Love	*5*	*3*	*2*	*1*			*11*
57	**Brown Robyn's Confession**							
	Sir William Gower/Captain Glen/The New York Trader		*2*	*1*				*1*
4								
46	**Captain Wedderburn's Courtship**							
	The Riddle Song	*1*		*2*				*3*
	Perry Merry Winkle Domine	*1*						*1*
201	**Bessy Bell and Mary Gray**							
	Betsy Bell					*1*		*1*

Angleška baladna tradicija?

Povzetek

Referat je pregled tradicionalnih balad, zbranih v Angliji, ki izvirajo iz šestih rokopisnih zbirk. Bolj priljubljene med njimi lahko srečamo po vsej deželi. Zato je balade težko povezati s kulturo skupnosti, kjer so jih zbiratelji zapisali, čeprav je pripovedne teme mogoče vključiti v širši družbeno-zgodovinski kontekst.

Kljub slogovnim in funkcionalnim podobnostim z baladami iz drugih anglofonskih območij se priljubljene angleške balade razlikujejo od tistih, ki so priljubljene v drugih deželah. Zato lahko angleške balade označimo za kulturno specifične ter za obliko tradicionalnega izražanja transkulturnega značaja. Balade v Angliji tvorijo izročilo, ki se razlikuje od izročila v drugih deželah, ki pa ga kljub temu ne kaže označiti za nacionalno.

AVTORJI / NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID ATKINSON

(Ph.D.) Research Assistant at the Department of English at Birkbeck College, University of London. He has published several essays on ballads and the English folk song revival. Recent publications*: »Up then spoke a bonny bird«, or Lady Isabel's Secret: Transformation in »The Outlandish Knight«*. Southern Folklore 52 (1995): 231-248.; »*The Two Sisters«*: The International Ballad and a Version from the Carpenter Collection. Visions and Identities: Proceedings from the International Ballad Conference. Ed. Eyðun Andreassen. Torshavn: Tungulist, (1996). 61-72. Current project: Articles in preparation for Folk Music Journal, Journal of Folklore Research; preparation of a bibliographical database on English folk song and balladry; and further projects at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library currently awaiting funding.

MARY ELLEN BROWN

Mary Ellen Brown (Ph.D.) is Professor of Folklore at the Folklore Institute, Indiana University. Educated at the University of Pennsylvania, Professor Brown has worked extensively in Scottish materials, particularly in the interrelationships between oral and written tradition. Her works include *Burns and Tradition* and she is co-editor of a forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Folklore and Literature*. Her current project is a biographical social history of William Motherwell.

MARY ANN CONSTANTINE

British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow, Welsh Department, University of Wales, Aberystwyth.
I am currently working on an edition of Breton ballads, with translations into English. This is a continuation of my previous doctoral work, a study of the Breton tradition, recently published as *Breton Ballads* (CMCS Publications: Aberystwyth, 1996), which won the 1996 Katharine Briggs Award for folklore. A concurrent project is a joint study (with Dr Gerald Porter) of the nature of (and attitudes to) 'fragmentation' in oral tradition. I am also in the process of editing the Welsh-topic papers from the 1996 International Ballad Conference, held in Swansea. I did my first degree in English literature, and am interested in all aspects of literature, particular that of the Celtic countries.

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Research experience**:** 1996-98 Research Assistant in Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb.
Recent articles: »Tidings of Death in the Folk Ballad«, *Narodna umjetnost* 34/1 (1997):225-240.
»Matičine zbirke ženskih pjesama: sto godina nakon edicije *Hrvatske narodne pjesme* (1896-1942)« [Matica hrvatska's Collection of Women's Songs: A Hundred Years after the Edition *Hrvatske narodne pjesme* (Croatian Folk Songs), 1896-1942]. *Narodna umjetnost* 34/2 (1997):79-94. Current research projects: »The Croatian Ballad in the Mediterranean Context«, conference paper and article; »Spanish Fiction and Non-Fiction on the War in ex-Yugoslavia: Visions of the *Other* in Juan Goytisolo's and Arturo Pérez Reverte's novels and diaries«, article.

