

Durham E-Theses

The English riddle ballads

Susan Edmunds

How to cite:

Edmunds, Susan (1985) The English riddle ballads. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/7574/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

THE ENGLISH RIDDLE BALLADSSUSAN EDMUNDS

The term 'English Riddle Ballad' is taken here to describe the six items in Child's collection of English and Scottish popular ballads which have become known as such: Child numbers 1, 2, 3, 45, 46 and 47. All these ballads are in the English language, and all contain some sort of questions which do not have direct answers; beyond this, the group is not a homogenous one in age, place, form or content.

For each ballad, as many variants as possible have been assembled and are described chronologically in Appendices. By an examination of the whole corpus of texts, this thesis traces, within the limitations of the material, the history and transmission of each item. At the same time, the various relationships with cultural and historical backgrounds are explored. The tunes have been arranged in groups to help in identifying patterns of transmission.

In particular, the nature and effects of the riddling element in each case is investigated, and a separate chapter (8) goes on to compare and analyse these as poetic structures. This chapter also puts forward a definition of riddling based on the mental processes involved, rather than on the linguistic form of the riddle itself; this avoids the problems of former definitions of the genre which exclude much material that is traditionally and instinctively classed as riddle. According to this definition, however, only four of the six 'Riddle Ballads' can be said to contain true riddling elements.

A final chapter brings the ballads into alignment with modern anthropological studies of the riddle, describing other contexts in which riddling occurs, and evaluating the achievements of this limited but intriguing genre.

THE ENGLISH RIDDLE BALLADS

Susan Caroline Edmunds

Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

University of Durham

1985



28. JAN. 1986

Department of English Language and Medieval Literature

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

CONTENTS

Chapter 1: <u>Introduction</u>	8
Notes and References	16
Chapter 2: <u>'Riddles Wisely Expounded' (Child 1)</u>	17
Notes and References	45
Chapter 3: <u>'The Elfin Knight' (Child 2)</u>	50
Notes and References	89
Chapter 4: <u>'The False Knight Upon the Road</u> <u>(Child 3)</u>	93
Notes and References	128
Chapter 5: <u>'King John and the Bishop (Child 45)</u>	131
Notes and References	159
Chapter 6: <u>'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'</u> <u>(Child 46)</u>	161
Notes and References	200
Chapter 7: <u>'Proud Lady Margaret' (Child 47)</u>	205
Notes and References	234
Chapter 8: <u>Do the Riddle Ballads contain riddles?</u>	236
Notes and References	270
Chapter 9: <u>The Riddle and the Ballad</u>	274
Notes and References	292
Explanation of the Appendices	296
Unexamined References	298
Appendix A: Texts and tunes of Child 1	301
Appendix B: Texts and tunes of Child 2	313
Appendix C: Texts and tunes of Child 3	380
Appendix D: Texts and tunes of Child 45	395
Appendix E: Texts and tunes of Child 46	407
Appendix F: Texts and tunes of Child 47	462
Bibliography	468
Discography	489
List of Abbreviations	490



Acknowledgements

Of the many people who have helped in the production of this thesis, my thanks go first to my supervisor, John McKinnell, for his unflagging support and many detailed suggestions. I would also particularly like to thank Mollie McCabe for her advice and for the example of her study of the English religious ballads.

Professor John Widdowson, Dr. Hamish Henderson, Dr. Emily Lyle, Tony Green and Dr. David Buchan gave valuable advice, particularly at the outset of the project, and Professor Thomas Craik and Dr. Anthony Pugh kindly gave expert help in the specialist areas of the Tudor interlude and structuralism.

For supplying information, permission and copies of specific texts I would like to thank Dr Buchan, Professor Widdowson, Dr Henderson, Dr Herbert Halpert, Dr Hugh Shields and Tom Munnelly.

The following libraries and archives were most helpful in supplying texts and access to special collections: King's College Library, Aberdeen; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission, University College Dublin; Edinburgh University Library; the Manx Museum; Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive; Middlebury College Library, Vermont; the Mitchell Library, Glasgow; the National Library of Ireland; Plymouth Record Office; Sheffield University Library and the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language; The Ulster Folk

and Transport Museum; the University of Virginia Library; West Kentucky University Library; and in particular, the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London and its Librarian, Malcolm Taylor.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, my friends and my relations who have given their support and encouragement during the preparation of the thesis.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without her prior written consent, and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

No part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in Durham University or any other University.

"I said, 'How can you work all that out of a kid rime?
'Fools Circel 9wys' is a kid rime for a kid game.'
He said, 'O Riddley you known bettern that you know the
same as I do. What ben makes tracks for what wil be.
Words in the air pirnt foot steps on the groun for us to
put our feet in to. May be a nother 100 years and kids
wil sing a rime of Riddley Walker and Abel Goodparley
with ther circel game."

Russell Hoban, Riddley Walker, p.116.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the six items in Child's collection known as the English Riddle Ballads: Child Numbers 1 ('Riddles Wisely Expounded'); 2 ('The Elfin Knight'); 3 ('The False Knight Upon the Road'); 45 ('King John and the Bishop'); 46 ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship') and 47 ('Proud Lady Margaret'). The term is not a definitive one; although all of the ballads are in the English language, they are not only English but also Scottish, Irish and American; not all of them contain real riddles, and one of them (Child 3) might be better described as a dialogue song.

The group is, moreover, not a homogenous or independent one in terms of age, form or content. The earliest version of Child 1, a religious riddling dialogue, dates from the mid-fifteenth century, but the earliest existing text of the ballad as a sung narrative dates from two centuries later; Child 2 has no written evidence of medieval origin, and made its first known appearance in the broadside boom of the late seventeenth century. Child 3 is of a very different tradition; it has strong links with Northern Scottish and Scandinavian folksong and was never printed as a broadside; its date of origin is uncertain, but the earliest collected version comes from the nineteenth century. Child 45 comes from the minstrel tradition and was one of the most popular of broadsides; Child 46 was an eighteenth century broadside

fashioned around a medieval riddle song. All these five travelled to North America; the sixth, Child 47, did not reach beyond the Scottish border, and was untouched by the broadside trade.

However, Child arranged these six together in two clusters, roughly according to age, presumably because all of them contain questions that do not have straight answers. The description 'riddle ballad', which links them with their international relatives, is a useful and accepted one, and has therefore not been altered.

The ballads have been examined in as many variants as possible, from published and unpublished sources. All these variants have been listed chronologically in Appendices, giving details, where known, of the date, place and source of the text, its bibliographical details, its tune type, and a coded description of the text itself. Each letter in this code relates to a narrative component or direct quotation, the key to which is given at the beginning of each Appendix. In some cases, a refrain or other distinguishing factor has been given here as a direct quotation. In the case of Child 2, where a large number of variants has been recorded, they have been subdivided according to refrain type; in the case of Child 46, the ballad proper, 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship', has been separated from its two related songs, 'Perry Merry Dictum' and 'The Riddle Song'.

The tunes to the texts, where available, have been transcribed at the end of each Appendix. I have grouped

the tunes according to internal evidence, roughly following the principles of Bertrand H. Bronson in his Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads, although in several cases I have re-arranged or subdivided the groups shown there. The general principles employed for the arrangement of tunes into groups are: general melodic contour; common motifs; common opening phrases and cadences. In some cases, as with Group A for 'The Riddle Song', I have grouped tunes which are not directly related, but which have a similarity of musical habit worth noting; more frequently, the tunes in each group have what seems to be a definite relationship to each other. The grouping of tunes into such 'families', however, must be in part a subjective matter, especially where a tune seems to have 'borrowed' a motif or phrase from another song. It is sometimes impossible to judge whether there has been an actual borrowing - that is, where the singer has heard the other song and transplanted a portion of it into the tune, consciously or unconsciously - or whether the phrase or motif is a part of the melodic stock-in-trade of the singer, an improvisation to fill a gap in memory, or to improve upon the tune, based on common melodic habit.

Many of the tune groups reinforce what we already knew about the transmission of the ballad; they can also sometimes show interesting geographical relationships, such as Group Bc of 'The Elfin Knight' (Chapter 3, Appendix B), where the group of Aberdeenshire tunes collected by James Carpenter are echoed in a number of

American variants of roughly the same period.

Like the texts, the tunes vary in standards of notation: the majority are taken down as a basic melody which may vary from stanza to stanza; a few of the more recently collected, such as the Irish tunes taken down by Hugh Shields, are more detailed records of an actual performance. I have followed Bronson's example in transposing many of the tunes to a common key or range, for ease of comparison.

The history and transmission of each ballad has been traced, as far as possible, through these variants, although there are unknown factors in each case which make a precise record impossible. Each ballad is compared and related to other ballads and to associated traditions, which vary from case to case: for Child 1, these include the medieval religious dialogue; for Child 2, the nursery rhyme; for Child 3, the Old Norse flyting tradition; for Child 45, the minstrel tradition and contemporary and early opinions of King John; for Child 46, historical and contemporary symbolism; for Child 47, the revenant ballad and earlier portrayals of revenants.

The most important tradition for the group as a whole, however, is naturally the riddle. Because of the wide diversity in form and content of the ballad 'riddles', Chapter 8 is devoted to an analysis of the riddles themselves, and a proposed definition of riddling as a poetic element, which is found not only in these ballads but in other forms of poetic literature.

Chapter 9 goes on to discuss the place of the riddle in the ballad, firstly by comparison with other literary and cultural contexts in which riddles are commonly found, and finally by discussing the riddle ballad as a genre, concluding that, although limited, the genre offers a fertile combination of dramatic and poetic elements, which should not be dismissed as a chance yoking together of disparate forms.

In this final chapter I have made no attempt to examine the anthropological studies of the riddle in depth, but only to present a general picture of the different contexts in which riddling is found world-wide. I have also been unable to examine the ballads themselves internationally, and this is probably the most important omission. I have, however, tried to indicate in the text where versions of the ballads are known in different languages, concluding that the form is principally a Germanic one.

There has been, to my knowledge, no extensive study of this group of ballads, although they are frequently referred to in most of the 'ballad handbooks', notably by David Fowler⁽¹⁾, Willa Muir⁽²⁾, David Buchan⁽³⁾, Albert Friedman⁽⁴⁾, Evelyn Kendrick Wells⁽⁵⁾, Lowry C. Wimberly⁽⁶⁾ and A. L. Lloyd⁽⁷⁾. Archer Taylor has written an essay on the group⁽⁸⁾, and David Buchan presented a paper on them at the 13th International Ballad Conference of the S.I.E.F. Kommission für Volksdichtung.⁽⁹⁾ In 1906, Mary Louise Gay wrote an unpublished M. A. Thesis on

'Riddles in German and English Folksongs', which includes the Riddle Ballads⁽¹⁰⁾, and Lutz Röhrich has made a more extensive study of the 'Rätsellied' in German and English texts in 1973.⁽¹¹⁾ The essential tools for this study are, of course, Child's collection of English and Scottish Popular Ballads and Bertrand H. Bronson's Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads; also Claude Simpson's British Broadside Ballad and its Music, and Tristram P. Coffin's bibliographical guide to The British Traditional Ballad in North America, with R. de V. Renwick's supplement. For its song index and many manuscript sources, the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library in London is also a vital starting-point, while many American universities house folksong collections.*

The problems encountered in such a study are those found in all attempts to trace the history of a folkloric item. Records are incomplete, often with a century or more of silence before the text surfaces again in a different guise. The interests and motives of collectors have naturally varied enormously: a song may have been committed to paper as an aide-memoire for a performer; it may have been noted by an antiquarian interested in, and possibly embarrassed by, the evidence of an earlier age; by a musician uninterested in the details of the lyrics, or by a non-musician unable to record the tune. In the case of the earliest texts, the reason for recording may itself be unclear. Moreover, authenticity, now taken for granted as a necessity for a folk item, was

* See pp. 468-469 for list of archives consulted.

not always regarded as a virtue, and editors with the best intentions altered, abridged or augmented texts to suit the requirements of their audience. All these factors make the comparison of texts and tunes problematic.

The associated traditions and forms which influence the ballads are also elusive and unevenly recorded. Medieval literature, with its fertile mixing of the secular and the religious, the 'folk' item and the 'art' item, provides a rich hunting-ground for the symbols, stories and motifs of the folk ballad, but the surviving evidence is naturally incomplete and patchy. The ghost of a riddle, 'I have a mantel i-maket of cloth', scribbled on a fly-leaf of a minstrel's manuscript, is a tantalising indication of what else may be lost completely. Folk items of a later age, songs and dances which survived the Puritan rule and became a part of a national sub-culture, are equally elusive and often only recorded centuries after what may be assumed to be their origin. It is sometimes difficult to tread an even path between the rigidly factual and the imaginatively appealing, in order to make a reasoned judgement.

In attempting to overcome these problems, I have not followed any one methodology. The riddle, being concise and concerned with the relationship between one thing and another, is an obvious candidate for a structuralist approach, and most modern studies of riddles are from this viewpoint, notably the work of Elli Kongäs Maranda. In trying to analyse the nature and relevance

of the ballad riddles, I have therefore taken a loosely structuralist approach, and I am particularly indebted in this section to Dan Sperber's book Rethinking Symbolism. However, I have tried to take into account other ways of looking at the riddle. Similarly, I have followed a traditional path in tracing the history and transmission of the ballads, but have also tried to look at them from different angles.

The ballads remain uneven and elusive. They change into other songs or forms, or disappear for long periods; they survive long journeys, and fail to survive short ones. In their simplicity of form, they can be banal or inscrutable, and occasionally both. Close study of each of them reveals unexpected poetic and human findings.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE (INTRODUCTION)

1. David Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad.
2. Willa Muir, Living with Ballads.
3. David Buchan, The Ballad and the Folk.
4. Albert Friedman, The Ballad Revival.
5. E. K. Wells, The Ballad Tree.
6. L. C. Wimberly, Folklore in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads.
7. A. L. Lloyd, Folksong in England.
8. Archer Taylor, 'The English Riddle Ballads', in Studies in Language and Literature in honour of Margaret Schlauch, pp.445-451.
9. An expanded version , 'The Wit-Combat Ballads', is forthcoming in Narrative Folksong: New Directions. Eds. Carol L. Edwards and Kathleen E. B. Manley. Bloomington, Indiana: Trickster Press, 1985.
10. Mary Louise Gay, M. A. Thesis, University of Illinois, 1906.
11. Lutz Röhrich, 'Rätsellied', in Handbuch des Volksliedes I, pp.205-233.

CHAPTER TWO: 'RIDDLES WISELY EXPOUNDED' (CHILD 1).

Although texts of this ballad are few in number, they span six centuries with a remarkable constancy, from the manuscript text, 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo', (i), written in about 1450 and possibly older than that date, to the American version, 'Nine Questions', (xx), collected recently in Virginia. Although predominantly English, the ballad is known in Scotland and there is evidence that it has been known in Northern Ireland⁽¹⁾; the American tradition, which is particularly strong in Virginia, took over from the English in the twentieth century and has been largely responsible for the ballad's survival to the present. (See Appendix A).

'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' (i).

The text of 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' appears in a manuscript of mixed Latin and English 'wisdom literature' in prose and verse, interspersed with grammatical exercises and business records, in the hand of one Walter Pollard of Plymouth, dating from the middle to the end of the fifteenth century; Child states the probable date of the ballad verses as soon after 1445, when Walter Pollard acquired the manuscript. Little is known about Pollard, except that he was one of a series of Pollards who owned property and were connected with the export and import trades, and who were sometimes mayors and Members of Parliament, from the beginning of the

fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth.

The piece is related to the other literary items in its didactic nature and also in its riddling content, for several of the other items are termed 'enigmata', and one at least is a popular riddle. which appears in Latin and partially in English. It occurs also in the Bodleian MS. Eng.Poet. e.1, in full English translation:

I saw thre hedles playen at a ball;
On hanles man served hem all;
Whyll thre mouthles men lay and low,
Thre legles away hem drow.(2)

Riddles were evidently used for religious purposes as well as secular entertainment: Robbins prints four paradoxical lines from the Bodley MS. Laud Misc. 108, which use a similar technique to that of 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' in pressing beyond physical possibilities to express religious truths:

Byhalde merveylis: a mayde ys moder,
her sone her fader ys and broder.
lyfe fa³t with de^pe and de^pe is slayne;
Moste hi³ was lowe: he sty^pe agayne.(3)

A similar example is the paradox lyric, 'A god and yet a man', from the Bodleian MS.Rawlinson B 332, which presents the four central Christian paradoxes: the god who is a man; the virgin who is a mother; the god who dies; the dead man who lives. The final stanza of the lyric explains how to deal with these paradoxes:

Gods truth itselfe doth teach it,
Mans witt senckis too farr vnder
By reasons power to reach it.
Beleeve and leave to wonder.(4)

Riddles were also incorporated into the popular religious exempla: the life of St. Andrew, for example, in Caxton's Golden Legend, includes an episode which is close in substance to 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' and its later developments. The Devil, in disguise as a beautiful young woman, seeks refuge with a Bishop from the threat of a forced marriage, and enters into a riddling dialogue with St. Andrew, who is in the disguise of a pilgrim at the Bishop's door. The three riddles are as follows:

- a. What is the greatest marvel God made in little space ? - The diversity and excellence of the faces of men.
- b. Is the earth higher than the heaven ? - Where Christ's body is, in Heaven Imperial, he is higher than all the heaven.
- c. How much space is there from the abyss to heaven ? - St. Andrew here tells the Bishop to make the woman answer this herself, for she had just fallen from heaven to the abyss. (5)

The second of these riddles has as its root the popular riddle found in 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo': 'What is higher than the tree ? - Heaven is higher than the tree'. The third riddle uses the same concept of name tabu that appears in later versions of the ballad, and in many other traditions, such as the Old Norse riddle contests, where recognition of identity is the final stroke of the game. (6) The same idea is found in Child 3, 'The False Knight upon the Road'. (See Chapter 4).

Riddles of height and depth also occur in the tale of Andronicus in the English Gesta Romanorum, where

Andronicus, Emperor of Rome, puts his knight Temecius on trial by asking him seven questions, on pain of death. Two of these are popular riddles:

How moche is fro heaven to helle ?
 - As moch as is a sighing of the heart.

How depe is þe see ?
 - As is þe cast of a stone. (7)

The latter of these is found in the English riddle collection, Demaundes Joyous, which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1511. The former is reminiscent of the 'Inter Diabolus' question:

What (ys) longger þan ys þe way ?
 - Loukyng ys longger than ys þe way.

The 'Inter Diabolus' text also has close affinities with the development of popular religious instruction, in the tradition which runs from the early sermon dialogues to the Franciscan lyrics found in collections such as John Grimestone's Commonplace Book. (Grimestone's collection includes some religious paradox questions, but none coincide with the ballad riddles.)⁽⁸⁾ The tradition of sermon dialogues itself draws on numerous different sources. Adopting the classical method of using dialogue to expound a doctrine, a method which came to Western Europe in such works as Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy, Augustine's Soliloquies and Gregory's Dialogues, the early medieval Church evolved its own, less dialectic traditions of catechisms and elucidaria, both as textbooks for the clergy, and as methods of popular teaching. As preaching methods developed, this technique was found to be useful for the

pulpit too, and both Biblical characters and abstract personifications began to be used in sermon dialogues, such as the late thirteenth century Speculum Laicorum, which features Satan, the Virgin, Justice and Truth.⁽⁹⁾

This is the earliest English example of the use of the Devil in a sermon dialogue; there are several other examples, particularly in the continental traditions.⁽¹⁰⁾

The narrative framework of a confrontation between a devil and a human was a common one in the exemplum tradition, as is witnessed by the number of examples in the Gesta Romanorum. Chaucer and Dunbar both manipulated the form for comic purposes, Chaucer in his *Friar's Tale* and Dunbar in the piece known as 'How Dunbar was desired to be a Freir'; their willingness to do this indicates that the framework was a well-known one.⁽¹¹⁾

The dramatic situation of such a confrontation may even have been regarded as an actual possibility, as it is described in the writings of Richard Rolle. Rolle recounts how a young girl appeared to tempt him to sinfulness; he assumed that she was a devil in disguise, and when he raised an outcry, she, not surprisingly, disappeared, thus strengthening his conviction that she had been a supernatural being.⁽¹²⁾ The motif of a devil tempting a mortal in the guise of a lover, however, is more commonly found in the secular traditions: it appears, for example, in the ballad 'James Harris' (Child 243) and in 'The Laird of Wariston' (Child 194A).