FRANCES J. FISCHER

Frances J. Fischer (Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley, 1980). She has recently become interested in the field of ballads and is now pursuing research on the comparison of Scots and Faroese ballads at the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

MARJETKA GOLEŽ

Research Fellow of the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana and Head of the Institute since 1994. She received her Ph.D. in 1994 presenting a doctoral dissertation entitled »*Slovenska ljudska pesem in sodobna slovenska poezija«* (»Contemporary Slovenian Folk Songs and Contemporary Slovenian Poetry«.) M. Golež is interested in the depiction of man in the folk song, in the role of woman in individual types of folk songs, in the relation between folk and art poetry, and in the role and significance of the folk song in contemporary poetry and its musicality. She has published over 30 articles and papers at home and abroad and is also co-editor of the large corpus of *Slovenske ljudske pesmi*: Slovenian Folk Songs from Volume 3 onwards, and the main editor of Volume 4. She is also head of the research project titled »*Slovensko ljudsko pesemsko, glasbeno in plesno izročilo«* (»Slovenian Folk Songs, Musical and Dance Tradition«). She was the organizer of the 27th International Ballad Conference, held at Gozd Martuljek in 1997.

LUISA DEL GUIDICE

She is an independent scholar, Visiting Assistant Professor of Italian Folklore, UCLA, and director of the Italian Oral History project in Los Angeles. She has published widely on Italian and Italian American folklife from foodways and oral expression to material culture, children's literature, and belief. Among her monographs and recordings are: *Cecilia: Testi e contesti di un canto narrativo traditionale*, Brescia: Grafo, 1995; *Studies in Italian American Folklore* (ed.), Logan : Utah State. UP, 1993; *Italian Traditional Song* (recordings and book) Italian Heritage Culture Foundation and the Italian Cultural Institute, Los Angeles, 1989 (2nd rev.ed., 1995); *Il canto narrativo al Brallo*, Varzi: Guardamagna, 1989; *Canto narativo al Brallo* (recording), Milan: Albatros,1990. Forthcoming are: »*Paesi di Cuccagna and other Gastronomic Utopias in Imagined States«* (ed.by LDG and Gerald Porter), and »*Cursed Flesh: Faith Healers, Black Magic, and Death in a Central Italian Town«* in Quaderni di Storia, Antropologia e Scienze del Linguaggo, and »Neo-Tarantismo and Folk Revival in the Salento«. She is currently 1st Vice President of the IBC (1995-2000).

MARIA HERRERA SOBEK

Title: Professor of Chicano Studies and Luis Leal Endowed Chair, University of California, Santa Barbara. Fields taught: Chicano Oral Traditions, Chicano/a Literature, Colonial literature of the Southwest, the Mexican Corrido (ballad). Publications: *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis* (Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1991); Northward Bound: *The Mexican Immigrant Experience in Ballad and Song*, Indiana Univ. Press, 1993; *Culture Across*

Borders: Mexican Immigration and Popular Culture (Tuscon: Arizona Press, 1998). Forthcoming publications (coeditions): *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage, Vol.IV* (Houston: Arte Publico Press); *Santa Barraza: Her Life and Work* (Texas A&M Press); *Power in Academe: Race, Sex and Class*; Current Projects: The Narco-Corrido: Mexico's Ballad Tradition in the 1990s.

E. WYN JAMES

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Mr James (Ph. D.) lectures in modern Welsh literature. His main research interests encompass aspects of the cultural history of Wales in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with special regard to the literary and bibliographical manifestations of popular religious movements and folk culture. He is Editor of the *Bulletin* of the Welsh Hymn Society and an executive-committee member of the Welsh Folk-song Society. He is currently preparing a new edition of the work of Ann Griffiths (1776-1805), one of Wales's foremost poets and hymnwriters. As a native of the industrial valleys of south-east Wales, Mr James has a special interest in the literature emanating from that area, including the ballads which poured from the presses of those burgeoning industrial conurbations during the nineteenth century.