Meanwhile, outside the churches, the minstrels were also developing a dialogue tradition. E.K. Chambers traces minstrel items like the thirteenth century Harrowing of Hell back to French ancestors: the débat, the pastourelle and the chanson à personnages.⁽¹³⁾ By the thirteenth century, he concludes, the dialogue was 'part of the minstrel's regular stock in trade'. Peter Dronke traces the dialogue tradition further back, to the eleventh century, relating it to the dance-songs in which a lover woos a girl.⁽¹⁴⁾ The minstrel dialogue which comes closest to 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' in substance is the fourteenth century 'De Clerico et Puella' (Harley 2253), with its simplified exchange between two people, resolved by what is presumably a recognition motif, similar to the recognition motifs in several ballads such as 'Gil Brenton' (Child 5)⁽¹⁵⁾. However, the courtly love setting of the minstrel dialogue places it far apart from the earthy, yet austere, 'Inter Diabolus'. The only obvious stylistic link between the text and the wider minstrel tradition is the opening announcement:

Wol ye here a wonder thyng
 Betweixte a mayd and þe foule fende ?

Commands, or entreaties, to listen, were common introductions to minstrel romances⁽¹⁶⁾. A similar petition is found in the earliest text of 'The King and the Barker', which Child did not consider to be a ballad:

Well yow yere a god borde to make you lawhe all.⁽¹⁷⁾

Thus, the text of 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' had antecedents, though no close analogues, in both the secular and clerical traditions, indicating that at this time there was considerable mixing of the two. G.R.Owst describes preachers who moved outside the churches to act as minstrels, in an attempt to win popular attention, and courtly traditions were also on the move: Peter Dronke writes that .

The songs performed for a clerical and a noble audience shade off almost imperceptibly into the songs performed for a popular one, and popular songs themselves continually absorb the influence of more sophisticated art-songs. (18)

Franciscan methods of preaching frequently mixed popular and liturgical material: several carols are included amongst sermon notes, and some were definitely composed by friars, such as William Herebert and James Ryman. Some manuscripts of lyrics are known to have come from Franciscan or Dominican houses, such as Trinity Cambridge 323, which is probably from the Dominican house at Worcester⁽¹⁹⁾, and the Franciscan John Grimestone's Commonplace Book⁽²⁰⁾, which contains several dialogues in the vernacular, such as the 'Debate between the heart and the eye'. Conversely, minstrels were by no means confined to secular material, and many minstrel pieces open and close with prayers, such as the lay Emaré.⁽²¹⁾

Elizabeth Merrill bases her discussion of the English medieval dialogue on the distinction she sees in the Old English Solomon and Saturn between the first half, which is didactic and expository, and the second

half, which develops into 'a Teutonic War of Wit'.⁽²²⁾ She describes these two as separate traditions deriving on the one hand from Ciceronian dialogue, leading to medieval catechism, and on the other from a combination of a 'native love of verbal contest' and the type of conflict dialogue found in Prudentius, and leading to the medieval debate poems such as The Owl and the Nightingale. The 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' dialogue has something in common with both these developing lines. In form, it is most like a catechism, showing the same curious combination of scriptural teaching and proverbial lore that is seen in the dialogue Adrian and Ritheus.⁽²³⁾ In its narrative setting, it bears a strong resemblance to the mid-fourteenth century Dispitison bitwene a god man and þe devel.⁽²⁴⁾ This is written in a combination of couplets and doggerel. Its narrative opening takes a similar stance to that of 'Inter Diabolus': in an eight-line introduction, the minstrel gives his reasons for relating the dialogue, and finishes:

I wol yow telle, as I can,
How þe fend tempte a Mon.

The temptation element is also similar: as the Devil promises the Maid in 'Inter Diabolus', 'wyssedom y wolle teche the', so the Fiend in the 'Dispitison' tells the man:

I con more þen þe prest,
And better i wot, forsoðe I-wys,
How men schulen come to blis,
And also more I con telle
Wherefore Men Schule go to helle. (lines 51-56)

Other similarities lie in the catechising technique and in the use of a set number of questions and replies, for the Devil is questioning the man about the Seven Deadly Sins. Certain formulae are repeated, to emphasise the structure of the poem, such as the narrative couplet:

The gode Mon understod
 þat þat þe to ður seide was not good...
 (lines 99-100; 191-192; 332-333; 398-399, etc.)

Finally, the conclusion of the poem shows a similar triumph of the human in outwitting the Devil, as he blesses himself and commands the Devil back to Hell.

The various traditions which lie behind the composition of 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo', then, show a general movement away from, then back towards, the 'native love of verbal contests' of which Elizabeth Merrill writes. From the unsophisticated riddle tales in the exempla collections, the narrative idea of a verbal contest between Devil and innocent becomes more interwoven with complex forms and specific clerical purposes, but eventually becomes a part of the fifteenth century mingling of popular and religious traditions, regaining its 'native' flavour. From its inclusion in the sober Rawlinson D 328, the text of 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' seems to have been regarded, at least by Pollard, as an orthodox religious piece; it was perhaps the composition of a Friar. There is no indication that it was ever sung; none of the other items in the manuscript are songs. Nevertheless, the text evidently remained in circulation, very likely in popular circulation, through a minstrel

medium, until the seventeenth century, when the dialogue met with the broadside tradition, and was fashioned into a ballad proper.

The Ballad Versions

From the earliest appearance of the sung ballad, in the seventeenth century broadsides, to the most recent traces of it in the present century, there has been a thin but more or less continuous flow of texts, appearing both in print and in the oral tradition; they are linked primarily by the sequence of riddles, which has remained surprisingly unchanged, while the narrative framework fluctuates and sometimes disappears entirely. The cumbersome broadside title, 'A Noble Riddle Wisely Expounded', which was adopted by Child, bears little relation to the song itself, which is identified either by the character of the knight (especially in Scottish texts), or, in most American versions, by the title 'The Devil's Nine Questions', despite the fact that in most cases there are either eight or ten; nine was presumably felt to be a more suitably mystical number.

Broadside versions of the ballad, as Child indicates, appeared first in black-letter copies of the seventeenth century. The copy in the Euing collection was issued between 1658 and 1664, for Coles, Vere and Gilbertson in London; this was a period when many folksongs were beginning to find their way into the broadside trade.⁽²⁵⁾ The copies in the Wood and the Rawlinson collections

were licensed in 1675 for Coles, Vere, Wright and Clark, forming part of a large body of 163 ballads and 33 chap-books; John Clark, the new partner, was granted the sole right to license singers of ballads, by the Master of Revels, Charles Killigrew.⁽²⁶⁾ William Thackeray also printed a number of traditional ballads at this time, including 'A Noble Riddle Wisely Expounded' and 'King John and the Bishop'; in 1689 he issued a trade list which includes these two, among 301 ballads. The Pepys copy of the ballad has the imprint of Thackeray and two later partners, of about 1692, Elizabeth Millet and Alexander Milbourn. The Douce copy is Roman letter and belongs to the eighteenth century.

The tune to which the broadsides are directed to be sung, 'Lay the Bent to the Bonny Broom', is first found in D'Urfey's Pills to Purge Melancholy of 1719-20; Claude Simpson observes that it is badly barred, giving 'every evidence of being traditional and not an art product'.⁽²⁷⁾ Bronson goes further than this and suggests that, while the refrain and title of the ballad appear to have been inherited from a late Elizabethan pastoral ballad, the tune seems to be older still; he remarks on its similarity to plainsong, and cites an eleventh century analogue, the Sanctus from the Orbis Factor Mass.⁽²⁸⁾ In his study of The Ballad as Song, he takes this tune as the root of a 'tune family' of twenty-seven members, some of which, like the Playford tune 'Goddesses', are very remote. Bronson gives no objective criteria for the

selection of tunes for his families, and he does not seem to take into account the possibility that a phrase may be common to several tunes without these tunes being related to each other in any other way. A tune family can point to certain musical habits, often to vocal habits, but it can say little about the historical transmission of tunes, and can be misleading because of this. Thus the similarity between the Gregorian tune and the D'Urfey one does not help to date the tune, but only observes a similarity of musical habit between them.⁽²⁹⁾

The tune, 'Lay the Bent to the Bonny Broom' was used also in the play, 'The Highland Reel', by J.O'Keefe and William Shields, shortly after 1788 (see Bronson 1.2), with a new last line to the refrain, 'Twang Lang-o Tillo lang Twango dillo day', which replaces the more Elizabethan 'Fa la la' reading of the broadsides. The tune, though recognisable as a relation of the one printed by D'Urfey, is more rigid, and more distinctly Scottish in rhythm, indicating that it was already identified as a Scottish tune, at least by the end of the eighteenth century. There are no other texts or tunes for this century, and the next evidence of the ballad is from the two Scottish texts in Motherwell's collection, (iv) and (v) in Appendix A, and the Cornish version (iii), all of which belong to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The two Scottish texts have no tunes; they might have been sung to the tune recorded in 'The Highland Reel', except for the last line, which has changed again from

'Twang Lang-o Tillo' to 'And ye may beguile a young thing sune'. The first refrain line, 'Lay the bent to the bonny broom', has become 'Sing the Cather/Claret banks, the bonnie broom',⁽³⁰⁾ in (iv); in (v) it remains the same. None of these refrain lines seem particularly appropriate to the ballad, and it seems most likely, as Bronson suggests, that the refrain came with the tune when the broadside was composed. The Scottish refrains (iv) and (v), with the reference to beguiling young things, suggest that the broom is referred to as a charm, as it is in the ballad 'The Broomfield Hill' (Child 43), where a girl strews broom flowers over a knight's head and thus sends him to sleep, escaping his amorous advances. Broom seems to have magical associations also in 'Tam Lin' (Child 39), where the fairy queen speaks from a broom bush. However, broom also has associations with love and courtship in a non-magical setting, as in the refrain of 'Leesome Brand' (Child 15B) and 'Sheath and Knife' (Child 16):

Ae lady has whispered the other,
The broom grows bonnie, the broom grows fair,
Lady Margaret's wi bairn to Sir Richard, her brother,
And we daur na gae down to the broom nae mair. (16B)

'Going down to the broom' seems to be an equivalent of going to pick flowers in ballads of the 'Tam Lin' type, an action which preludes, and possibly deliberately invokes, the appearance of a lover. It would seem, that, like many other folk symbols, broom can be taken to have either magical or sexual connotations interchangeably. It may have originally had both, as it does in the thirteenth century lyric, 'Say me, Viit in the Brom', in which a

woman asks a supernatural spirit of the broom how to handle her husband:

'Say me, viit in the brom,
Teche me wou I sule don
That min hosebonde
Me louien wolde.'

'Holde thine tunke stille
And hawe al thine wille'(31)

This ambiguity extends to the 'Bent' of the broadside refrain, which Annie Gilchrist suggests is a corruption of 'bennet', or 'herb-bennet' (Herba Benedicta), a name of the common avens, which was supposed to ward off evil; Margaret Dean-Smith, however, suggests that the line is a sexual metaphor,⁽³²⁾ 'bent' being in this case a rush-like grass. In the case of the ballad in question, this ambiguity is perfectly fitting, since an amorous advance is revealed in some cases to be an attack of the Devil.

Ambiguity as to the identity of the knight, and his intentions, began with the 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' text, where the fiend combines a threat - 'But þou now answery me,/Thu schalt for soþe my leman be' - with a promise - 'Mayd, mote y thi leman be, /Wyssedom y wolle teche the'. Bronson suggests that this is an indication of an older text, worked over and influenced by the story of Christ's temptation in the wilderness, but the threat and the promise are not irreconcilable, and it is possible that both were always in the text together. The confusion arises only because the threat comes after the riddles, while the promise comes before them, so that the riddles appear to be a catechism and a part of the 'Wyssedom'

promised by the fiend.

The broadside versions, in which the knight has no diabolic overtones at all, seem to be a divergence from the mainstream of the song's tradition, for in the texts which have no broadside influence, he is clearly a devil; the one exception to this is the fragment recorded in 1969 from Mrs. Gunn(xix), which contains only the riddles, but which Mrs. Gunn explained as 'a man trying to evade marrying a woman by asking her riddles'. The fragment seems in any case more likely to belong to the tradition of Child 46, 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship', in which the narrative situation, though still not that of Mrs. Gunn's explanation, does at least have a resemblance. Since one of the Motherwell texts (v) also has no narrative context, it seems likely that the song circulated in Scotland in this form, purely as a riddle song, as well as in the longer ballad form.

The variant from Davies Gilbert (iii), which belongs to the broadside-influenced tradition, has developed individual characteristics of its own. Some of these are explained by the mixing of the ballad with elements from 'The Twa Sisters' (Child 10), a confusion which is not confined to this text. Firstly, the tune, though recognisably related to the Mason tune (vi), which is similar to D'Urfey's (ii), is also very close to the tune of 'The Twa Sisters' (Bronson 10, Group B), which fits the opening line, 'There was a man lived in the West'. The similarity of this textual line with the opening of the broadside 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' ('There was a Lady in the North Country'), makes the borrowing of the

musical line understandable, and the Mason text (vi), which shares this musical line, has borrowed the text as well ('There was a lady in the West'). The second confusion with 'The Twa Sisters' is in the refrain of the Davies Gilbert version (iii), which is found in two American texts of 'The Twa Sisters' (Bronson 10.91 and 10.92), and also in several other ballads: 'The Cruel Brother' (Child 11); 'The Wife Wrapped in Wether Skin' (Child 277) and 'Babylon' (Child 14). The reason for the sharing of the refrain is clearly the motif of the three sisters, for 'The Wife Wrapped in Wether Skin' is the only ballad among the five in which this does not occur.

There seems always to have been confusion, among singers and collectors alike, as to whether the first line of this refrain ('Jennifer gentle and Rosemary') refers to the names of girls, or of herbs. The words under the music of Gilbert's version (iii), for example, are 'Juniper, gentle and rosemary', but he describes them himself as the names of the three sisters. Child suggests that 'gentle' is a corruption of 'gentian', but this seems unlikely; Annie Gilchrist suggests influence from street cries of 'Baum gentle' ⁽³³⁾, which is slightly more plausible. The most obvious source, however, seems to be the medieval carol and lyric tradition. Versions of both 'The Cruel Brother' and 'Babylon' from the oral tradition contain the line, 'Gilly flower/ Gilliver, gentle and rosemary'. Assuming 'gentle' to be an adjective describing 'gilly flower',

there remain the names of two plants which were used in religious and love lyrics, probably both of Marian origin. 'Gilofre' appears, for example, in Pearl⁽³⁴⁾, as one of the precious spice-plants among which the pearl falls; it appears also in the garden of Mirth in the Roman de la Rose⁽³⁵⁾. Rosemary was a common Marian comparison, for example in Dunbar's Rorate Celi Desuper, where the etymological make-up of the word is apparent:

For now is rissin the bricht day ster
Fro the ros Mary, flour of flouris⁽³⁶⁾

The English word is derived from the Latin rosmarinus, meaning 'sea-dew', but was assimilated to the vernacular as 'rosemary' by association with the Virgin. Thus it seems likely that the refrain 'Jennifer gentle and rosemary' is derived from a medieval refrain or burden, 'Gilofre gent and rosemary'. An analogous example is the ballad refrain, 'Hey wi the rose and the lindie, O', (Child 20 I), and its variants, which seems most likely to be derived from the medieval carols and lyrics which use the rose and the lily as Marian symbols.⁽³⁷⁾

The second line of Gilbert's refrain is bizarre - 'As the dew flies over the mulberry tree' - even if 'dew' is accepted as a dialect form 'dow' or 'dove'. Some singers have produced rationalisations to explain 'dew', such as the Motherwell 'Babylon' (Child 14A) - 'And the dew draps off the hyndberry tree' - and a Forfarshire version of 'The Cruel Brother' (Child 11E) - 'And the dew hangs i' the wood, gay ladie'. Others have evidently had the bird in mind: an Appalachian text of 'The Wife

Wrapt in Wether's Skin', for example⁽³⁸⁾, gives the reading, 'As the dew flies over the green valley'. Doves have a popular association with courtship and love, from medieval times to the present⁽³⁹⁾, and mulberry trees also have a tradition as marriage symbols, as Lady Gomme points out in her notes on the nursery rhyme game, 'Here we go round the mulberry bush'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ There is a tradition that Pyramus and Thisbe met under a white mulberry bush, which turned red from their blood.⁽⁴¹⁾ Thus the refrain line has a vague symbolic association with courtship.

The only other text from the nineteenth century is the Northumbrian version in Mason's collection, (vi), which came from the Mitford family. This also has individual elements, although the basic story-line and the tune identify it as a fairly close relation of the broadsides. The refrain 'Fa lang the dillo' is close to the Highland Reel tune (Bronson 1.2). The narrative framework is expanded and altered (see Appendix A), and the most significant difference between it and the broadside text is that the knight is clearly identified as the Devil, 'Old Nick', in stanza 6. The motive for the riddle sequence is therefore more confused than usual: the sisters have let the knight in and seated him on a chair, whereupon he begins asking questions, with the threat that if they fail to answer them, they will belong to him and be carried off. The riddles too are expanded and there is a whole new section of six riddles which are not found elsewhere. (u). These riddles are all of a moral, didactic

nature, with such subjects as truth, falsehood, and revenge; the sequence is therefore much closer to the medieval text than to any other modern version. However, learned knowledge of the 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' text is unlikely, since it was only published in 1898; an unbroken line of tradition seems equally unlikely, because of the polished and fanciful wording of the riddles, and because there is no evidence of them elsewhere. It seems most probably that the riddles were peculiar to the Mitford family tradition, based on an understanding of the crucial dramatic element of the ballad as being the evasion of a diabolic attack by the use of religious words and symbols. Most importantly, however, the Mason variant is the first indication that the broadside tradition of the three sisters and the knight was combined with the older tradition of the Devil attempting to carry off a girl.

The two traditions meet also in the next English text, 'The Knight', from the Upper Thames Valley (vii). Unfortunately, Alfred Williams, who collected the text, never had time to go back for the tunes, as he intended; it seems probable that the tune would have showed another link with 'The Twa Sisters', for the refrain is that of the most common of the contemporary 'Twa Sisters' texts (Bronson 10 Group B), 'Bow down, bow down, sweetheart, and a bonny lass...' The text itself has lost the motif of the three sisters, but retains the character of the knight who knocks late at the door. Of all the texts which contain the Devil, this is the most dramatic,

although the narrative is kept to a minimum; after the sinister loud knocking of the knight comes the threat:

If thou canst not answer me three times three
In ten thousand pieces I'll tear thee.

The riddles are nearer to the sequence in the Motherwell versions than to any of the broadside-influenced texts; significantly, they are the most common combination found in twentieth century American texts. The conclusion (E¹), in which the knight claps his wings and cries aloud, before flying away, 'a flame of fire', is likewise found only in Scottish and American versions. These two last English versions of the ballad, (vi) and (vii), which are geographically far apart, indicate that the broadside-influenced tradition, with the characters of the knight and the three sisters, met with the Devil tradition seen first in 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo'. It seems reasonable to assume that the latter tradition was already circulating as a folksong before it was made, somewhat incongruously, into a pastoral broadside ballad.

American Versions.

With the exception of (xix), all the remaining texts are from America, and seven of the thirteen are from Virginia. Three texts belong to the broadside tradition: firstly, the fragment (xv), which Robert P. Tristram Coffin remembered from the singing of his cousin during his childhood, is the fifth stanza, verbatim, of the broadside text. From the same state, comes a second precise record, through a more

devious route; this is the text (xii), from Florence Mixer, which comes from two generations of family tradition, and which is an English translation of the German version of the ballad, which was in turn translated from the English broadside by Herder. The German text appears also in Göethe's Singspiel, Die Fischerin⁽⁴²⁾, of 1782. The English retranslation was by William Aytoun, printed in Blackwood's Magazine (LVII 173-6). The tune is not related to the D'Urfey tune and Bronson suggests that it is either 'mere sing-song', for the melody is very free and variable, or a relation of 'Newmill' from the Greig manuscripts. The third broadside-related text comes from Vermont (xvi), and shows another meeting of the ballad with 'The Twa Sisters' (Child 10), for the refrain, 'Bow down, bow down, your bow shall bend to me...' is in the same group as the Wiltshire refrain (vii) and is regularly found in American 'Twa Sisters' texts; the opening stanza (B⁸) is also borrowed from the same ballad, suggesting a borrowing independent of the English text. The tune, though not close to any of the recorded tunes of Child 10, follows the same general contour as the tunes in Bronson's Group B (10.23 - 60).

The rest of the American texts are very similar to each other in both words and music. The Devil is unambiguously a Devil, and threatens to carry the girl off to Hell; she has become in most cases 'the weaver's bonny'. Refrains are normally of the 'Sing ninety-nine and ninety' type; this is presumably inspired by the number of riddles, which in the 1923 Wiltshire text (vii) was 'three times three', and which is usually given in American texts as

nine, although in most cases this is incorrect. The insistence on a multiple of three, which is in any case a favourite number of the oral tradition, is probably influenced by the many folktales in which three riddles are set and solved (Aarne-Thompson Type 875). The folk festival version of the ballad recorded by Richard Chase (xvii) has the refrain, 'And the crow flies over the white oak tree', which is presumably an improvisation, possibly by Chase himself, on the lines of 'the dew flies over the mulberry tree'. Another oddity is the extra stanza supplied by Mrs. Rill Martin in 1933 (viii B⁵), which is taken from the American versions of 'Sir Lionel' (Child 18) and the song, 'A Frog went a-courting' (43):

The devil went a-courting and he did ride,
Sing ninety-nine and ninety,
A sword and pistol by his side,
And you're the weaver's bonny.

The second alternative first stanza for (viii), supplied by Alfreda Peel, still from Virginia, is the only text of this type to feature the knight rather than the Devil; it shows that a text similar to the Wiltshire one (vii), where the bare elements of the broadside version remain but are dominated by the Devil's riddles motif, must have reached Virginia. The text from J. J. Niles (xi) includes one riddle from 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' (Child 46); this is likely to be an individual oddity on Niles' part, as is the extra riddle, not found in any other texts, 'What thing round the whole world goes? - Air', which is probably derived from the riddle in Child 45, 'How long does it take to travel round the world? - A day, with the sun'.

It is most likely that the two stanzas recorded from Mrs. David Gunn in Caithness in 1969 (xix), which contain only riddles, are from a text of Child 46 and not Child 1, since the same riddles occur in some Scottish texts of Child 46 (e.g. 'The Laird o' Roslin's Daughter' in Ord's Bothy Songs and Ballads, Bronson 46.6). Otherwise, there are no British texts recorded after 1923.

Cantefable Versions.

A Jamaican cantefable in Walter Jekyll's collection is clearly derived from the broadside text of 'Riddles Wisely Expounded'.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Entitled, 'The Three Sisters', it describes the three sisters living together and refusing to marry; Snake dresses himself as a man and is carried to the door, which is locked with an iron bar. He sings a verse:

My eldest sister, will you open the door ? (twice)
Fair an' gandelow steel.

The youngest sister, described as 'old-witch', prevents her sister from doing so, and sings in reply,

My door is bar with a scotran bar.

Snake asks all three in turn and finally the youngest sings,

The Devil roguer than a woman-kind.

This annoys the Snake, who has now turned into a Devil. In an inversion of the riddle, he sings,

What is roguer than a woman-kind.

He then flies in to Hell, where he is chained 'until now'. The tune to the verses in the cantefable is not like any of the ballad tunes.

Two other American tales with verses, one sung, one chanted, are also close to the ballad, and probably derived from it, but may be regarded also as examples of the tale type in which a girl proves her worth by answering riddles or performing impossible tasks (Aarne-Thompson Type 875); such tales sometimes include riddles of the superlative kind, like those belonging to the ballad. 'The Bride of the Evil One' was recorded from a negro gardener in New Orleans, who came from Martinique via Louisiana.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Maritta, the bride, is a rich heiress who lives on a great plantation; her parents say her bridegroom must be seen from 10,000 miles away to be acceptable. The Devil equips himself with a coach of gold that answers this condition, and the two are married; at the end of a long journey in the coach, they reach a great hill, issuing clouds of smoke, and are greeted by an old hag, also married to the Devil. Maritta has still not realised the identity of her husband, and is enlightened by the hag, who helps her to escape, but she is pursued by the Devil, who asks her three questions. If she answers them wrongly, she will be taken back. The riddles are sung:

What is whiter than any snow ?
 What is deeper than any well ?
 What is greener than any grass ?

Maritta answers correctly (Heaven; Hell; Poison) and the Devil stamps his feet, fills the house with smoke, and destroys the plantation before disappearing.

A similar story was recorded from Carter Young, aged seventy, who was born in North Carolina⁽⁴⁶⁾, entitled 'The Devil's Marriage'. A lady says she will not marry unless to a man dressed in gold. A man appears at a party held by her, answering this description, but the lady's young brother notices that he has a club foot, and he follows the couple as they travel to a house surrounded by smoke. The brother warns his sister that she is with the Devil, and they run back, but the next day, the Devil appears, asking for a woman called Mary Brown. An old witch answers him and chants a sequence of both riddles and solutions:

What is whiter, what is whiter, than any sheep
down in General Cling Town ? - Snow

What is greener....than any wheat growed in
General Cling Town ? - Grass

What is bluer....than anything down in General
Cling Town ? - Sky

What is louder....than any horns down in General
Cling Town ? - Thunder.

The Devil claims her soul, but the witch throws her shoe at him and he takes that instead.

The Riddles.

Riddles of the superlative are common in many traditions, and several of those found in the ballad are also found independently and in folktales, though not

usually with the same solutions.

Several German folksongs contain the riddles, 'What is greener than the clover ? - grass' and 'What is whiter than snow ? - milk'; some also have 'What is higher than God ? - the Crown'. The fourteenth century Trougesmundlied, a dialogue between a traveller and his host, contains the first two of these; so do a Smith's greeting from 1745 and a medieval hunting song.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The modern riddle-song, 'Mädchen, ich will dir was zu raten aufgeben', which is known all over Germany, often contains the clover and the snow riddles; the narrative framework of this song is not unlike that of the broadside 'Riddles Wisely Expounded'. (A knight or rider gives a girl, who is usually of low birth, riddles which she must answer to be his bride).⁽⁴⁸⁾ The same riddles occur in Guild Kranzsingen, a tradition which began in the fifteenth century, in which a man must answer questions in order to gain the wreath, which is bestowed upon him by a woman.⁽⁴⁹⁾

A sequence of superlative riddles, though none of them close to those of the ballad, is found in the Danish ballad of Svend Vonved.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Riddles of the highest and the deepest are also found independently in the oral tradition, as is testified by several examples in Archer Taylor's riddle collection, English Riddles from Oral Tradition.⁽⁵¹⁾ The closest links with the ballad, however, are with the German Märchen of the Clever Peasant Girl (Aarne-Thompson Type 875) and the Devil's Riddles (Type 812), where riddles of the swiftest, the softest, the sweetest, the longest and the broadest, the greenest, the best and the

strongest are found, together with other superlative riddles. Jan de Vries has made a study of international variants of Type 875⁽⁵²⁾, and has traced some of these riddles back to Slavic sources, in particular the riddle, 'What is the sweetest?', which has a variety of answers, from 'bread' through to 'Heavenly peace', this last being perhaps a Christianisation of the earliest answer to the riddle, 'sleep'. The riddles, and the *märchen*, appear worldwide. Between them, the two narratives 812 and 875 span the ambiguity in 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' as to whether the man is a suitor or a tempting Devil. In Type 875, the Peasant Girl is married to a King after solving riddles or impossible tasks; in 812, a man is promised to the Devil unless he can solve riddles; he achieves this through trickery and the Devil is banished; there is a version of this in the Grimm collection (No.125), 'The Grandmother'. It seems likely that these two tale types are the source of the ballad and of the ambiguity which is centred in the character of the knight.

Answers to the riddles are more variable than the questions, and seem to be more subject to locality and time. Several of the 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo' riddles do not appear in any other version; the 'sweeter than the nut' riddle, to which the answer is 'love' (m), may have some connection with the fable in the English Gesta Romanorum of the Ape and the nut. An ape throws away the whole nut, which is religion, because the bitter rind, which is the discipline of the Church, conceals the sweet kernel inside, which is spiritual

bliss.⁽⁵³⁾ The hunger riddle (c) also appears as a proverb, 'Hunger pierces stone walls', in sources from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth, such as John Heywood's dialogue 'containing the nomber in effect of all the proverbes in the englishe tongue', of 1546, and Becon's Jewel of Joy, 1553, which contains the proverb, 'Hunger is sharper than the thorn'.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The 'loukying' riddle (f) is glossed by Child to mean 'expectation, hope deferred', but the earliest evidence of this meaning for the word is 1513 (More's Richard III), and it is possible that the older meaning of pulling, from 'louken', to drag or pull, applies. The most variable of the answers is the 'greenest' (k,l); the most common answer is 'poison', and this may be arsenic, which is green in colour. The answer 'the grave' calls upon a traditional association of the colour with death, shown for example in 'The Cruel Mother' (Child 20), where one of the revenant children is clad in green, 'to shew that death they had been in'. (Version H).

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO. (CHILD 1)

1. Sabine Baring-Gould, A Garland of Country Song (1895), pp.42-3, notes that 'a curious North-Irish version of the ballad may be seen in the British Museum, Ulster Ballads (1162 k.6)'. This collection, which also contains a copy of Child 46, and which Child knew, cannot now be traced.
2. Rossell Hope Robbins, Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (1955), p.241.
There is no accepted solution for this riddle, but it bears resemblance to the popular weather riddles for 'snow' ('White Bird Featherless') and 'mist' ('Mouthless'), and may therefore be a description of a weather scene.
Robbins believes the manuscript to be a minstrel's song book.
3. Ibid. p.241.
4. Carleton Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century (1939), p.120.
5. Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend, translated by William Caxton. Edited by F.S.Ellis, 1973, Vol.II pp.94-109.
6. E.g. Vafþrúðnismál; in Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius, ed. G.Neckel, 1962, pp.45-55; and Hervararsaga ok Heiðreks, ed. Christopher Tolkien, 1960.
There are numerous other examples of the name tabu in popular literature: Child (ESPB III p.498n.) cites many Nordic and Celtic items. Other examples of the name tabu in ballads are 'Earl Brand' (Child 7); 'The Hunting of the Cheviot' (Child 162) and 'Child Waters' (Child 63).
7. Sidney J.Herrtage, ed., The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum, pp.65-7.
8. See Edward Wilson, A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book, (Medium Aevum Monographs, New Series II, Oxford 1973).
9. Speculum Laicorum, ed. J.Welter (Picard, Paris 1914).
10. See G.R.Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, Chapter 8, 'Sermon and Drama'.
11. Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Friar's Tale', in F.N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed., pp.89-93.

11. (ctd.) William Dunbar, 'How Dunbar was desired to be a Freir' in James Kinsley, ed., The Poems of William Dunbar, No.55.
Dunbar's devil, in disguise as St.Francis, disappears in a similar manner to that of the devil in later versions of Child 1, 'with stynk and fyrie smowk'.
12. Hope Emily Allen, The English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole (Oxford University Press, 1931), Introduction p.xxii,
13. Sir E.K.Chambers, The Medieval Stage, pp.77 ff.
14. Peter Dronke, Medieval Lyrics, p.50.
15. Also in 'King Estmere' (Child 60); 'The New-Slain Knight' (263); 'Hind Horn' (17).
'De Clerico et Puella' in G.L.Brook, The Harley Lyrics (Manchester University Press, 1956) No.24.
16. E.g. Sir Launfal; The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell; Gamelyn: in Donald B.Sands, Middle English Verse Romances, pp.203; 326; 156.
17. Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, The Index of Middle English Verse, No.4168.
18. Dronke, op.cit., p.30.
19. See Karl Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung in Englischen Hochmittelalter (Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Philosophische Fakultät, Band I, München 1973).
20. Wilson, A Descriptive Index (see note 8 above).
21. Thomas C.Rumble, The Breton Lays in Middle English (University of Detroit, 1965)p.97: after a prayer to Jesus and Mary, the minstrel continues:

Menstralles that walken fer and wyde,
Her and ther in every a syde
In mony a dyverse londe,
Sholde, at her bygynnyng,
Speke of that ryghtwes kyng
That made both see and sonde.

See also Athelston; Sir Isumbras; Sir Gowther.
22. Elizabeth Merrill, The Dialogue in English Literature, p.20.
23. Adrian and Ritheus in J.M.Kemble, Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus (London 1848)pp.198.ff.
24. C.Horstmann, The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, (E.E.T.S. 98, 1892) Part I, pp.329-354.

11. (ctd.) William Dunbar, 'How Dunbar was desired to be a Freir' in James Kinsley, ed., The Poems of William Dunbar, No.55.
Dunbar's devil, in disguise as St.Francis, disappears in a similar manner to that of the devil in later versions of Child 1, 'with stynk and fyrie smowk'.
12. Hope Emily Allen, The English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole (Oxford University Press, 1931), Introduction p.xxii,
13. Sir E.K.Chambers, The Medieval Stage, pp.77 ff.
14. Peter Dronke, Medieval Lyrics, p.50.
15. Also in 'King Estmere' (Child 60); 'The New-Slain Knight' (263); 'Hind Horn' (17).
'De Clerico et Puella' in G.L.Brook, The Harley Lyrics (Manchester University Press, 1956) No.24.
16. E.g. Sir Launfal; The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell; Gamelyn: in Donald B.Sands, Middle English Verse Romances, pp.203; 326; 156.
17. Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, The Index of Middle English Verse, No.4168.
18. Dronke, op.cit., p.30.
19. See Karl Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung in Englischen Hochmittelalter (Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Philosophische Fakultät, Band I, München 1973).
20. Wilson, A Descriptive Index (see note 8 above).
21. Thomas C.Rumble, The Breton Lays in Middle English (University of Detroit, 1965)p.97: after a prayer to Jesus and Mary, the minstrel continues:

Menstralles that walken fer and wyde,
Her and ther in every a syde
In mony a dyverse londe,
Sholde, at her bygynnynge,
Speke of that ryghtwes kyng
That made both see and sonde.

See also Athelston; Sir Isumbras; Sir Gowther.
22. Elizabeth Merrill, The Dialogue in English Literature, p.20.
23. Adrian and Ritheus in J.M.Kemble, Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus (London 1848)pp.198.ff.
24. C.Horstmann, The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, (E.E.T.S. 98, 1892) Part I, pp.329-354.

25. Robert S. Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs' (1974) p.65.
26. Ibid., p.67.
27. Claude Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and its Music, pp.431-2.
28. Bertrand H. Bronson, The Ballad as Song, pp.97 ff.
29. G.B. Chambers, Folksong-Plainsong: A Study in Origins and Musical Relationships (2nd ed., Merlin Press, London 1972) p.4: Chambers' study illuminates this similarity. He argues that plainsong was originally inspired by folksong, and cites some of the Church Fathers who observed peasant song and saw in it the spiritual possibilities that were developed in the plainsong chants. Augustine, for example, notes in his commentary to Psalm 32 the phenomenon he describes as 'Jubilatio':

Quid est in jubilatione canere ? Intelligere verbis explicare non posse quod canitur corde. Etenim ille qui cantant sive in messe sive in vinea, sive in aliquo opere ferventi, cum coeperint in verbis canticorum exultare laetitia, veluti impleti tant laetitia ut eam verbis et eunt in sonum jubilationis. Jubilus sonus quidem est significans cor pasturare quod dicere non potent.

(What does singing a jubilation mean ? It is the realisation that words cannot express the inner music of the heart. For those who sing in the harvest field, or vine-yard, or in work deeply occupying the attention, when they are overcome with joy at the words of the song, being filled with such exultation, the words fail to express their emotion, so, leaving the syllables of the words, they drop into vowel sounds - the vowel sounds signifying that the heart is yearning to express what the tongue cannot utter.)

It is not clear whether Augustine observed this phenomenon in Italy or in Africa, or whether the joy he observed was really connected with the words, rather than the music, of the song; a similar enjoyment of the vowel sounds in singing can be observed in the Aberdeenshire ballad style, as demonstrated by Jeannie Robertson.

30. 'Cather' is possibly a corruption of the Aberdeenshire 'cat-heather'.

31. Cambridge Trinity Coll. MS. 323, f.28 (see note 19 above). The lyric also appears in British Museum Add. MS. 11,579, in a Latin exemplum. Carleton Brown, English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century, p.32 and notes.
32. Margaret Dean-Smith, cited in A. L. Lloyd, Folk Song in England, p.154; Annie Gilchrist, 'A note on the 'Herb' and other refrains of certain British Ballads', FSSJ VIII (1930) No.34, pp.237-50.
33. Annie Gilchrist, op. cit.
34. Pearl, ed. E.V.Gordon, (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1953), p.2, line 43:

Gilofre, gyngure and gromylyoun

A similar example occurs in Kyng Alisaunder (ed. G. V. Smithers, E.E.T.S. 227, 1952):

gylofre, quybibbe and mace...}auen odour of grace.

The form 'gylofre gentyle' means the sweet variety of the herb, and is found in a list of herbs 'for Savour and beaute' at the beginning of a cookery book of c.1500:

Also Herbes fo(r) Savour and beaute:
Gyllofr' gentyle, Mageron gentyle...

(Sloane 1201, cited in Alicia Amherst, A History of Gardening in England, 3rd ed. London 1910, p.68).

35. Chaucer's translation, 'The Romaunt of the Rose', in F. N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, p.578, ll. 1367-72:
- Ther was eke wexyng many a spice,
As clowe-gelofre, and lycorice,
Gyngevre, and greyn de parys,
Canell, and setewale of prys,
And many a spice delitable
To eten whan men rise fro table.
36. Kinsley, Poems of William Dunbar, No. 1.
 37. E.g. James Ryman's carol to the Virgin has the following refrain:

A roose hath borne a lilly white,
The whiche floure is moost pure and bright.