TATJANA KALIČANIN

Tatjana Konstantinova Zezelj - Kaličanin was born in Ohrid. She graduated from the St. Kiril and Metodij University in Skopje and earned her Ph.D. at the same university.
She has been working in the Marko Cepenkov Institute of Folklore in Skopje as a researcher of folk song poetry for 30 years. Almost 100 scientific and expert works in various publications, participation in more than 70 congresses, symposiums, conferences, seminars and round tables at home and abroad, as well as specialization in Moscow, Sofia and Belgrade are the result of her extraordinary dedication.
She has managed and successfully conducted many projects at home and abroad (USA, Canada and Turkey).
Her last book, »*Immigration and Integration of the Macedonian Family in Canada and the USA*« was published in 1997.

ILDIKÓ KRÍZA

Employed at the Ethnographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1967. In 1982-1986 deputy director of the Ethnographic Institute, since 1986 Head of the Folklore Dept. Scholarship at Humboldt University in Berlin 1969-1970 and in 1979-1980 visiting professor at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, USA. Membership and activities in professional societies: 1962 - Hungarian Ethnographic Society for Folk Narrative Research, 1970 SIEF Kommission Für Volksdichtung (In 1982 - vice president of the Ballad Commission). Main publications (books): *A halálra táncoltatott lány* (Girl danced to death. Monograph about a Hungarian ballad type) Academia Publ. Budapest, 1967; *Magyar népballadák* (Hungarian Folk Ballads. Representative collection of Hungarian ballads) Lit. Publ. h. 1968 and 1976. Hungarian Folk Ballads, Dutifa, Pittsburgh, PA 1980; *A legendaballada* (Legendary balladas in Hungary) Academia Publ. Budapest, 1982; *Kriza Janos és a kortársi esmeáramlatok* (J. Kriza and the ideas of his age) Academia Publ. Budapest, 1982; *Main Results of Hungarian Folklore Research NKI*. Budapest, 1989; *Mátyás, az igazságos* (Mátyás is the right) Ascademia Publ. Budapest, 1990. and 1994; *A hagyomány kötelekeben* (In the bound of tradition. Jewish Folklore in Hungary) Academia Publ. Budapest, 1990; *A magyar népballada* (Hungarian Folk Ballad. Studies) Debrecen, 1992; *Felsônyéki halotti búcsúztatok* (Funeral songs in Felsônyék, Hungary) NKI. Budapest, 1993. She has published around 200 articles in Hungary, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, England, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Yugoslavia, Ukraine and the USA. Her most recent research topic is: Ethnic identity and the Matthias tradition in Central-East European Folklore.

HANS KUHN

Emeritus Professor of Germanic Languages at Australian National University. He is also now a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Modern European Languages, working in 17th c. lexicography. Born in 1927 in St. Gallen (Switzerland), his active period as Professor of Germanic Languages at the Australian National University covered the