Cambridge University MS. Ee 1. 23, f.24^v; in Richard Leighton Greene, The Early English Carols, No. 174.

No. 175 in Greene, op.cit., from various manuscripts, has the following refrain:

Of a rose, a lovely rose,
Of a rose I syng a song.

38. Cecil J.Sharp, English Folksongs from the Southern Appalachians, I p.272.
39. E.g. Chaucer, 'The Knight's Tale', Robinson p.36, ll.1955-62, describes the statue of Venus with doves 'flykeryng' about her head.
40. Lady Alice Bertha Gomme, The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland, I p.407.
41. Ernst and Johanna Lehrer, Folklore and Symbolism of Flowers, Plants and Trees, p.71.
42. J.W.Göethe, Die Fischerin, ed. J.M.C.de Brühl, 1782.
43. See Cecil J.Sharp and Maud Karpeles, Eighty English Folk Songs, No.75.
44. Walter Jekyll, Jamaican Song and Story, pp.26-7.
45. Elizabeth Johnston Cooke, 'English Folktales in America' (JAF XII, 1899, pp.126-30).
46. B.A.Botkin, A Treasury of American Folklore, pp. 725-7.
47. Lutz Röhrich, 'Rätsellied' in Handbuch des Volkslieder I, pp.205-33.
48. Ibid., pp.217-21.
49. Ibid., pp.224-5.
50. Svend Grundtvig and Axel Olrik, Danmarks gamle Folkeviser, No.18A.
51. Archer Taylor, English Riddles from Oral Tradition, 2nd edition, Nos. 1278-1280; 1286-1289.
52. Jan de Vries, Die Märchen von Klugen Rätsellosern, FFC 73 (Helsinki 1928).
53. Herrtage, Gesta Romanorum, No.56.
54. The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1970), 'hunger'.

CHAPTER THREE: 'THE ELFIN KNIGHT' (CHILD 2)

The many texts identified under this title, few of them having anything to do with elfin knights, fall into four groups, distinguished by their refrain type:

Group A: 'Blow, blow, blow, ye winds blow' and/or
'The wind blew the bonny lassie's plaidie awa'

Group B: Herb refrains, most frequently, 'Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme'.

Group C: Nonsense refrains.

Group D: 'Sing ivy' refrains.

(For details, see Appendix B.)

Each group will be treated separately.

Group A.

Texts in this group are predominantly Scottish, with some American and Canadian relations; they date from the earliest example of the ballad, the broadside (i) of 1670, to the most recent versions collected by the School of Scottish Studies in North-East Scotland.

Text (i) is a black-letter broadside, bound with an Edinburgh edition of Blind Harry's 'Wallace', and tentatively dated 1670. Although there is no evidence of the ballad's existence previous to this⁽¹⁾, a number of peculiarities in the text suggest that the author was working from a known version. One of these is the attempt to rationalise the burden and refrain, in the last two stanzas, as pointed out by Bronson:⁽²⁾

'I'll not quite my plaid for my life;
It haps my seven bairns and my wife'
The wind shall not blow my plaid awa'.

'My maidenhead I'll then keep still,
 Let the elphin knight do what he will'
 The wind's not blown my plaid awa'.

As Bronson says, this makes little sense, as well as being out of keeping with the tone of the rest of the ballad; singers of the song have evidently been of the same opinion, for the stanzas do not appear in any subsequent oral text.⁽³⁾ Bronson argues that the author of the broadside, the 'demi-poet', was making an original attempt to graft an existing text onto a separately existing tune and refrain, but it is also possible that this grafting had already occurred before the ballad was printed. It may be that the 'demi-poet''s contribution was to confuse the ballad with the type of song in which a man refuses a request from his sweetheart by admitting that he is already married, as in the song, 'The Nightingale'.⁽⁴⁾

The refrain and burden of (i) are themselves a conglomeration; they combine four elements, each of which could, and in some cases does, stand alone as a refrain line: they are the plaid, the reference to Norway, the lines, 'Ba, ba, ba lillie ba', and 'over the hills and far awa'. Together, these hardly make a coherent whole, and it seems likely that it is their rhymes, rather than their meanings, which have drawn them together. Bronson suggests that the line 'Ba, ba, ba lillie ba', which becomes in later versions, 'Blow, blow, blow ye winds blow', is an imitation of the elfin horn of the first stanza; he argues that it is closely linked in the oral tradition with a certain type of

musical phrase which could be said to represent the blowing of horns. However, ballad texts are not usually given to such self-conscious use of sound effects, and it seems more likely that it is the distinctive rhythm of the line which has affected the musical habit of the tune. The original, 'Ba, ba, ba lillie ba' is a lullaby formula; it appears also in the Shetland ballad, 'The Great Silkie of Sule Skerrie' (Child 113):

An earthly nouris sits and sings,
And aye she sings, 'Ba, lily wean!'⁽⁵⁾

The two lines, 'Ore the hills and far awa' and 'The wind hath blown my plaid awa' both have strong independent traditions. The inclusion of the former in Gay's Beggar's Opera in 1728 probably contributed to its popularity; it appears there with the lyrics, 'Were I laid on Greenland's coast'. It is best known today with the nursery rhyme, 'Tom he was a piper's son'.⁽⁶⁾ However, the tunes associated with the line have no more than a very slight resemblance to any Elfin Knight tune, and even this is probably due to the refrain rhythm; no existing text of 'The Elfin Knight' could be sung to any of them. The line, 'The wind hath blawn my plaid awa', which is the one most commonly found with texts in this group, has a song of its own, 'The wind blew the bonny lassie's plaidie awa',⁽⁷⁾ in which its meaning as the loss of virginity is made clear. It appears also with other songs with the same meaning, such as the bothy ballad:

Frae a butcher laddie that lived in Crieff,
 A bonnie lassie cam' to buy some beef;
 He took her in his arms and down she did fa'
 And the wind blew the bonnie lassie's plaidie awa'.

(8)

The two lines, 'Over the hills and far away' and 'The wind has blawn my plaid frae me' are found together also in a Jacobite song, where the plaid is used as a symbol of national independence, which has been blown away by the wind from the south:

Over the hills, an' far away,
 It's over the hills, an' far away,
 Over the hills, an' over the sea,
 The wind has blawn my plaid frae me.
 My tartan plaid, my ae good sheet,
 That keepit me frae wind and weat
 An' held me bien baith night and day,
 Is over the hills, an' far away.

(9)

The sexual meaning of the plaid seems to have been known by most of the transmitters of the 'Elfin Knight' texts in which it occurs, and was probably known also by the broadside demi-poet, although he muddled the sense in the penultimate stanza. In some versions, the exact wording is altered with each stanza to conform to the sense, as in (xviii). Of the four refrain lines, this is the most relevant to the sense of the ballad, and its relevance presumably explains its survival.

The line, 'And far awa to Norrowa' is not entirely out of place either, if the male character in the ballad is taken to be supernatural, for, as is pointed out by Dr. Leba Goldstein, witches and supernatural beings were thought to come from Scandinavia. Dr. Goldstein cites Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy

which speaks of:

Witches and sorcerers...all over Scandinavia,
to sell winds to mariners, and cause tempests...
which is familiarly practised by witches in
Norway. (10)

This was not mere xenophobia, but reflects an actual Scandinavian belief, which persisted in parts of Iceland until the early years of the present century and which found expression, for example, in Snorri Sturluson's Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar, in which a magician, Rauðr, tries to defend himself from Christian missionary activities by creating fog and winds. (11) Supernatural beings in other ballads are associated with the North: the outlandish knight in 'Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight' (Child 4E, F) comes from the North, and so does the witch Allison Gross (Child 35).

As for the form of the burden and refrain, 'The Elfin Knight' is often quoted as the exception to the rule that ballads do not have external burdens like this one. Various statistics have been produced on the subject of the ballad refrain: G.H. Gerould, for example, estimated that roughly half the ballad corpus, including twentieth century versions, have been sung with refrains. Of the Child collection, however, F.B. Gummere estimated that one third have refrains in some version, and most of the couplet texts have an internal refrain, or the traces of one. (12) To these figures, R.L. Greene adds that the 'Elfin Knight' type of burden, which is the normal external burden of the early English carol, appears

in only one in sixty of the Child texts.⁽¹³⁾ The others of this type quoted by Greene have various sorts of external burden, ranging from a regularly repeated line, as in 'Robin and Gandelyn' (Child 115), to the irregular conglomeration of repeated lines and 'diddling' in 'The Bonny Birdy' (Child 82). 'The Elfin Knight', however, is the only ballad in Child's corpus which has both a regular internal refrain and an external burden. It seems unlikely that the burden, which is printed at the end of the Pepys broadside (i) and at the head of the Webster text (ii), was sung between every stanza in addition to the normal refrain. It was possibly sung either at the beginning or the end, or both, this being a common device of folksong, which may well have been used for ballads too. The song, 'The trees they grow high', for example, which is arguably a ballad anyway, though not included in Child's collection, has a one-line internal refrain, 'The bonny lad was young but a-growing', and also a semi-lyrical opening stanza which is often sung also at the end of the song:

The trees they do grow high and the leaves they
do grow green;
The time is gone and past, my love, that you and
I have seen:
It's a cold winter's night, my love, when you and
I must bide alone;
The bonny lad was young but a-growing.

(14)

There is a parallel for this in the Danish ballad tradition, where refrains and burdens are much more common, at least according to the written record, than

in English and Scottish balladry. Axel Olrik describes the performance of a dance-ballad in which the leader sets the dance going with a lyrical introductory stanza which sets the mood of the song, of which one or two lines are then sung as a part of each stanza. This refrain is then 'invariably found with the ballad', although the lyrical introduction may not survive.⁽¹⁵⁾ (Hodgart uses this example as a demonstration of the evolution from lyrical carole to narrative dance-song.) It may be that the practice demonstrated in the broadside 'Elfin Knight' was more than an isolated example, and that burdens with little narrative relevance were sung at the beginning of Scottish ballads as well as Danish ones.

The Ballad Introduction (A) (See Appendix B).

Child assumed that the elfin knight was an intruder in this ballad, and that his proper place was in 'Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight', (Child 4), where the Buchan and Motherwell texts give a similar introduction: Lady Isabel, in her bower, hears the horn of the elf-knight; she voices a wish for his company and his horn, at which the knight appears, complaining:

'It's a very strange matter, fair maiden', said he,
'I canna blaw my horn but ye call on me'.

This is slightly more explanatory than the corresponding stanzas of 'The Elfin Knight', but since the texts of Child 4 appear a hundred and fifty years after the Elfin Knight featured in the Pepys broadside, since elves do

not occur in any other of the very large number of variants of Child 4, and since the authenticity of the Buchan text has been called into question, the borrowing is clearly in the other direction.

Supernatural lovers are, of course, not without parallels in other ballads: the common motif of a lady impulsively leaving her bower to pick a flower, upon which action a fairy lover appears, is very reminiscent of the Elfin Knight; it occurs in 'Tam Lin' (Child 39), 'Hind Etin' (41) and 'The King's Dochter Lady Jean' (52); without specifically referring to a fairy, but still using a supernatural motif, it occurs also in 'Gil Brenton' (5), 'Babylon' (14) and 'Jellon Grame' (90). The two motifs of horn and flower are found together in texts of 'Hind Etin' (41A,B), where, as Wimberly has pointed out, the 'note' which Lady Margaret hears in the A text becomes in B the 'nuts' that she picks in the mulberry wood. Wimberly also provides several examples of elfin horns, harps and songs in Dutch, German and Scandinavian balladry as 'modes of enchantment'.⁽¹⁶⁾ Like the flower or nut-picking motif, which is also associated with attempts to abort a child, (in 'Tam Lin' and 'Mary Hamilton', Child 173), the horn has a sexual symbolism which ties in with the symbolism of the tasks which follow it. The horn was well-established as a male sexual symbol by the fifteenth century, when it featured in such pieces as 'Come blowe thy horne huntere'.⁽¹⁷⁾ The descriptive phrase 'loud and shrill', which is common in ballads (such as 'John Thomson and the Turk',

Child 266, and 'Johnie Scot', 99E,G) occurs also in fifteenth century lyric, though in a different context, the morality lyric:

I hold hym wyse and wel i-taught,
Can bar a horn and blow it naught,...
Hornes are mad both loud and shyll,
Whan tyme ys, blow thou thi fyll,
And whan ned ys, hold the styll....(18)

Horns also have supernatural connotations: witches were supposed to blow horns as they joined the wild hunt, and the ballad witch Allison Gross (Child 35) blows three times on a 'grass-green' horn; the witch in 'The Laily Worm and the Machrel Fish' (Child 36) blows 'loud and shrill' to summon the fish. In medieval romance, the 'King o fairy' in Sir Orfeo comes hunting 'wiþ dim cri and bloweing'.(19)

Fairy lovers, though usually female, were a part of the stock-in-trade of medieval romance, especially the Breton lais, and were even accepted in the sixteenth century as an actual possibility; Margaret Murray, in her book The God of the Witches, quotes items from the Spalding Miscellany of this period which refer to fairy lovers and spouses among the Plantagenets, the French nobility and the common people of Aberdeen, namely Andro Man, who was said to have lived with 'The Queen of Elphen' for thirty-two years and had several children by her.(20)

The Elfin Knight of the ballad becomes a devil in texts from Newfoundland (xvii,xviii)and in the Scottish texts (xxi),(viii) and (iv), where the sinister 'auld, auld man' with a bonnet in his hand is assumed to be

the Devil in Scottish dress. There seems to be some influence of 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' (Child 1), and possibly also of 'The False Knight upon the Road' (Child 3), since in this last text, the 'auld man' is defeated by the answers to his tasks, and leaves with a curse:

'My curse on those wha learned thee;
This night I weend ye'd gane wi me'

In Andra Stewart's text (xvi), which is only two stanzas, the identity of the characters is not specified, but when questioned on the end of the ballad, the singer said, 'He says something about the Lord to him; he went away in a ball of fire, the devil, on this hill. That's why he knew he was talking to the devil'. This is very close to the endings of Child 1, where on the mention of the Devil's name he flies away in a 'flame of fire', but the gender of the human character is changed, and the use of a holy name, rather than the Devil's own, is not found in contemporary texts of Child 1, although it is a common device of folktale and exempla.

In the Newfoundland texts (xvii,xviii) the Devil is likely to have come rather from 'The Farmer's Curst Wife' (Child 278), since this seems to be the source of the opening stanza (A³), the old woman living under a hill; in Child 278 the opening lines are:

There was an old man lived under the hill
If he hain't moved away he's a living there still
(21)

In other texts, the Knight has lost his supernatural qualities, such as Bell Robertson's recited text (x), in which the opening stanza has 'Three trumpeters on yon hill', although the narrative returns to the singular in the second stanza, and is in most respects close to the broadside text.

The Woman's Tasks (G)

The absence of tasks G³ and G⁴ from the broadside text, together with the fact that they occur in nearly all the complete oral versions, is further indication that the song was known before the 1670 printing.

All three of the most frequently occurring tasks, G^{1,3,4}, (the sark, the well and the thorn), call upon widespread and venerable symbolic responses. The sewing of a shirt has numerous parallels in folklore and literature as a symbol of a woman's commitment to a man. In the Gísla saga, for example, the older version of Chapter Nine tells of Asgerd asking Aud to cut out a shirt for Thorkell, Asgerd's husband, to which Aud replies:

'I could not do it better than you... and you would not ask me if you had to make a shirt for my brother Vestein'

'That is another story', says Asgerd, 'and I shall feel like that for a while' (22)

Peter Dronke, commenting on this, refers to the Danish ballad, 'Marsk Stig' (Grundtvig 145), where the Danish King attempts to seduce Marsk Stig's wife:

'Here you sit, fair lady Ingeborg;
 If you will be loyal to me,
 Then sew for me a shirt
 With gold embroidery'

'Should I sew a shirt for you
 With gold embroidery,
 Then men would know, Danish King,
 I was disloyal to Lord Marsk'.

(23)

Sarks occur in other Scottish ballads as love-tokens: the treacherous mermaid in 'Clerk Colvill' (Child 42) washes her sark of silk saying 'it's a' for you...', and a strip of it, bound round Clerk Colvill's head, increases his pain. In 'Johnie Scot' (Child 99), a silken sark is sewed by Johnie's lady as a love token and then sent back to her to summon her. May Margaret in 'Jellon Grame' (90) is bidden to 'come to good green-wood, to make your love a shirt', although she claims she has already made him three every month. The sark can also be a shroud, and a seam-less shirt is particularly suggestive of the winding-sheet. At the news of his death-sentence, Geordie (Child 209C) sends word to his lady:

'He bids ye sew his linen shirts,
 For he's sure he'll no' need many'.

The shroud and the seamless garment may also have associations with the seamless robe of Christ. There is a tale in the Gesta Romanorum which uses the miraculously made shirt as a symbol of Christ's incarnation, although the tale itself is not a specifically Christian one: Archilaus, a wise Emperor, desires a shirt made by a virgin. This request poses a problem, until a secretary

approaches Archilaus, saying that he knows a suitable maiden. They send her three square inches of linen, and a vessel to put it in, and she miraculously accomplishes the task. The moral explains that the shirt is Christ and the virgin is Mary.⁽²⁴⁾

There are various customs associated with sarks and courtship: William Henderson gives an example from the Border region, where, at Hallowe'en or New Year's Eve, young girls wash their sarks and hang them over a chair to dry overnight. If they stay awake, they will see their future husband enter the room and turn the sark over.⁽²⁵⁾ The further detail that the sark must be washed in a south-running stream, or at a ford 'where the dead and the living crossed', provides another link with the ballad tasks. Although not an impossible clause, it combines two concepts which are found also in the impossible tasks of the ballad: the concept of a boundary, a crossing-place, is found in the land which must be between the sea and the sea-strand; and the meeting of opposites, the living and the dead, is at the heart of the impossible task itself, which unites the opposites of positive and negative; the thing must be done, but it cannot be done. These two concepts, which attack the normal categories and assumptions of rational thinking, thus make way for the supernatural and the symbolic. (See Chapter 8). The symbolism of the sark cannot be formulated in any precise allegorical terms because, like any symbol, it will shift its 'meaning' according to its context; more accurately, it

does not 'mean' in normal semantic terms at all, but exists rather in a non-semantic association of ideas. It is natural enough that the making of a shirt for a man should be taken as a sign of commitment, since this is what wives did for their husbands. Through this association, the sark has become identified with marriage, and thus with the loss of virginity; and because of its obvious similarity to the shroud, it has also been identified with death. On the simplest level, then, by making this task logically impossible, the elfin knight is making it clear that union with the girl is out of the question. On a less specific level, the task evokes a symbolic response, touching on the concepts of marriage and perhaps death. As the exemplum of Archilaus shows, this response can be used to illustrate a religious concept; without an allegorical explanation, however, it still creates a resonance and a sense of mystery which, to judge by the widespread occurrence of the task, has a general appeal.

There are also several riddles in the oral tradition which involve cloth neither woven nor spun, or patches sewn without needle or thread⁽²⁶⁾, but these usually have concrete, mundane answers, such as 'beehive' and 'Chink in the wall'.

Another riddle, from the Southern States of America, echoes the remaining two tasks given to the woman in the ballad:

She washed her hands in water
Which neither fell nor run;
She dried her hands on a towel
Which was neither woven nor spun. (27)

The answers to this are given as 'dew' and 'sun'.

Combinations of washing linen and drying it on a bush by a well are commonly found in the rites which are associated with holy wells and pin-wells. The normal pattern of these rites is for the afflicted person, often an infertile woman, to dip a linen rag in the well, stroke it on the affected part of the body and hang it on a thorn-bush.⁽²⁸⁾ Sometimes a pin or a button was left as an offering, and in some cases the rag has itself become this offering, and the washing ceremony lost. These rituals were recently common in all parts of Scotland and England⁽²⁹⁾, and a similar custom is recorded in the Frank C. Brown collection of folklore from North Carolina: if a person washed a handkerchief and leaves it on a sage-bush to dry, the initials of their future spouse will appear on it the next morning.⁽³⁰⁾

In medieval Christian tradition, the grouping of the symbols of well, thorn and maiden is a feature of several Marian lyrics and carols, such as the fifteenth century lyric from MS Sloane 2593:

Out of the Blosme sprang a thorn
 Quan God himself wold be born...
 Ther sprang a well al at her fot
 That al this word it turnyd to good...⁽³¹⁾

The Virgin herself is often referred to as 'well of pity' and similar phrases, as in Chaucer's 'ABC' to the Virgin:

Zacharie yow clepeth the open welle
 To wasshe sinful soule out of his gilt.⁽³²⁾

She is also commonly referred to as the 'burning bush' in which the Holy Spirit is revealed, and Chaucer uses this symbol in the same poem:

Thou art the bush on which ther gan descende
The Holi Gost, the which that Moyses wende
Had ben a-fyr; and this was in figure. (33)

The thorn symbol is also linked with the flowering thorn of Joseph of Arimathea, and with the tree of Jesse motif, as in the sixteenth century Epiphany carol:

Ther ys a blossom sprong of a thorne
To save mankynd, that was forlorne,
As the profettes sayd beforene;
Deo Patri sit gloria.

Ther sprong a well at Maris fote
That torned all this world to bote;
Of her toke Jhesu flesshe and blod
Deo Patri sit gloria. (34)

Even closer to the ballad, as David Fowler has pointed out, is the 'Corpus Christi Carol', which was still current in the oral tradition in the nineteenth century. The Staffordshire version of 1862 contains the lines:

At that bed there grows a thorn
Which was never so blossomed since Christ was born. (35)

The wording of this is so similar to that of the ballad that it seems certain that there was a mixing of the two texts, and the fact that the ballad tasks G^{3,4}, which include the thorn, do not appear until the nineteenth century makes it most likely, as Fowler suggests, that the ballad adopted the motif from the carol, rather than the other way round. However,

Fowler's argument that the appearance of these motifs in the ballad is purely 'whimsical', in contrast to the resonant symbolism of the carol, overlooks the fact that these symbols are not confined to medieval Christianity, and have a resonance even when dissociated from the religious context. It seems unlikely that the grouping of thorn, spring, or well, and maiden, which has no Biblical authority behind it, should suddenly have arisen in association with the Marian cult, and the fertility rituals at holy wells, described above, seem to have little connection with Christianity. There are, moreover, examples of similar groupings in non-Christian sources such as the Old Norse Völuspá, where the three wise maidens, Urðr, Verðandi and Skuld, come from the well of Urðr, which stands beneath a tree. (Þríár ór þeim sae, er und þolli stendr). In this case, the tree is Yggdrasill, the tree of life; the well, with its deep waters, is a symbol of wisdom; and the maidens ordain the fates of men.⁽³⁶⁾ Mircea Éliade⁽³⁷⁾ writes that the most primitive of sacred places constituted a microcosm of stone, water and tree, these three representing the natural world, while the presence of a goddess near to a plant symbol enforces the symbolism of cosmic fertility. The ballad texts cannot be said to give an impression of cosmic fertility; neither, however, are they purely 'whimsical'; like the motif of the sark, the thorn and well motifs prepare the way for a symbolic response to the text, and provide opportunities for association

with mysterious fertility, either through the medieval Christian tradition or through a less specific, folkloric tradition.

J.B.Toelken has suggested that the well motif is an example of a 'death-sex oxymoron', like the red rose in 'Babylon' (Child 14), which portends both a sexual encounter and murder. In the case of the Elfin Knight, the well where no water flows could indicate the grave, and Toelken compares this with the 'earthen lake' in 'The Three Ravens' (Child 26), which certainly means a grave. Toelken also writes that 'Yonders town', which appears in several Group B texts, is a euphemism in the Southern states for the graveyard. However, these are very slight hints, and none of the texts in question have any other suggestion of anything other than a courtship song.

The Man's Tasks (K).

In many texts, the tasks given to the male protagonist greatly outnumber those given to the female, presumably because the tasks associated with ploughing and cultivating land give more scope for the imagination than those associated with washing clothes. In the earliest texts, the tasks are clearly sexual metaphors: rather than asking the man to procure her the acre of land, the girl in the broadside says, 'I have an acre of good ley-land' which the man must plough, or 'eare', with his 'horn' and 'sow it with his corn'. As the later

tasks grew more whimsical and detailed, this symbolism was often obscured, although in some versions, the woman prefaces the tasks with the formula, 'My father has...' (viii), which is a standard preface to a riddle in both American and British traditions, and which is found also in many versions of 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' (Child 46B):

'My father has some winter fruit that in December
grew;
'My mother has a silk mantil the waft gaed never
through.'

The formula often heralds a sexual metaphor, and would be an indication in the ballad that the following phrase was not to be taken at face value.

There are many other examples of ploughing, with its obvious association with fertility, being used as a motif in fertility rites. Both Eliade and Frazer give a number of instances of the identification of the woman with the soil in erotic agriculture magic; a recurring practice, of which there are British records from well into the twentieth century, is the ritual mating in the first furrow of the new year's ploughing.

The same symbolism is found in another folksong, 'The Wanton Seed', which was often omitted from early English folksong collections:

As I walked out one spring morning fair,
To view the fields and take the air,
There I heard a pretty maid making her complain,
And all she wanted was the chiefest grain...

I said to her, 'My pretty maid,
Come tell me what you stand in need'.
'Oh yes, kind sir, you're the man to do my deed,
For to sow my meadow with the wanton seed...' (38)

The Conclusion.

There is a discrepancy in the ballad conclusions in Group A, as to whether the girl is evading or wooing the male. The broadside text is logical as far as stanza 17, where the ending is the one which became most common, particularly for Group B texts: when the Elfin Knight has finished his tasks, he can come and get his sark. The extra two stanzas which follow this, in which the Knight says he will not 'quite his plaid' and the maiden responds by saying she will keep her maidenhead, 'let the elphin knight do what he will', contorts the meaning. In John McWhinnie's text (iv), the girl is evading the Devil and the conclusion is his curse on her teachers; the same idea lies behind Andra Stewart's explanation of his text (xvi). The two texts from New Hampshire (xii and xiv) see the woman's reply as a correct one which is rewarded by marriage:

'And now you have answered these questions aright
I will make you my bride this very night'

Another peculiarity is Martha Reid's text (xv), where both sets of tasks, G and K, are set for the first character, who is not identified, and who responds with the questions, 'How many ships sails in my forest? How many strawberries grows on the salt sea?', which are borrowed from the wider folksong tradition and appear in the song, 'I once loved a lass'.⁽³⁹⁾

In all other versions, where a conclusion is given,

the tasks balance each other and express the impossibility of the union; and this would seem to be the intent of the broadside text. However, if the tasks are read as sexual metaphors, their impossibility is resolved and the union is thus possible. It may be that there were versions of the ballad in circulation before the printing of the broadside text, in which this was the intent of the tasks. A supernatural character would then have been added in a mistaken attempt to make sense of the apparent impossibility of fulfilling the conditions for a union of the male and female characters.

The Tunes:

The American tunes in Group A are recognisably related; the two Decker versions from Newfoundland (xvii and xviii) are, not surprisingly, especially close. The opening phrase of the Rosa Allen tune (viii) is identical to the opening of these two Newfoundland versions, and a resemblance can also be seen in the third line phrases. Belle Richards' version (xi), from New Hampshire, is less close, but the opening phrase is identical except for the last note, and the contour of the third line roughly follows the more complex pattern of the Decker tunes.

The Scottish tunes are in general more free, particularly Martha Reid's, (xv), which is essentially a set of variations on one phrase. There is no real resemblance between any of the Scottish tunes, except

for a slight similarity in the first refrain line of (xvi), from Andra Stewart in Perthshire, and (xx), from Margaret Tait in Shetland. Otherwise, the Shetland tune is more regular than the others, and its opening line is very different, bearing a passing resemblance to the song, 'Were you ever in Quebec?'. The regularity of the tune seems to be a feature of Shetland music, which is perhaps due to influence from the Norwegian folksong and dance music traditions.

Analogues.

Impossible tasks, euphemistic or otherwise, are a common feature in the oral tradition all over the world, as Child testifies in his examples, given in the headnote to Child 2, from Grimm, the Gesta Romanorum, and tales from Turkey and Tibet. Nearly all of these are connected with courtship, often with the intermediate figure of the girl's father, who may set the tasks, if he is a King, or, if he is a peasant, he is set tasks and saved only by the ingenuity of his daughter. The tasks are often solved by cunning, as practical riddles, as in the Gaelic story of Graidhne and Diarmid⁽⁴⁰⁾; or they can be countered by equally impossible demands, as in the ballad, and in the Turkish tale from Radloff's Proben der Volkslitteratur der turkischen Stamme Sud-Sibiriens⁽⁴¹⁾; or, as in the Mabinogion story of Kulhwch and Olwen, in which one of the tasks concerns ploughing, the hero may simply be super-human and accomplish the

tasks literally.⁽⁴²⁾

Analogues in the folksong tradition include the Swedish ballad, 'De omojliga uppgiftena',⁽⁴³⁾ in which a young man offers to make shoes for a girl, but the materials are not yet ready, and the implements are in places far away. She replies that she will wash his hair, but the water is still in the well, and the comb has to be made from the horns of a deer which has yet to be shot by a King's son whose parents are not yet born. In conclusion, he asks her to marry him. The same conclusion is found in a Yiddish folksong, 'Nem aroys a ber fun vald' ('Lead a bear out of the woods')⁽⁴⁴⁾, which includes the task of sewing seven shirts without needle or silk. The exchange of tasks in these two songs seems to be a verbal tour de force, each partner proving his or her cleverness and thus their suitability for each other.

Group B: Herb Refrains.

This is the largest group, of eighty-three texts, many of them being American, although the record is probably distorted by the sudden enthusiasm for song collecting in the 1930's and in particular by the large number of New England texts which were collected for the Helen Hartness Flanders collection, many of which are almost identical. While existing side by side with the Group A tradition, the distinctive refrain and tune of the 'herb' group seems to have kept the two

separate; the narrative setting and the supernatural elements of Group A are not to be found in any Group B version, except, curiously, in one of the very latest collected, the text lxxviii from Mrs. Belle Kettner, of Park Hill, Ontario, which is the single stanza:

On yonder hill there sits a noble knight.
 Say to the fairest damsel you sight,
 Summer sea, a merry of time,
 And then she will be a true lover of mine.

This sudden reappearance of the knight on the hill, who was last seen in 1908 in Alexander Robb's text (A ix), is all the more out of place as the lines scan very badly with the music, which is rhythmically more suited to the normal Group B opening, being in triple time. As it stands, the lines must be scanned as follows:

On yonder hill there sits a noble knight.
 Say to the fairest damsel you sight...

Unless this is coincidence, the most likely explanation seems to be a knowledge of one of the earlier printed texts from Group A.

The more normal openings in this group are either the direct demand, 'I want you to make me a cambric shirt', or the 'As I walked out' type, borrowed from the wider folksong tradition, in which the singer either meets the girl herself, or a messenger who will take his requests to Cape Ann, Rosemary Fair, or wherever the girl is to be found; the place-names naturally vary according to the locality of the text. The Kinloch manuscript text (iii) asks, 'Did you ever travel twixt

Berwick and Lyne ?', the two names signifying a large stretch of country. This is rather out of place in the ballad and is found more suitably in other contexts, such as the poem, 'How Dunbar was desyred to be ane Freir', in which Dunbar is commanded to travel 'frome Berwick to Kalice' (Calais, which was then English).⁽⁴⁵⁾ 'Lyne', which here must be King's Lynn in Norfolk, a major port, appears in American texts as 'Lynn', and there are towns of that name in several states.

The tasks themselves are little altered from the basic pattern of Group A texts, with numerous small variations and improvisations, particularly in the tasks given to the man. A bizarre set of 'additional verses' was published in the New Zealand journal, English Folklore in Dance and Song (No.3, 1939, p.4):

Say can you paint me a portrait fine
Without any canvas paints or time
Yes, if you can draw a straight curved line
And mix oil and water without any lime.

The most curious of the texts in this group, however, is the version produced by Sabine Baring-Gould as a 'play' from Camelford in Cornwall. Baring-Gould found several 'normal' texts of the ballad in Cornwall, and was not averse to combining versions to give a more satisfactory whole, although he usually indicates when he has done so. The text (xiii) is a composite text, and has the note, 'Sent me from Cornwall... enacted in farmhouses'. The text that he sent to Child (viii) is the same, with additional features. Firstly, the description of the enactment of the ballad is in fuller

detail:

This used to be sung as a sort of game in farm-houses, between a young man who went outside the room and a girl who sat on the settle or a chair, and a sort of chorus of farm lads and lasses.

Secondly, Baring-Gould gives four additional stanzas at the beginning of the song, and one at the end, which have the new, and suspiciously literary-sounding refrain:

The wind is blowing in forest and town
And the wind it shaketh the acorns down.

The narrative framework provided by these supplementary stanzas is similar to that of 'The Unquiet Grave' (Child 78), which was also known in Cornwall, so that a straightforward borrowing is likely. Baring-Gould himself collected several versions of Child 78 with the impossible task stanza:

Go fetch me a nut from dungeon deep
And water from a stone,
And white milk from a young maid's breast
That never babe bore none.

This is the most obvious connection between the two ballads, although the story of 'The Unquiet Grave', in which a dead lover is disturbed by the tears of his mistress as she sits on his grave, craving 'one kiss, one kiss from your lily-white lips', is quite different to that of any of the 'Elfin Knight' texts. Baring-Gould's text (viii) also bears the marks of influence from the Group A tradition, in that the maiden voices a wish for her dead lover, who instantly appears; this provides another link with the revenant ballad. In the final stanza, he reveals for the first time that, had

she not answered correctly, 'thou must have gone away with the dead', which makes no sense in conjunction with the main body of the text, in which the condition has been clearly stated:

And when that these tasks are finished and done
I'll take thee and marry thee under the sun.

Again, there is a possible influence here from the Group A tradition, in particular from John McWhinnie's version (iv), where the male character is the Devil, who threatens to carry off the maid if she answers incorrectly. It seems not unlikely that there is a direct influence from the publication of Child's collection, which first appeared in print in 1882; Baring-Gould's text is dated 1886.

Moreover, by the time of the publication of Baring-Gould's own book, Strange Survivals, in 1892, further changes have been made to the text. This time it is not given in full, but the narrative introduction gives the story of the extra stanzas, with the further details:

A girl is engaged to a young man who dies. He returns from the dead and insists on her fulfilling her engagement to him and following him to the land of the dead. She consents on one condition, that he will answer her riddles, or else she pleads to be spared, and the dead lover agrees on condition that she shall answer some riddles he sets...(46)

Again, as an after-thought, in discussing the coming of sunrise in Alvíssmál later in the same book⁽⁴⁷⁾, Baring-Gould gives another twist to the plot, and another extra stanza:

Precisely so in the Cornish version of the Elfin Knight. Unable to accomplish the task, the dead man is caught by the sunrise and says,

'The breath of the morning is raw and cold,
The wind is blowing on forest and down,
And I must return to the churchyard mould,
And the wind it shaketh the acorns down.'

The analogy with the incident in Alvíssmál is in any case not a precise one, since in the ballad, as in the analogous ballad, 'The Wife of Usher's Well' (Child 79), the revenant is called back to the dead by the coming of day, not 'caught' as the dwarf in Alvíssmál is. There seems no reason to doubt the fact of the ballad being sung in Cornwall as a game-song, and there is another text (A xii) which was sung as a duet, but it seems clear that the texts which appear in Child's Volume IV and in Strange Survivals are heavily edited by Baring-Gould, and it must be remembered that he was not a first-hand witness in this case; the ballad was noted by F.W.Bussell. Cecil Sharp said of Baring-Gould that 'after he had altered or added to the original words, as often happened, because they were 'outway rude' or fragmentary, he was apt to forget that his alterations were not part of the real song'.⁽⁴⁸⁾ It seems probable that the extra stanzas and refrain lines not found in the composite text (xiii) are inventions by the editor, who was following common editorial practices of the time. It is, however, possible that the two ballads, Child 2 and Child 78 were mixed in the Cornish tradition, if not elsewhere.

The Herb Refrain.

The refrain itself, while retaining its general shape from the 1810 text in Gammer Gurton's Garland, (i), produces several variants, most of them keeping some form of the 'true lover of mine' formula, but using different herbs or corruptions of the same ones. Many attempts have been made by singers to rationalise the herb names, so that 'Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme' has become 'Every rose grows merry in time' (xxx); 'Every grave grows merry by time' (xxxiv); 'Every leaf grows many a time' (xix) and many other variations. The most frequent of additions is the herb 'savoury' in the place of 'rosemary'.

Several attempts have been made to explain the presence of these herb refrains as incantations against evil spirits. There is certainly a considerable body of folklore surrounding each of the herbs mentioned: parsley, in particular, was widely used as a cure-all. The Middle English Macer Floridus de Viribus Herbarum (c.1400) gives seven healing properties associated with the herb;⁽⁴⁹⁾ John Trevisa's Bartholomaeus Anglicus advises its use as a remedy for almost every conceivable ailment.⁽⁵⁰⁾ It also has strong associations with death and the Devil, so that its medicinal qualities may be derived from a system of sympathetic magic. Thiselton Dyer, in his collection of Folklore of Plants, cites several beliefs concerning its unlucky qualities:⁽⁵¹⁾ in Hampshire, for example, it is considered bad luck to give it away; and there is a gloomy Surrey proverb,

'Where parsley's grown in the garden there'll be a death before the year's out'. Because germination is extremely slow, it was said that the plant went nine times to the Devil and back before growing, and that the Devil kept some of it for himself. Lucy Broadwood, in her notes on herb refrains,⁽⁵²⁾ observes that parsley was used in ancient Greece as a funeral herb, and that it was used magically in Germany.

Lucy Broadwood also notes that rosemary is known in Spain and Portugal as 'the elfin plant'. Parkinson's Parradisus Terrestris of 1629 mentions that 'Rosemary is almost of as great use as bayes - as well for civill as physical purposes: for civil uses as all doe know, at weddings, funerals, etc., to bestow among friends.' Similarly, Herrick's Hesperides of 1648 says of rosemary:

Grow for two ends, it matters not at all
Be' for my bridall or my buriall.