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ZMAGA KUMER

Zmaga Kumer, born 24 April 1924 in Ribnica in the Dolenjska region, became an associate of the Institute of Ethnomusicology (from 1972 a department of the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts) after having graduated at the Department of Slavonic Studies at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana in 1949. In 1952 she graduated in musicology at the Academy of Music and was awarded her Ph. D. in 1955 at the Faculty of Arts. After her retirement in 1988, Zmaga Kumer remained active at the Institute as an external associate.
To date, 26 of her independent works have been published, which include: *Ljudska glasba med rešetarji in lončarji v Ribniški dolini* /Folk Music of the Sieve-Makers and Potters of the Ribnica Valley (Maribor, 1968);*Vsebinski tipi slovenskih pripovednih pesmi*/ Slovene Narrative Songs by Content (Slovene-German edition, Ljubljana, 1974); *Pesem slovenske dežele* /Songs of Slovenia (Maribor, 1975); *Ljudska glasbila in godci na Slovenskem*/Folk Instruments and Musicians in Slovenia (Ljubljana, 1983); *Die Volksmusikinstrumente in Slowenien* (Ljubljana, 1986, Volume 5 of the international collection Handbuch der europäischen Volksmusikinstrumente); *Slovenske ljudske pesmi Koroške*/ Slovene Folk Songs of Carinthia (Ljubljana-Trieste-Klagenfurt, 1986, 1. Kanalska dolina/Val Canale, 2. Ziljska dolina/Gailtal., 3.Spodnji Rož/ Lower Rosental, 1992); *Slovenačko narodno pesništvo*/Slovene National Poetry« (Novi Sad, 1987, volume 28 of the collection Slovene Literature); *Etnomuzikologija. Razgled po znanosti o ljudski glasbi*/Ethnomusicology - A Guide to the Science of Folk Music (2nd edition, Ljubljana, 1988); *Oj ta vojaški boben. Slovenske ljudske pesmi o vojaščini in vojskovanju*/Oh, This Military Drum – Slovene Folk Songs on Soldiering and Warfare (Celovec/Klagenfurt, 1992); *Mi smo prišli nocoj k vam. Slovenske kolednice* /Tonight We Came To Your Home- Slovene Carol Songs (Ljubljana, 1995).In addition to those mentioned above, over 400 dissertations, articles and critical assessments by Zmaga Kumer have been published both in Slovene and foreign publications. She has also delivered lectures on ethnomusicology at the Department of Music at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana and at the University of Innsbruck. She is a member of several international professional associations dealing with folk ballads and folk instruments. In 1988 she won the Murko award and in 1992 the Herder award, and in 1996 she became an honorary member of the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

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Current research includes a book on the aesthetics and technique of four Scottish traditional ballad singers, a study of Scottish identity in America, local songmakers in the Isle of Skye and the Elphinstone Institute CD-rom and Video series, Volume One, An Introduction to the Traditional Culture of North East Scotland.
Previous publications include: *Hebridean Song-maker*, *Iain MacNeacail of the Isle of Skye* (Edinburgh: Polygon 1997), North East Tradition 1: new recordings from the North East Folklore Archive (Cassette only, Springthyme SPRC 1040); *Jane Turriff: Singin is ma Life* (CD, Springthyme SPRCD 1038, Cassette, Springthyme SPRC 1038).

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Katja Mihajlova Ph.D. - Slavonics researcher at the Department of Balkan and Slavic Folklore at the Institute of Folklore, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia. Scholarly occupations and interests: folk ballads, epic performance, religious folklore, popular Christianity, political folklore and ethno-cultural identity of Bulgarian emigrants abroad. Most of her scholarly studies and publications are in the field of comparative Slavic studies.
Major publications: *Za njakoi moralni normi v legendata za grešnata majka na sveti Petăr v slavjanskija folklor*. - In: Problemi na bălgarskija folklor. T. 8. Bălgarskijat folklor v slavjanskata i balkanskata kulturna tradicija. Sofia: Bălgarska akademija na naukite, 1991:139-148; *Karnavalăt »Cvetja za demokracijata«* na Cvetnica. Bălgarski folklor 3 (1991): 84-94; *Die fahrende Sänger-Bettler als soziale Gruppe und ihre Funktionen in der Gesellschaft*. Ethnologia Slovaca et Slavica 24-25 (1992-1993): 125-135; Stranstvuvašti profesionalni epičeski pevci u slavjanite (Istoriko-tipologičeska harakteristika). - In: Epos - etnos - etos: Eposăt văv foklornata kultura na slavjanskite i balkanskite narodi. Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo »Sv. Kl. Ohridski«, 1994: 70-114; Opozícia chudobný - bohatý v l'udovej

kultúre Slovanov a v krešťanstve. Slovenský národopis 1 (1995): 38-46;Vzt'ah medzi mágiou a náboženstvom v l'udovom kulte k sv. Varvare. - In: Magie a náboženství. Sešt. a red. L. Tarcalová. Uherske Hradiště : Slovácké muzeum, 1997: 87-91; Stranstvaštijat sljap pevec prosjak văv folklornata kultura na slavjanite. Sofia: Izdatelsko atelie »Ab,« 1998. Co-authorship: Bălgarski narodni baladi i pesni s mitičeski i legendarni motivi. Č. 1-2. Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija i narodopis 60. Sofia: Bălgarska akademija na naukite, 1993-1994; Pobratim. Bălgari po češkite zemi. Sofia: Bălgarska akademija na naukite, 1994