The association of rosemary with longevity and prosperity is perhaps due to the fact that it is an evergreen. It is also credited with the medicinal qualities of helping the memory and the head in general, according to Hackett's Marriage Present of 1607.⁽⁵³⁾ Dyer notes the use of rosemary and thyme in St. Agnes' Eve rituals, to determine a girl's future husband, and he quotes the Spanish proverb:

Who passeth by the rosemarie
And careth not to take a spraye
For woman's love no care has he
Nor shall he, though he live for aye.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Thyme, according to Lucy Broadwood's notes, is said in England to bring death into the house; it also has associations with virginity, as in the folksong:

Oh, when my thyme was new,
It flourished both night and day,
Till bye there came a false young man
And he stole my thyme away. (55)

Traces of another herb refrain including thyme are to be found in Burns' version of 'The Devil and the Ploughman', which is entitled 'Kellyburnbraes':

Hey, and the rue grows bonnie wi thyme...
And the thyme it is withered and rue is in prime..
(56)

Sage has fewer folkloric associations, although Lucy Broadwood notes that it is used to ward off evil in Spain and Portugal, and that Pepys observed the use of sage on graves in Southampton. It also has medicinal properties, as its Latin name, salvia, implies.

Thus for each of the herbs in the ballad refrain, there are popular associations with warding off evil, with death, or with marriage, and these associations may account for the popularity of the herb refrain in combination with 'The Elfin Knight', although these are not the only herbs to have such associations. It is unlikely that singers of the Group B texts actually thought of the refrain as an incantation, for the characters of the Elf and the Devil do not appear in these texts. The earliest example of the 'Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme' refrain is dated 1810, unless 'Kellyburnbraes' is taken to be a relation. From about the same date there is an interesting parallel, which

is supplied in a footnote of Sir Walter Scott's, from
Dr.Leyden:

The herb vervain, revered by the Druids, was also reckoned a powerful charm by the common people, and the author recollects a popular rhyme supposed to be addressed to a young woman by the devil, who attempted to seduce her in the shape of a handsome young man:

'Gin ye wish to be leman mine,
Lay off the St.John's wort and the vervine'.

By his repugnance to these sacred plants, his mistress discovered the cloven foot. (57)

Robert Chambers, who prints this note, adds that 'the same idea must have prevailed in Sweden, for one of the names given to the Hypericum Perforatum (St.John's wort) is Fuga Daemonum'. Likewise, Grimm quotes an English rhyme:

Marjoram, John's Wort, heather white,
Put the fiend in a proper fright. (58)

Similar traditions associated with St.John's Wort are found in the Isle of Man, where 'the white herb' is the national plant. Vervain has a number of charms, such as the English one of 1608:

Hallowed by thou, Vervein, as thou growest on the
ground,
For in the Mount of Calvary, there thou wast
first found.
Thou healest our Saviour Jesus Christ, and staunchest
his wound;
In the name of (Father, Son, Holy Ghost), I take thee
from the ground.
(59)

The tradition is a medieval one, as is shown by a Stockholm medical manuscript of c.1400, which describes vervain:

If it be on hym day and nyth
 And he kepe fro dedly synne aryth,
 The devel of helle schal have no myth
 To don hym neyther fray ne fryth... (60)

From these rhymes about vervain and St. John's Wort, there appears to have been a popular tradition of herb rhymes, derived from the use of herbs as charms. Even if the 'Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme' line had no previous existence as such, it is likely that it was from this tradition that the line was drawn into the ballad, rather than from the carol tradition from which the herb refrain of Child 1 seems to have derived (see Chapter 2). The influence of the carol refrain, however, cannot be excluded altogether, and may well have provided a model.

The Tunes

Despite the relative constancy of the texts in Group B, the tunes show a wide variety, although the distinctive compound duple time gives them an appearance of similarity. Group (a) (see Appendix of Tunes) is a cohesive group found in the English tradition of the nineteenth century, which extends into the early twentieth century. Most of these are from Yorkshire, and they are characterised by the shape of their opening phrase, ending in nearly all cases on the supertonic, and by the overall contour of the tune. Most (a) tunes finish on the tonic.

Group(b) is less clearly defined, the most distinctive characteristic being an upward movement at the end of the first line into the second, which is in several cases an

octave leap; from this point, the tune makes its way rapidly back to the lower tonic. The tune of (xxxviii), from Mrs. Williams of Iowa, begins with a phrase very much like the music-hall ballad, 'Villikens and his Dinah', which had numerous versions and was widely popular, so there may be a direct borrowing here.

The tunes classed (c) show an unusually clear case of an orally transmitted tune travelling across the Atlantic. The Scottish tunes collected in the 1930s by Carpenter come from a geographically compact area in the North East, and their close similarities are therefore not surprising. However, the tune, with its distinctive insistence on the minor third interval, which keeps the modality hovering between between F major and D minor (as written) appears also in three isolated American texts, from Maine, Vermont and Wisconsin (lxv, lxvi, xxxii). None of the American sources, the earliest of which is dated 1914, mentions direct Scottish descent. Unless we assume an untraced printed source, this is a tribute to a distinctive and attractive melody.

The three (d) tunes are similar to the (c) group, but have more emphasis on the Dorian mode. Bronson thinks that (xvii) may have originally been entirely Dorian. The tunes share features with other Irish tunes, such as 'Rolling in the Dew'. The two tunes (e) also have an Irish flavour, and share an insistence in the first two lines on the perfect fourth interval.

The remainder of the tunes, although many have the appearance of family resemblances either to each other or to the other groups, have no really distinctive linking features; the majority are structured simply in the Aeolian mode.

Group C: Nonsense Refrains.

This smaller group is wholly American, with a handful of nineteenth century tunes and a steady flow of twentieth century ones. Tunes and refrains are mostly in common time, with some variation of the line, 'Flum-a-lum-a link supa-loo my nee'. There is a tendency to break up long notes by regular repetitions of the same note with different syllables. Belden suggests that the words may show Hawaiian or Malayan influence:

Such influence might come about if any of the singers' ancestors or relatives had ever been on a whaling voyage. (61)

However, similar types of mouth-music occur in many cultures, from the Elizabethan song-book's 'Hey ding-a-ding-a-ding' to the virtuoso 'diddling' of the Scottish bothy singers; it seems unnecessary to search for specific linguistic sources.

There are three exceptions to the general pattern of the refrain: the first is the early text printed by Child (i) from Massachusetts; the informant traces this back to a 'rough, roystering character in the town'. The refrain rhythm is unclear for the first line, but the second line suggests a common time tune, and echoes of syllables from other versions indicate a common tradition. The same can be said of the other two exceptions, which are the text from Ola Leonard Gray (vi) and the one from Moses Ayers (iv). These two have identical tunes, but the texts vary slightly, there being several more verses in (vi). The refrains are

nearly identical, and distantly related to the normal pattern. The main difference between these and the other versions is that the tunes are in compound duple time, while preserving the basic contour of the common time tunes. The tunes could have developed from a Group B tune, and the stanza texts and tunes show no common distinguishing features from Group B.

Group D: 'Sing Ivy' refrains.

With the exception of the very suspect Niles text (xx), this group is entirely English, with a concentration of texts from the South Western counties. Although based on the male tasks from Group A, the tradition of this group runs separately from other groups; the narrative setting and the female character are omitted, and the tasks are added to indefinitely, with no indication of the sexual symbolism of the ballad proper (unless this is implied in the unrecorded 'ribald versions' mentioned by the Hudlestons) However, the phrase, 'My father had...' is a common introduction to riddles, and specifically to riddles which have sexual overtones; this can be seen in Child 46 with the riddle answer, itself a riddle, 'My father had a winter fruit..' (See p.187) The phrase was probably adopted from Group A texts (K^{1b}) without an understanding of the symbolism of the acre of land.

The tasks themselves present a nursery-rhyme-type world in which human tasks are performed by small

animals, or with fantastic implements, a feather, or the sting of an adder. One at least of the tasks had a previous existence in adynata literature, in the anti-feminist poem, 'Whane Nettuls in Wynter'⁽⁶²⁾, from the late fifteenth century. This is a lengthy catalogue of unlikely events, which, the poet says, are the only conditions in which women could be trusted. These events include whittings stalking harts in the forest, apes sitting in Parliament, and wrens carrying sacks to the mill. Although wrens do not carry grain to the mill in any of the ballad texts, they do carry it home (K^{16c}).

The refrain, which normally includes both holly and ivy, seems to have been taken from the carol tradition. Several of the early carols in Greene's collection have similar holly and ivy refrains, such as No.448:

Greene growith the holy,
So doth the ive
Thow wynter blastys blow never so hye,
Greene growth the holy.

The 'Laetabundus' carol (Greene No.14a) has at its head and its end the burden:

Holy holy holy holy holy and yffy yffy
Holy holy and yffy yffy holy yffy holi.

Both plants have the associations of strength and constancy often attached to evergreens, illustrated for example in a late medieval song from the Welsh Trystan:

There are three trees that are good,
 Holly and ivy and yew,
 They put forth leaves while they last,
 And Trystan shall have me as long as he lives. (63)

As a pair, they are also traditional male-female symbols, holly being the male, and there are Shrovetide 'Holly-boy' and 'Ivy-girl' ceremonies recorded in Kent. (64)

Medieval games and debate poems feature a battle for 'maistrie' between the two, as in the lyric from the Bodleian MS. Eng.Poet. e 1, 'Holyvr and Heyvy mad a gret party'. From the same manuscript come two other holly and ivy lyrics: 'Her commys holly þat is so gent', and 'The most worthye she is in towne'. (65) These pieces are probably of folk origin, over-worked by learned writers, who evidently knew the sexual symbolism of the two plants, for religious refrains are added which fit the sex of the plant: the holly lyric has the word, 'Alleluia', referring to the Resurrection of Christ, and the ivy lyric has the words, 'Veni coronaberis', referring to the Coronation of the Virgin). Another attempt to Christianise the symbols can be seen in the carol, 'The Holly and the Ivy':

The holly bears a blossom,
 As white as the lily flower,
 And Mary bore sweet Jesus Christ,
 To be our sweet Saviour. (66)

Holly also appears as a refrain for the ballad, 'The Wife wrapt in Wether's Skin' (Child 277A,B):

Hollin, green hollin,
 Bend your bow, Robin.

The Tunes (Group D)

Once again, there is no firm tune tradition with the song, although all the variants have a faint resemblance of contour and melodic habit. Many of them share phrases with other songs, such as 'Uncle Tom Cobleigh' (see v) and 'The Mountain Dew' (see xxiii). Henry Hills' tune (iii), which is the earliest recorded, is very like the Group B(a) tunes in its opening, and, like them, is reminiscent of the carol, 'I saw three ships come sailing in'. An echo of this carol has also entered the refrain of (vi): 'On Christmas Day in the morning', although the tune with this text does not have such a marked resemblance to the carol. It would seem that the majority of singers construct their tunes from a combination of set phrases common to many folk-songs, and following a simple melodic habit, based on the major triad, and aiming to finish on the tonic.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE. (CHILD 2)

1. However, there is a song, 'Sal i go vitht }ou to rumbelo fayr', alluded to by Robert Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland (1549) p.51 (fol.52r). Since the first 'Elfin Knight' texts with this opening occur in the 19th century, it is far from certain that this is the same song, although it is just possible that the broadside author was working from a popular model of this type, preserved in the oral tradition concurrent with the 'Elfin Knight' text. However, it is probable that there were other songs with this opening, and the Complaynt, which lists the song among songs and ballads sung by shepherds, gives no more than the one line.
2. Bronson, The Ballad as Song, pp.257 ff.
3. Child 2B, (ii), is derived partly from the broadside, partly from the recitation of a nameless 'old lady'.
4. Sharp & Karpeles, Eighty English Folk Songs, No.47.
5. Cp. Skelton's poem, 'With lullay, lullay, like a child', which uses the lullaby words, 'Ba,ba,ba'. John Scattergood, ed., John Skelton; The Complete English Poems (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1983) p.42. Scattergood glosses 'ba(s)' as a possible variant of 'baiser' (Fr.), 'to kiss', a meaning used by Chaucer in The Wife of Bath's Prologue (Works, p.80, 1.433): 'Com neer, my spouse, lat me ba thy cheke!'
6. See Bronson, The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads, I p.15. For the text, see Iona & Peter Opie, The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, p.3.
7. Recording from Jeannie Robertson, Topic 12T96, 'My plaidie's awa'.
8. David Kerr Cameron, The Ballad and the Plough, pp.131-2.
9. James Hogg, The Jacobite Relics of Scotland (Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1821) II p.401.
10. Cited in Dr. Leba Goldstein, 'The Elfin Knight: Another examination', Folk Review Sept.1976 pp.4-6.
11. Ólafs sagaTryggvasonar (Snorri Sturluson, Is. forn. XXVI, Reykjavik 1941, pp.325-6).
12. F.B.Gummere, The Popular Ballad, p.74 n.2; cited in G.H.Gerould, The Ballad of Tradition, pp.117-118.
13. Greene, Early English Carols p.lxviii.

14. Matthew Hodgart, The Faber Book of Ballads, pp.147-8.
15. Axel Olrik, cited in Hodgart, The Ballads, p.81.
16. L. C. Wimberly, Folklore in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads, pp.293-8.
17. By W. Cornysh, in 'Henry VIII's MS', British Library Add. 31922, ff.39-40. Printed in Musica Britannica: A National Collection of Music, Vol.XVIII, 'Music at the Court of Henry VIII', ed. John Stevens, p.29. (Stainer & Bell Ltd, London 1962).
18. Bodleian MS English Poetica e.1, xviii. Thomas Wright, 'Songs and Carols of the 15th Century', in Early English Poetry XXIII, pp.23-4.
19. Sir Orfeo: Auchinleck MS, 1.285 (ed. A. J. Bliss, Oxford University Press, 1952, p.26).
20. Spalding Club Miscellany I, ed. 1941. In Margaret Murray, The God of the Witches (Daimon Press, Essex 1962), pp.30ff.
21. Mrs. J. Rohrbaugh, 1942, in Marie Boette, Singa Hipsy Doodle, p.5 (A).
22. Translation by George Johnston, The Saga of Gisli, p.7. For the original see Gísli Saga Surssonar, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson, p.30:
'þat kann ek eigi betr en þú... ok myndir þú eigi mik til biðja, ef þu skyldir skera Vésteini bróður mínum skyrtuna'.
'Eitt er þat sér', segir Ásgerðr, 'ok svá mun mér þykkja nokkura stund'.
23. Translation by Peter Foote, in Johnston, op.cit. pp.71-2.
24. Sidney J. H. Herrtage, The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum, pp.170-2.
25. William Henderson, Folklore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders, p.79.
26. Archer Taylor, English Riddles from Oral Tradition, p.512.
27. Ibid., p.463.
28. J. M. MacPherson, Primitive Beliefs in North East Scotland, p.49.
29. For examples, see Walter Gregor, Notes on the Folklore of the North East, p.40; W. Henderson, op.cit., pp.193-5; E. Sidney Hartland, 'Pin-Wells and Rag-Bushes', Folklore IV (1893) pp.451-70; E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, I pp.122-3.

30. The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore VI p.621.
31. British Library Sloane 2593 ff.12-23^V. Carleton Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, p.88.
32. Chaucer, Works, p.526, lines 177-8.
33. Ibid, lines 92-4 (Exodus iii 2-4).
34. R. L. Greene, The Early English Carols, No.132A (Balliol College, Oxford 354, f.222^V).
According to early Christian apocryphal writings, the annunciation took place at a fountain by a thorn-bush; see Peter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric, p.70.
35. David Fowler, Literary History of the Popular Ballad, p.21
36. Voluspá, ed. Sigurður Nordal, p.39, st. 20. Voluspá is arguably influenced by Christianity, but only by the central mysteries, and an obscure apocryphal symbol would not have been known by the poet.
37. M. Éliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, pp.266 ff.
38. A. L. Lloyd, Folksong in England, p.186.
39. 'I once loved a lass', in for example The Irish Songbook (ed. The Clancy Brothers & Tommy Makem, Oak Publications, New York 1979) pp.16-17.
40. Child, I p.8.
41. Child, I p.10.
42. The Mabinogion, transl. Jeffrey Gantz (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1976) pp.135-76.
43. A. Noren, H. Schuck, J. A. Lundell, A. Grape, eds., 1500- och 1600-talens visbocker (Stockholm & Uppsala, 1884-1925) II pp.25-7. Reference from B. R. Jonsson et al, The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad.
44. Ruth Rabin, '19th Century Yiddish Folksongs', JAF LXV (1952) pp.227-54 (C).
45. The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. J. Kinsley, No.55, p.166. Cf. Chaucer, 'General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales' (Works p.23, l.692), 'fro Berwyk into Ware'.
King's Lynn, Norfolk, is referred to as 'Lynn' in The Paston Letters A.D. 1422-1509 (6 vols., ed. James Gairdner. London, Chatto & Windus, 1904), e.g. VI p.60.
46. Sabine Baring-Gould, Strange Survivals, pp.225-6.
47. Ibid., pp.232-3.
48. Miss Priscilla Wyatt-Edgill, a friend of the Baring-

- Gould Family, cited in Maud Karpeles, Cecil Sharp: his Life and Work, p.51.
49. Gösta Frisk, ed., A Middle English Translation of the Macer Floridus de Viribus Herbarum, pp.137-8.
 50. M. C. Seymour, ed., On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum: A Critical Text (Clarendon, Oxford, 1975) II p.1024.
 51. T. F. Thiselton Dyer, The Folklore of Plants, pp.107-8.
 52. JFSS III (L907) No.10 pp.6-38.
 53. All these from W. C. Hazlitt, Dictionary of Faith and Folklore, p.598.
 54. Thiselton Dyer, op.cit., p.97.
 55. Ibid., p.160, 'The Willow Tree'.
 56. 'Kellyburnbraes', 1792; J. Kinsley, ed., The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns, II p.644.
 57. Cited in R. Chambers, Popular Rhymes of Scotland, pp.286-7.
 58. J. Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, transl. J. S. Stallybrass, III (4 vols, George Bell & Sons, London 1883)p.1214.
 59. F. Ohrt, 'Herba, Gratia Plena', FFC XXVIII (1929)p.17.
 60. Geoffrey Grigson, The Englishman's Flora (Paladin, St. Alban's 1958) p.336.
 61. Belden, cited in H. H. Flanders, Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England, I p.70.
 62. Greene, op.cit., No.402A. Bodley MS Eng. Poetica e.1 ff 43v-45.
 63. Kenneth H. Jackson, ed., A Celtic Miscellany, p.98.
 64. Greene, op.cit., xcvi ff. From Gentleman's Magazine.
 65. Respectively, R. H. Robbins, Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, pp.45-6; p.46; pp.46-7.
 66. The Oxford Book of Carols, No.38.

CHAPTER FOUR: 'THE FALSE KNIGHT UPON THE ROAD' (CHILD 3)

Texts of what Child describes as 'this singular ballad' are comparatively few, but far-flung, testifying to a three-stranded tradition in Scotland, Ireland and the United States, where it is found mainly in the North-East, but also in Arkansas and Oklahoma. There are two Scandinavian relations, one in Swedish from the Lappfiord in Finland, one from the Faroe Islands.⁽¹⁾ Apart from these two, the thirty-one texts can be roughly divided between two groups, one of which has connections with Ireland, the other of which has Scottish characteristics. In America, however, the two groups have merged in some cases.

The 'Irish' Group.

(Texts i,v,vi,vii,ix,xi,xii,xiii,xv,xvi,xviii,xix,xxv,xxix,xxxi)

Only four of these texts are actually recorded from Irish sources; the rest are classed with them because of features which they have in common and which are not found in any Scottish versions. The earliest of them, and of all the texts, is the fragment recorded in C. R. Maturin's gothic novel Women: or, Pour et Contre, published in Edinburgh in 1818 (Text i). It consists of two stanzas, sung by an old madwoman, who is pursuing a young and virtuous heroine; the madwoman is clearly associated with the Devil, because she utters wild diabolic prayers, and thus the dramatic situation is appropriate to the song. The singer acknowledges that it is only a fragment, and she says that the rest is 'gone far

off, like all I remembered once - far off'. The first stanza is not found elsewhere:

Oh, I wish you were along with me,
Said the false-knight, as he rode,
And our Lord in company,
Said the child as he stood.