JOHN D. NILES

John D. Niles is Professor of English at the University of California, Berkeley, where ballad scholar Bertrand Bronson taught for many years. His interests span early medieval English studies and current folklore and folksong. He is the author of *Beowulf: The Poem and Its Tradition* (1983), the translator of *The European Folktale*: *Form and Nature* (1982, from the German of Max Lüthi), the co-editor of *A Beowulf Handbook* (1997) and *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity* (1997), and the author of various studies relating to folklore and literature, including »*Understanding Beowulf: Oral Poetry Acts*,« Journal of American Folklore 106 (1993): 131-55 and an essay on »The Ballad« forthcoming in Teaching Oral Traditions, ed. John Miles Foley (Modern Language Association of America, 1998). Among his current projects is a collection of the songs, stories, and personal reflections of Scottish traveller Duncan Williamson.

OLEG V. NIKITIN

Nikitin Oleg Viktorovič, M.A., PhD., graduated from Moscow Teacher Training University, Russian Faculty of Arts, and now is working at the Dept. of History of Russian and General Linguistics. In 1993-1997. Dr. Nikitin was appointed lecturer at the Foreign Languages Dept. and Russian Faculty of Arts of the Moscow Teacher Training University, lecturing on a wide spectrum of subjects such as: Introduction into Linguistics, History of Russian, Old Slavonic, Genealogy of Russian Palaeography (especially tachygraphy of the XVII and XVIIIth centuries), and running tutorials in the same subjects including the following areas: history of the language of Northern Russian monasteries, medieval culture and the language of business correspondence, Old Greek.
His particular interests are concerned with studying the humanities on the border line, interdisciplinary spheres connected with Russian / Slavic Philology and Ethnography / Ethnology. The first subject is successfully studied through archives sources of Russian and European collections; the main themes of it are: tachygraphic culture and its development (a manuscript study), medieval Russian chancellery language and its variations, northern Russian dialects, semantic processes in lexis in historical perspective, ethnoetymology and toponymy, literary semantics (studying Leskov), linguistic history (search and archives publications of A.Vostokov, A. Shakhmatov, V. Vinokur, R. Jakobson, V. Vinogradov and other scientists reconsidering their heritage from the point of view of a modern outlook). One of the themes proposed by Dr. Nikitin is studying ethnological complexes especially those having their own (secluded) microculture and microdialect, in a view of a complex study of such microethnic groups as elements of national culture. Dr Nikitin has published several publications (over 60) on the aforementioned and related topics in Russian and English in the proceedings of international congresses and conferences, working papers of several institutions and academic centres, European periodicals, round tables, etc. in Russia, Ukraine, Slovakia, Germany, Hungary, Italy and China.

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Major publications: »*Functions and functional transformations of the plague in folk songs*.« Bălgarski folklor 4 (1988): 35-47; From a mythical notion to a poetical image (The plague in Bulgarian folklore). Ph.D. Diss., 1989; »*Mythical notions and folklore imagery* (The plague in Bulgarian folk songs).« Literaturna misăl 9 (1990): 3-21;The Plague Devastated the Village. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1996, 200 pp.; »*Folklore tradition and the laughter in our everyday life* (The jokers from Bansko).« Bălgarski folklor 3 (1992): 80-91; »*A community in crisis* (About the dress and names in Galata village, Teteven region).« Bălgarski folklor 5-6 (1997): in print.; »*Superstitious stories in present days*.« Bălgarski folklor 1 (1998): in print.

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Blaže Petrovski was born in the village of Karamani near Bitola, where he finished primary and grammar school. He graduated from the Faculty of Arts at the University of Skopje and earned his Ph.D. at the same university, as well as specialization in St Petersburg.
He has been working in the Institute of Folklore since 1968 as a researcher of folk song poetry, ballads and heroic songs. Almost 100 of his articles have been studied at congresses, symposiums, conferences and round tables, and published in various publications.

GERALD PORTER

He is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Vaasa, Finland. He has published the English Occupational Song (Umeå, 1992), which is still the only full-length study. He has been working on the singing traditions of individual occupations such as lacemakers and shoemakers. With Luisa Del Guidice he has edited a book an *Imagined Spaces* (to appear shortly), and he is currently writing a book with Mary-Ann Constantine on hyper-condensed narratives.

NIJOLĖ SLIUŽINSKIENĖ

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MARKO TERSEGLAV

Marko Terseglav (Ph.D.), research fellow - text specialist at the Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana and Lecturer in Folkloristic Science at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana. His research includes Slovene folk poetry, the history of folkloristic thought in Slovenia, and methodological-theoretical problems of the spiritual folk culture. From these fields he has published several basic works: *Ljudsko pesništvo* (Folk singing, 1987), *Uskoška pesemska tradicija iz Bele krajine* (The Uskok tradition of Bela krajina, 1996), and several collections of folk songs, among them, e.g., *Porabska pesmarica* (Porabje songbook, co-editor Julijan Strajnar, 1989) and a collection

of erotic folk songs, *Klinček lesnikov* (A sprig of hazel, 1981), and approximately 60 articles and studies published in Slovene and foreign technical periodicals. He is co-editor of the scientific publication Slovenske ljudske pesmi (Slovene Folk Songs) and head of the research project entitled Temeljne raziskave slovenske ljudske glasbe, pesmi in plesa. (Fundamental Studies in Slovene Folk Music, Song, and Dance.)

ROBERT VRČON

Robert Vrčon was born on April 20, 1960, in Postojna. At the Faculty of Arts he studied ethnography and sociology of culture, where he graduated from the Department of Ethnography in 1988 with a diploma thesis entitled Zborovsko petje in pevska društva v Ljubljani med leti 1918-1941(Choral Singing and Singing Societies in Ljubljana 1918-1941.) Parallel with his studies at the Faculty of Arts he attended the Secondary Musical and Ballet School in Ljubljana from which he graduated in 1990 in the Department of Solo Singing. He has worked at the Institute of Ethnomusicology since 1989, when he enrolled in post-graduate study of ethnography at the Faculty of Arts and concluded it in 1993 by successfully defending his M. A. thesis entitled Fantje na vasi - Ljudski pevci? (»Village Singers« - Folk Singers?). In his research work, Robert Vrčon studies Slovenian folk music and particularly the forms and ways of Slovenian folk singing. His more significant bibliographic items include: *Pevska društva in zborovsko petje v ljubljani med obema vojnama*.(Singing Societies and Choral Singing in Ljubljana Between the Two Wars)), Naši zbori, Annual Volume 40, Ljubljana 1988, Nos 1-2, p.3, Nos 3-4, p.74, and No 5, p.109; *Izrazi ljudske glasbene teorije na Slovenskem* (Terms in Folk Musical Theory in Slovenia), Traditiones XX, Ljubljana 1991, pp.107-114; *Pevska društva in zbori v Ljubljani do leta 1940*. (Singing Societies and Choruses in Ljubljana up to 1940), Etnolog, Glasnik slovenskega etnografskega muzeja, Ljubljana 1994, pp.129-139; *Etnomuzikologija in vprašanje etnogeneze* (Ethnomusicology and the Question of Ethnogenesis), Glasnik SED, Annual Volume 35, Ljubljana 1995, No.4, pp.12-13; *Die überregionale Einheitlicheit der Volksmusik im slowenischen Raum*, Regionale Volkskulturen im überregionalen Vergleich, Symposium in Graz (A), Graz 1996, p.27.