The second stanza occurs in Scottish and American texts a hundred years later, and in one of the early Scottish texts (iv):

Oh, I wish you were in yonder well,
Said the false-knight as he rode,
And you in the pit of Hell,
Said the child as he stood.

Maturin describes the verses as 'a fragment of an Irish ballad evidently of monkish composition'. Other versions from Irish sources certainly show a tendency towards the homiletic, but this is more probably evidence of Christian overlay than of monkish origin. The homiletic tendency, which is manifested in references to God and Hell, and in an emphasis of the polarity of knight and child, is one of the distinctive features of the 'Irish' group. For example, in the most recent of the group, the recording of Frank Quinn in County Tyrone in 1958 (xxv), the religious overtones are dominant, and have ousted the more whimsical exchanges of the Scottish versions. Instead of going to school, the child is on his way 'to meet my God'; the hour is late, the journey is not the everyday one found in most other texts, but a pilgrimage over land and sea. The phrase 'with a strong staff in my hand' is possibly a deliberate evocation of the twenty-third psalm, and an elaboration of the more

common question found in the American texts (vi) and (xviii):

I wish you were on the sands...
A good staff in my hands...

There is also a staff in 'Harpkin', the Scottish rhyme Child prints as an analogue of the ballad, but the context is a nonsensical one:

What for had you your staff on your shoulder?...
To haud the could frae me...(2)

It is unclear whether Quinn's text (xxv) originated in Scotland or in Ireland; he learned it from his grandfather, who moved from Scotland to Coalisland as a boy. The collector, Sean O'Boyle, notes that 'Burns was the favourite poet of the district and his grandfather, who read Ovid among other good literature, taught him other ballads...'. This literary heritage, which is typical of many Scottish families⁽³⁾, may account for the neat and logical structure of the text; the material, however, is found in other versions and was evidently accepted as a part of the song's oral tradition. O'Boyle also notes a rather suspect folkloric explanation of the homiletic element, which is supposed to have been given to Quinn by 'an old fisherman':

The knight was some kind of emissary of the devil, some sort of spectre or ghost like, that inhabited a certain part of the road. It was fatal for a person to move confronting this thing and this dialogue was a test of the child, to see if he was well fortified for the ultimate end'.⁽⁴⁾

There are a number of beliefs mixed in this explanation, which seems to be a response to the ballad text itself, rather than a piece of supporting evidence. The idea that it was 'fatal' to move seems particularly out of place, and

may well be a rationalisation of the child standing still in the road, a stance which is emphasised in Quinn's text by the refrain:

And he stood, and he stood, and 'twere well that
he stood

The child stands firm in the majority of texts, but it is the defiance of the gesture, not a fear of death, which is important.

There are three American texts which bear close resemblances to Quinn's. The closest are the two Appalachian versions recorded by Cecil Sharp in 1916, (vi and vii), from Mrs. T. G. Coates and Mrs. Jane Gentry. In 1947, Duncan Emrich recorded the daughter of Mrs. Gentry, Maud Long, singing the ballad as taught to her by her mother (xviii), and this recording is longer and very close to Mrs. Coates' text. The Tennessee text (vi) has the rare 'bell' rhyme (Q in Appendix C) as its ending, which is found also in Quinn's text:

I think I hear a bell...
It's ringing you to Hell...

This text also has the unique feature of a one-line introduction, 'The Knight met a child in the road', the only narrative setting given in all the texts. All these three texts have a similar refrain to Quinn's, although the tunes differ.

Another text with similarities to Quinn's, and sharing the same tune, is printed by J. J. Niles in his Ballad Book, supposedly supplied by Preston Wolford in Powell County (xv). Texts from Niles, who was a professional singer as well as a

collector, are notoriously suspect, and D. K. Wilgus notes that 'in recent program and album notes, (Niles) has confessed personal interference ranging from tune alteration to complete composition'.⁽⁵⁾ His 'False Knight' bears typical marks of tampering, such as the new title, 'The Smart School-boy', and dialect or archaic usages not found in any other version, such as the first line:

'Oh where be ye going?' said the knight on the road.

Niles' texts can very often be traced to printed sources, and there is nothing in the words of this one that could not have been composed from Sharp's American-English Folk-Ballads, published in 1918 with Mrs. Coates' text of the ballad (vi). However, the tune that Niles supplies is an unmistakable relation to Frank Quinn's (xxv), which is like the Scottish melody published by Sir Hugh Robertson as the Uist tramping song.⁽⁶⁾ This tune does not appear with any other 'False Knight' texts, which implies either that Niles and Quinn had a common traditional source, or that the publication of Niles' Ballad Book was the source for Quinn's version. Either way, the Niles text cannot this time be dismissed; whether a Preston Wolford sang it or not, it is a part of the ballad's tradition.

A rare English version of the ballad also falls into this group of 'Irish' texts, collected from Mrs. Stanley in Cheshire (xxxi). The tune is different from any other, but the words resemble those of (vi), the Tennessee text, with the distinctive 'bell' rhyme. The child, a girl, is on her way to school; when questioned as to why, she replies, 'to learn the word of God'.

However, since this is the only text from England in the 'Irish' group, and since the only other English text collected (xxvii) has a possible connection with Scotland, there is a possibility that this is an educated borrowing from (vi), which was already published in the well-known collection of Appalachian folksongs by Sharp and Karpeles. The tune, moreover, is untypical of English folksong but bears a resemblance to the French tune to the hymn 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence'.

Homiletic elements are also found in texts (ix) from Sarah Finchum in Virginia, and (xix), from Evelyn Richardson and Anne Wickens in Nova Scotia. In the first of these, the false knight asks the child if it is a 'child of God', to which it replies, 'I say my prayers at night'. The knight is described in this text as 'the false so rude', which is perhaps derived from the line in Motherwell's text (ii), 'And false, false was his rede'. In text (xix) the child says she is going to school to learn to read, which will keep her from Hell, and when the knight says that there is no Hell she replies, 'I believe you lie', which makes an unusual and striking end to the song.

The fragment (v), a single stanza learned by a French child from an illiterate Irish family, has none of these homiletic elements, but gives the age of the child as seven years old, a detail found in six other texts in the 'Irish' group and in none of the Scottish. It appears in another Irish-derived version, (xi), which Mrs. E. M. Sullivan learned in her childhood in Ireland and took with her to Vermont. In this case the mystical significance of the

number seven is emphasised, for the child, after mentioning Hell in stanza six, bows seven times on the road. This is perhaps connected with the curse, and the child's negation of the curse, in the following stanza. The curse is also found in text (xii), where the child's age is again given as seven. In (xii), some of the questions are borrowed from 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' (Child 1: see Chapter 2), where the dialogue is also between a mortal and the Devil in American versions. The same has happened in the text (xxix), although the riddle section here is not identical. This text also has the age of the child given, but there is a discrepancy between some stanzas which give it as seven, and others which give it as 'not seven years old'. Lee Haggerty, who collected the text from Alan Kelly in New Brunswick, suggests that the latter reading is the correct one, since seven is the theological age of reason: under that age, the child is safeguarded from the attempts of the Devil to harm him. However, if this was so, the homiletic elements, in which the child uses the names of Heaven and Hell, and God and the Devil, in the same way as they are used in Child 1, would be pointless. It seems much more logical that the more common reading of 'seven years old' is the correct one, emphasising the fact that the child is old enough to make a moral stand against his adversary.

The age of seven is found also in a French-Canadian version of the ballad, entitled 'Où vas-tu, mon petit garçon?', which was recorded from the Revd. P. Arsenault of Prince Edward Island, learned from his mother.⁽⁷⁾ It is published by C. Marius Barbeau in his collection of Jongleur Songs of

Old Quebec, and Barbeau assumes French composition, being presumably unaware of the song's existence in English. The text is not a direct translation of any version in English, but it most resembles Alan Kelly's text (xxix), and is associated with the 'Irish' group rather than with the Scottish. The main difference is in the first line of refrain, which replaces the description of the false knight with the line:

Je m'en viens, tu t'en vas, nous passons

The line has a possible connection with a dance-song, and it is perhaps not a coincidence that the text (xii), which comes from Nova Scotia, has a nonsense refrain during which the singer dances. The second refrain line is as in the English versions:

Disait ça un enfant de sept ans

Thus, in the French song, the context of the false knight questioning a small child is obscured, but the first stanza is a common one in the 'Irish' group:

Où vas-tu, mon petit garçon?
 Où vas-tu, mon petit garçon?
 (Je m'en viens, tu t'en vas, nous passons)
 Je m'en vais droit à l'école,
 Apprendre la parol' de Dieu,
 Disait ça un enfant de sept ans.

The repetition of the first line is found also in the Nova Scotia text with the dance refrain (xii), although the tunes are not similar. The next two stanzas contain the two riddles from Child 1 that appeared also in Alan Kelly's text (xxix); these questions, of course, preserve the context of Devil and child, although the Devil is never named in the French. The last two stanzas are quite different from any English version:

4. 'Qu'est-c'qui pousse sur nos terres?' etc.

'Les avoines et les blés d'or,
'Les chataignes et les poiriers' etc.

5. 'Que f'ras tu quand tu s'ras grand?' etc.

'Je cultiverai les champs,
'Nourrirai femme et enfant', etc.

The fields of oats and golden wheat (Les avoines et les blés d'or) could be from either side of the Atlantic, but Barbeau points out that 'chataignes' and 'poiriers' (~~chestnut~~ and pear trees) are not familiar in Nova Scotia, and this was his reason for assuming that the song was composed by 'a singer of old France'. These last two questions may have been borrowed from a French song. French and English traditions of the folksong in general seem to have been closely linked in the North-Eastern states; the fragment (v) was learned by a French child from an Irish source; Alan Kelly, who learned most of his songs from his father, had a repertoire of both French and English texts.

The Irish and the Scottish strands of the tradition are also closely connected in America and in Britain. The eighteenth century settlers in the Appalachians were from both Lowland Scotland and the North of Ireland. From the seventeenth century there were settlements of Scottish families in Northern Ireland, and from the eighteen-twenties onwards there was large scale emigration in the other direction, as Irish labourers sought work in the more prosperous Scottish Lowlands; there was also a seasonal influx of Irish workers for potato harvesting and other casual labour.⁽⁸⁾ In general, the merging of traditions of the song, especially in America, suggest that it was more widely popular than the thirty-odd texts testify; the occasional note to a text also



suggests this, such as that by Manny and Wilson to Alan Kelly's text:

The False Knight, we are told, used to be much sung in Miramichi, and all our singers know fragments of it. Several people told us they had learned it, words and music, from the Family Herald. Upon further inquiry, we found that it was well known in Miramichi before the Family Herald printed it in its 'Old Favourites'. However, when it appeared in print, everyone felt that the printed version was the authoritative 'right one'. Alan Kelly's version is very different from any other that we have heard here. (9)

The Scottish Group.

(Texts ii-iv, viii, x, xiv, xvii, xx-xxiii, xxvii, xxviii, xxx)

The other main branch of the song's tradition is the more distinctively Scottish one found first in the two Motherwell texts printed by Child (ii, iii) and associated more closely with Scandinavian traditions than is the Irish group.

Mary MacQueen's version of 1827 (iii) seems to have been widely known, possibly through the publication of Motherwell's Minstrelsy. It appears verbatim in Andrew Crawford's Collection; it also travelled intact to New Brunswick, via Mrs. James McGill, who learned it in Galloway and wrote it down in 1929 (x). Moffat printed a slightly modified version in 1933 with the tune of (iii), changing the timing slightly to fit the words. The text from the McMath family (iv), with a different tune, is textually still close to the earlier versions and, as Bronson points out, the tune is 'rhythmically the exact counterpart of Motherwell's text',⁽¹⁰⁾ by which he means the tuneless text (iii). All this testifies to a strong tradition of the ballad in West Scotland, well-

established by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Modern Scottish texts collected by Hamish Henderson and Francis Collinson in Perthshire and Aberdeen have close affinities with this earlier tradition, but are not identical. The most striking similarities are in the tunes, which are mostly very close to the McMath version (iv). The tune from Nellie MacGregor (xx) seems to be the same tune turned inside out; since it is a very basic pentatonic melody which moves straight up and down the scale, this is quite easily done by moving up the scale where other versions move down, and vice versa. Willie Whyte's tune (xxviii) has an additional second half which extends over the second stanza. His text also has an innovative final stanza:

'Has your mother any more like you?' said the false knight upon the road,
'Aye, but none of them for you', says the little boy,
and there he stood.

Several American texts seem to be derived from the early West Scottish tradition (which may of course have been common to the rest of Scotland). Text (xiv), from Lucile Wilkin in Indiana, 1935, and (xxx), from James McPherson in Oklahoma, are particularly close to the Scottish versions and (xxx) is Scottish in origin, since the singer comes from Inverness. Another Scots-derived text comes from Virginia (viii) via Miss J. D. Johns, whose uncle came from Scotland, and is rather different, having the unusual prose conclusion, 'And he pitched him in the well and went on to school'. The knight has acquired the name 'Munroe', perhaps a mishearing of the phrase 'on the road', which may also owe something to the lovesong 'Young Munro'. It has the command by the knight to give his dog a share of food, which is elsewhere found

only in Alan Kelly's text (xxix) from the 'Irish' group, but otherwise the questions follow the general pattern of the Scottish tradition and there are no religious overtones. The text is recited, as is James MacPherson's. Another Virginian text in the Scottish group is a two-stanza fragment sung by Mrs. Ninninger (xvii), where the questions are much closer to the Galloway versions.

Finally in this group there is the text from Miss Margaret Eyre, which is a single stanza (xxvii). Though collected in Scotland, the text was learned in Huntingdonshire in the eighteen-sixties, and the phrase 'on the road' has been anglicised to 'in the wood' to thyme with 'stood'. In Scottish it is possible, of course, that the rhyme was always a bad one; it could have been perfect, however, if the text came originally from the Islands, from Norn, the Orkneys or the Shetlands, where the common pronunciation of 'stood' was 'stod', which would rhyme with the old pronunciation of 'road' as 'rod', common in the eighteenth century and in use for some time after.⁽¹¹⁾

There are several features of the texts in this group which are found also in the Faroese or the Finnish-Swedish ballads of the same type. The Faroese version, 'Kall og svein ungi', was collected by Hammershaimb between 1847 and 1853; before this, no specific collections of Faroese ballads had been made. The two speakers are an old man and a young boy; the latter is driving a herd of cattle and the old man challenges him:

Hvar rakstu neyt míni? segði kall
 (Where have you driven my cattle? said the old man)
 Beint niðan í akur tin! segði svein ungi.
 (Straight down into your cornfield! said the boy)

The exchange of abuse that follows (in ten stanzas) is similar to the exchange of the Scottish ballad, where each expression of ill-wishing is negated by a conditional clause.⁽¹²⁾ For example, stanzas 4 - 5:

Hevði tú verið flongdur!...
 (If only you had been whipped!...)
 Við mjukari ostflís...
 (With a soft slice of cheese...)
 Við skarpum áli!
 (With a sharp thong of leather!)
 Ryggur tin ligið undir!
 (And your back lying under it!)(13)

The Swedish version is similar in form and in basic material. A carlin (Kärngen) asks a little boy why he is driving over his field; the boy replies that this is the way the path goes. The exchange of ill-wishes is closer in subject matter to the Scottish texts than to the Faroese, such as stanza 5:

Jag önskar du vore i vildan sjön...
 (I wish you were in the wild sea...)
 Ja, du uti sjön och jag uti båt...
 (Yes, you in the sea and I in a boat...)(14)

The most striking feature which is common to Faroese, Finnish-Swedish and Scottish ballads is the initial situation, a boy driving a herd of animals, and being challenged by an older man. In the Faroese and Finnish-Swedish texts, the challenge has the more obvious cause: the boy is damaging the man's land with his own, or the man's animals. This motif appears in a rather confused manner also in the Danish ballad, found also in Swedish, 'Svend Vonved', translated in

English as 'Child Norman's Riddle Rhymes'.⁽¹⁵⁾ In this ballad, the protagonist, who has just avenged his father's murder, meets a shepherd. He asks the shepherd whose sheep he is driving, and there follows, without obvious logical connection, a sequence of riddles, several of which are of the comparative and superlative type found in Child 1, and which together build up a sketch of Norse mythology.

In the Galloway texts, the sheep belong to the child and his mother or father; the knight's share, says the child, is the sheep with blue tails. In the North-Eastern Scottish versions, animals have disappeared in all but Duncan MacPhee's text (xxiii), where they are both sheep and cattle. Several of the American texts have either sheep or cattle. In the McMath text (iv), the sheep are 'on yonder hill', their traditional habitat, but in all the others, the implication is that, like the books, the bannocks and the peat, the sheep are with the child; this is closer to the Scandinavian versions. Since it does not seem entirely logical that a child should be driving animals on the way to school, it is possible that a Northern tradition, in which the child was simply driving the animals, merged with another version in which the child was on his way to school.

Another shared motif between Faroese, Finnish-Swedish and Scottish texts is the boat. (M - N in Appendix C). This is a persistent motif in the Scottish group and occurs also in some of the Irish texts; the knight wishes the child out at sea, and the child qualifies the wish, 'and a good boat under me'. In some cases this is developed further as the knight wishes the boat to break, in which case the child answers either 'and you to drown' or 'and you in, I out'.

This latter reply, which is found in a fragment (xvii) from Virginia, echoes the wording of the Finnish-Swedish ballad, in which the carlin wishes the boy in the wild wood (i vildan skog, st.3), and later on in Hell (i helvitet, st.7), the boy replying each time:

Ja, du derinne och jag deromkring
(Yes, you in and I outside)

In the final stanza the phrase is reversed as the carlin wishes the boy in Heaven, perhaps in an attempt to trick him into replying the same and so wishing himself to be damned, but the boy answers:

Ja, jag derinne och du deromkring

The motif of the boat in the Finnish-Swedish text extends over two stanzas:

5. Jag önskar du vore i vildan sjön...
(I wish you were in the wild sea...)
Ja, du uti sjön och jag uti båt...
(Yes, you in the sea and I in a boat...)
6. Jag borrar ett hål uti båten din...
(I'll bore a hole in your boat...)
Ja, borrar du, så pliggar jag...
(Yes, you bore, I'll plug...)

In the Faroese ballad, the wording is closer to the Scottish:

9. Hevði tú flotið á havinum!...
(If only you were floating in the sea!...
Goður bátur undir maer...
(A good boat under me...)
10. Ongar árar!...
(No oars!...)
Vindurin ligið at landinum!...
(The wind blowing towards land!...)

Similarly, the motif of the tree is found in both Finnish-Swedish and Scottish traditions, and is echoed in the Faroese. In the Galloway text (iii) the knight wishes the child in a

tree; he replies, 'a gude ladder under me'. The knight wishes the ladder to break; the child replies, 'and you to fa down'. This is not found in later versions, except in (x), which seems to be taken directly from the Minstrely; there is a similar stanza, however, in (xvi) from the 'Irish' group, a Virginian text which seems to have absorbed both Scottish and Irish influences:

I wish you was in yon tree
Said false knight to the row,
And a good gun with me
For I'm seven years old.

In the Finnish-Swedish ballad the reply follows the pattern of the 'You in and I outside' series:

4. Jag önskar du vore i högstan topp...
(I wish you were in the highest tree-top...)
Ja, du upp i topp och jag ner i rot...
(Yes, you up in the top and I at the roots...)

There is no tree in the Faroese, possibly because there are no big trees in the Faroes, but there is a comparable stanza with a cliff:

7. Hevði tú hingið í berginum!...
(If only you hung from a cliff!...)
Góð lína á maer...
(A good rope around me...)

Stanza three in the Finnish-Swedish is not found in either Faroese or native Scottish texts:

Jag önskar du vore i vildan skog...
(I wish you were in the wild wood...)
Ja, du derinne och jag deromkring...
(Yes, you in and I outside)

It is echoed, however, in an American text which does not fit easily into either the Scottish or the Irish groups. This is the Kentucky variant (xxiv) from the Crouch family, where the characters are 'the proud porter gay' and 'the

child gentleman'. The wood appears in stanza four:

'I wished I had you in the woods', said the proud porter
All alone by the wayside lone. gay,
'With a good gun under my arm', said the child gentleman,
And the game feller's walking alone.

The gun appears also in (xvi) (K¹), but in this case the knight has wished the child not in the woods, but in a tree, and this is possibly derived from the Kentucky text where the gun makes better sense. The gun and the woods show the ballad to have been well acclimatised into America; they would presumably be as natural an image of danger to the Sang Branch settlers as the boat and the sea were to the Faroese. The Kentucky text develops the image with an unusual show of physical violence:

'With your head broke in two', said the proud porter gay,
All alone by the wayside lone.
'O a fence rail jobbed down your neck', said the child
gentleman,
And the game feller's walking alone. (16)

Thus, there are two instances of details which appear in the Finnish-Swedish text and in American texts, without appearing in Scotland: the wood motif, and the wording 'You in and I out', in the Virginian text (xvii). It is possible that this is due to coincidence, but since the Scandinavian and the Scottish traditions do seem to be closely linked, it is also possible that there was another version of the ballad, with different or additional allegiances to the Scandinavian traditions, in circulation in Scotland and thence in America. A third possibility is direct influence from Swedish settlers in America.

The patterns of transmission and influence between the Scandinavian countries, Scotland and Ireland, are difficult to ascertain, since from the ninth century onwards there were trading links and colonisation between the Scandinavian mainland, the Faroes, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It is possible that the song began in its religious, 'Irish' form, in Ireland or the Lowlands of Scotland, and merged gradually with northern traditions as it moved north. However, the strength of the Scottish tradition, its relative constancy of material, and the affinities of the song with other Scandinavian traditions such as the flytings in Icelandic literature, combine to suggest that the development of the song was either from Scandinavia, through Scotland to Ireland, or from Scotland to both Scandinavia and Ireland. Two linguistic points support the possibility that the song originated in the North, and moved southwards: the first is the rhyme 'road/stood', which, as described above, could have been a true rhyme in the Northern islands of Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Secondly, the form of the ill-wishing exchange in the North-Eastern Scottish versions of the ballad, unlike any other versions, is 'If I had you', rather than 'I wish you were'. Although this is not foreign to North-Eastern Scottish language, it is unusual, and it could have been influenced by, or translated from, the Faroese form 'Hevði tu', meaning both 'If you' and 'If only you'; this is the form used in the Faroese ballad 'Kall og svein ungi'.

If this pattern of transmission, from north to south, is correct, there would have been a gradual development in the identity of the child's opponent from old man, who may

also have had supernatural attributes, to Devil. Child translated the Swedish 'kärngen' as 'carlin', which he glossed as 'an old crone, possibly a witch, and clearly no better than one of the wicked',⁽¹⁷⁾ but the supernatural overtones need not be inferred from the Swedish. The Faroese 'kall' likewise means simply 'old man'; but 'auld man' is a euphemism for a sinister and possibly diabolic figure in an Ayrshire text of 'The Elfin Knight' (Child 2I), and the equally sinister, though not supernatural, protagonist of the seventeenth century Scottish poem 'The Gaberlunzie Man',⁽¹⁸⁾ is introduced as an 'auld carl'. Thus the progression from old man to Devil is not unnatural. The term 'false knight' does not seem to be used elsewhere for the Devil, although it is used in a non-supernatural context in Child 161C (The Battle of Otterburn) and Child 244C (James Hatley); in both cases, the term merely means cowardly and treacherous. Henderson and Collinson say that nearly all their singers explained that the 'false knight' was the Devil, but they also remark that in Willie Whyte's text (xxviii) 'the supernatural figure of the False Knight has become more human, if no less sinister; the text suggests the figure of the child-murderer',⁽¹⁹⁾ This is because the question, 'If I had you in the well' has been changed to the more realistic 'If I had you under will', and because of the homely question, 'Has your mother any more like you?'. In general, the native Scottish texts do not openly treat the False Knight as the Devil, while American texts are more explicit: this is true also of 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' (Child 1). It does not mean that singers did not regard the knight as diabolic; an

unwillingness to mention the Devil by name is understandable in both folkloristic and dramatic terms. Tabus often surround such powerful names, and the ballad tradition uses euphemisms such as 'Clootie' (Child 1C) and 'Shame' (62A)⁽²⁰⁾. The mention of Hell in the final stanza of many variants seems to serve the same purpose as the mention of the Devil's name in 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' where, in most versions, the naming breaks the tabu and banishes the fiend (see Chapter 2, note 6).

Other epithets for the false knight occur in various texts: a particularly expressive one is 'The Old Dark Knight in the Wood' in Margaret Eyre's Huntingdon text (xxvii). Two American texts in the 'Irish' group use names which are presumably corruptions of 'false': 'fol, fol, fly' (v) and 'Fol-fol-follies'. A separate recording from the singer of the latter has the normal reading, 'the false, false knight on the road', so it would seem that the corruption is a deliberate playing with the words to fit the music. Similarly, an Indiana text has the reading, 'the False, fie, the False Fidee' (xiv).

Two very different readings occur in two texts which do not fit into either the 'Irish' or 'Scottish' groups, because they have assumed such individual characteristics that it is impossible to associate them with either. One of these has already been mentioned, the Kentucky text (xxiv), where the knight has become a 'proud porter gay' and the child a 'child gentleman', so that the opposition between the two characters is ostensibly one of social class. This text has adopted refrain lines from 'The Cruel Mother'

(Child 20) and the characters may also be borrowed from another source. The Devil is mentioned in the last stanza, where the child retorts, 'But the Devil's chained in Hell', which would only make sense if the 'proud porter' is taken to be some sort of devil, a little like the diabolic 'gay yemen' in Chaucer's 'Friar's Tale', who is also encountered in a greenwood.⁽²¹⁾ The obscurity of this reference, together with the violence of the preceding stanzas, make the text a powerful and disturbing one; however, the tune does something to negate this, being a cheerful pentatonic melody, with some similarity to the Irish tune, 'The Mountain Dew', which seems to have been borrowed from the American tune of 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' (Chapter 2, tune group B).

The second text which does not fit into either of the main groups is the Arkansas text (xxvi), 'The Nightman'. This epithet may be simply a variation of 'Knight', or it may have overtones of the 'night-rider', a sinister horseman belonging to the Ku Klux Klan, members of which also use the term 'knight' to describe themselves. The scenario presented in this text is also strikingly different to that of other versions: as usual, the boy is on the way to school with his dinner, his books and a herd of cattle, but behind him is a fine castle, which the nightman wishes 'in a flame of fire', and a river, which like the castle and the cattle belongs to the boy and his father. As in the Kentucky version, this is a rise in social status for the boy from the older versions, and introduces class tensions as a part of the conflict. In this case there is no hint of supernatural or diabolic identity for the nightman.

The Tunes.

Bronson believes all his tunes to have a common, Scottish, ancestry, although he remarks that 'they have developed into surprisingly diversified variants'.⁽²²⁾ The tunes of several texts are so diverse that it is difficult to imagine any real link between them, and since Bronson gives no objective principles for the inclusion of tunes in his 'tune families', his groupings are questionable in several cases. The American tunes to 'The False Knight' are in general undistinctive and often little more than a chant to fit the words, the singers perhaps following Mr. Pottipher's famous dictum that 'if you can get the words the Almighty sends the tune'.⁽²³⁾ The main exception is the well-defined tune from Tennessee (vi, Group C), which seems to have influenced the two North Carolina versions (vii, xviii). The Vermont tune (xi) and the Nova Scotian (xii) are more distant relatives, but still recognisable as such by the contour of the second half of the stanza, rising to the octave at the end of the third textual line. Several of the unclassified tunes (such as ix, xiv, xxix) do seem to have some resemblance to each other in their opening phrases, which mostly, like the tunes in Group D, ascend the major tonic arpeggio, but this in itself does not seem sufficient to claim a family grouping. As mentioned above, Tom Crouch's tune (xxiv) has been borrowed from Child 1. The most unusual of the unclassified melodies is the Cheshire tune (xxxi), which like the French tune to the hymn 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence',⁽²⁴⁾ opens with an ascending five-note scale of the Dorian mode, and confines itself in the remainder of the tune to moving up and down this

scale. The French tune of 'Où vas-tu, mon petit garçon' is not related to any of the English versions.

The two different recordings of Alan Kelly (xxix A and B), which were taken down by different collectors in 1963 and 1962 respectively, shed some light on the way in which a singer produces a melody of this type, which is very free in rhythm and melodic detail, but constant in contour. Each set of variations for the four lines of melody falls within the same compass as each other, and begins and ends on the same note as each other; this provides a block structure of four parts, within which the singer can vary the melodic line and the rhythm as the words, or his inclination, allow.

Related Traditions.

'The False Knight Upon the Road' is one of the most elusive of the Child ballads to place in terms of the ballad tradition: it may be argued, even, that it is not a ballad at all, since its narrative content is virtually non-existent. Since it is included among Motherwell's collection, however, indicating that the same singers sang it who also sang the more orthodox ballads, and since this is also true of the modern tradition of the song, it seems pointless now to exclude it from its allotted place in Child's corpus. The text has a number of features which appear also in other traditions, both literary and non-literary, in Britain, Scandinavian countries and elsewhere.

The closest relation to the ballad is the Scottish piece 'Harpkin', printed by Child in his headnote. While mainly a

series of evasive questions and answers, this does have a fragment of the ill-wishing exchange found in the second half of 'The False Knight'. This exchange, where each wish is undermined by an additional clause neutralising the ill, or putting the ill-wisher in an equally undesirable position, is akin to the magical spell contest in 'The Twa Magicians' (Child 44), where instead of mere insults and verbal evasions, the 'dialogue' is in the form of physical shape-changing. A more stylised version of this sort of exchange is found in the ballad, 'The Gardener' (Child 219), where a gardener offers to deck a 'leal maiden' completely in flowers, and she responds by offering him garments made of snow, wind and rain. Ballads and folktales of the 'Twa Magician' type are found all over Europe, and contests in words, often between a supernatural or diabolic character and a girl, are also common to folktale: Aarne and Thompson's Types show that they are particularly popular in Sweden and Finland (Type 1093).

There is a comparable tradition of verbal contest in the Mumming Plays, more in the style of the opening questions of 'The False Knight' than the ill-wishing exchanges. The tradition centres around the character of the Doctor, either with the rest of the cast or with his servant and clown, Jack Finney. The dialogues, which are usually a long series of one-line retorts, are often simply nonsense patter, which Tiddy calls 'topsy-turvy patter' ⁽²⁵⁾; it is stereotyped, 'found all over England, or at any rate over the Midlands, and there is something like it in the North'. Tiddy also says that he has 'heard village boys doing something of the sort

when they were playing the fool together'. In the Tip-teerers' Play from Chithurst, Sussex, the dialogue is sung and involves the whole cast, although the Doctor is addressing his questions to the Noble Captain, 'Mr. Carpenter':

DOCTOR: Hip Mr. Carpenter, I've got a little question to ask you. How far is it across the river?

ALL: When you're in the middle you're halfway over
Fol the riddle ido
When you're in the middle you're halfway over
Fol the ri the ray...

DOCTOR: How do you get across the river?

ALL: The ducks and geese they all swam over! etc.

DOCTOR: Whose house is that over yonder?

ALL. It is not yours but it is the owner's etc. (26)

Echoes of similar language are sometimes found in the Tudor Interludes; Tiddy points out a small section of his 'topsy-turvy patter' in the late sixteenth century Mucedorus, a dialogue between the Clown, Mouse and Segasto; incidentally he observes that the Clown also uses a line very close to the refrain of some versions of 'The Twa Magicians' (Child 44), 'rusty dusty musty fusty crusty firebrand'. (27) Although not in the same sort of dialogue style, the interlude Youth, which shares several stylistic details with the Mummers' Plays, has a passage reminiscent of the 'ladder' motif in 'The False Knight': Charity has told Youth that if he will repent he will go to Heaven. Youth replies:

What, sirs! above the sky?
I had need of a ladder to climb so high.
But what and the ladder slip?
Then I am deceived yet.
And if I fall, I catch a queck;
I may fortune to break my neck.
And that joint is ill to set. (28)

Ian Lancashire points out that Youth's objection to the ladder to Heaven is not unique, and he cites the Abbot in Lindsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, who objects to the two-step ladder:

Quhat and I fal, than I will break my bleder (29)

Another satirical parody of theological argument which appears in the interlude Mankind is echoed in 'Harpkin': this is the metaphor of grinding corn not chaff, appearing in the interlude as follows:

But sir, I pray this question to clarify:
Mish mash, driff, draff,
Some was corn and some was chaff
My dame said my name was Raff;
Unshut your lock and take a halfpenny. (30)

The last exchange in 'Harpkin' seems to be a less coherent form of this:

'Giff, gaff', quo Fin:
'Your mou's fou o draff', quo Harpkin.

However, this may be derived simply from the Scottish phrase 'giff-gaff', meaning 'tit for tat', a bandying of words.

Literary flytings, such as Dunbar's famous 'Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie', and the English 'Jacke Upland', which is an extended exchange between a layman and a Friar, are more of the debate tradition of the Provençal 'Tenson' and the French 'Jeu-parti'; they are wordy, stylised attacks far removed from the brusque one-line combat of the false knight and the child. Slightly closer is the tradition of verse-capping, which was part of the professional skills of the Irish poet, and a practice which St. Columba was said to have undertaken with the Devil. (31) The Devil attempted to puzzle

the saint by repeating various verses to which the saint had to supply the second line. Columba succeeded in this, and went on to defeat his opponent by quoting moral poems, which the Devil did not know and could not cap. It could be that this tradition had influence on the ballad, which in Irish versions, as described above, has a strong religious content.

However, the most important analogues of the ballad are the flytings of Old Norse literature, of which there are several examples. Flytings, the formal exchange of abuse and of impolite questions and answers, occur often between pairs of characters of whom one is supernatural and the other sometimes a child; they often take place over water or in a boat, and they represent a contest for superiority, as do the Old Norse riddle dialogues. One of the most extended examples is contained in the translations of Saxo Grammaticus (V 132ff.), the flytings of Erik with Grep, Koli and Gotvara. This provides an interesting comment on the mechanics of the flyting dialogue, in the words of Erik and Grep:

GREP: *Adversum scurram causam producere non est,
qui vacua vocis mobilitate viget.*

(It is hard to bring a case against a buffoon, who thrives on a dance of words without expressing a meaning)

ERIK: *Hercule, ni fallor, ad eum, qui protulit ipsum,
editus ignave sermo redire solet.*

*Ad prolatores iusto conamine divi
fusa parum docte verba referre solent.*

(By Heaven, brainless talk, unless I am much mistaken, often rebounds on the head of him who uttered it. Through the righteous dispensation of the gods, words poured forth with too little wit return to plague the deliverer)

Erik who is the winner of all his flyting contests, here describes the flyting as a game of skill and calculation, in which each insult has to be carefully composed to avoid its being turned against its maker. Grep fails to understand the subtlety of the game; he loses, resorting to wizardry by setting the head of a horse on a pole and propping open its mouth as a magical curse on Erik; Erik, however, continues to turn his opponents' curses against themselves, and finally wins outright by making the horse's head fall on one of them. This contest takes place with the two sides on opposite sides of a river. The opening questions, from Grep, are similar to the False Knight's first questions in the ballad:

Stulte, quis es? quid inane petis? dic, unde iter autquo?
 Qua via, quod studium, quis pater, unde genus?
 (Fool, who are you? what do you stupidly seek? say,
 where have you come from and where are you going? By
 what road, what is your purpose, who is your father,
 and of what race?)

After defeating Grep, Erik goes on to wit contests with Koli, custodian of the gifts of King Frothi, and with the queen, Gotvara, winning both times.

Another flyting in Saxo Grammaticus occurs between Fridlef and a giant (VI 178ff.); this contains the motif of the boat, and also involves the contest between boy and supernatural adversary, although in this case it is not the boy who speaks. Fridlef, who is with his army by the Frokasund fjord, hears three swans sing an enigmatic song about Hithin, son of the King of Telemark. A belt drops from the sky on which is inscribed the explanation of the song: a giant has carried off Hithin, and is forcing him to row across to the neighbouring coast. The giant has assumed human shape. The

boat passes Fridlef and the boy calls out to him, asking him to use sharp words against the giant, so as to weaken his power and make an attack possible (facilius oppugnandum promittens); this Fridlef does, in twenty-one lines of abusive verse, and is then able to hew a foot off the giant and deliver the boy to safety.

The boat is also present in the Harbarðsljóð, in the Poetic Edda, where there is an exchange of abuse between Þor and Óðinn, who is disguised as the ferryman Harbarð. Þor is on his way back from a journey to the East, and comes to a sound. On the other side is a ferry-man in a boat, and they challenge each other. Þor then asks Harbarð to ferry him over the sound, promising reward in a curious passage reminiscent of 'The False Knight':

Ferðu mik um sundit, faeði ek þik a morgon;
 (Ferry me over the sound, I will feed thee for it in the morning;)
 meis hefi ek a baki, verðra matrinn betri!
 (A basket I have on my back, and food therein, none better!)
 Át ek í hvíld aðr ek heiman fór,
 (At leisure I ate, before I left the house)
 sildr ok hafra; saðr em ek enn þess.
 (of herrings and porridge, so plenty I had) (33)

There follows an exchange of abuse, mainly concerning their past lives.

Flytings occur also in the sagas, again often with the sea or a river involved. In Ketils saga haengs (Chapter V) there is a challenge very like that of the Harbarðsljóð, as Ketil asks:

Hvat er það flagða þer ek sá á fornu nesi?
 (What ogress is that that I saw on the ancient headland?)
 (34)

Grims saga loðinkinna (Ch.I) also contains a flyting of this type, in which the sea is present.⁽³⁵⁾ In Bósa saga (Ch.V) there is a curse which, though not a part of a flyting as such, is very similar to the 'boat' curse in the ballad:

Ef þú siglir
slitni reiði
en af stýri
stökkvi krókar
rifni reftar,
reki segl ofan
en ak taumar
allir slitni
nema þú Herrauð
heift upp gefir
ok svá Bósa
biðir til sætta

(When you go sailing,
the rigging shall break,
and the hooks on your rudder
shall snap asunder,
the sails shall tear
and be swamped by the sea,
the braces shall break;

unless you give up
your hatred of Herraud
and plead with Bosi
to come to terms.)⁽³⁶⁾

The curse ends with a runic riddle, which the King must guess or his soul sink into Hell, a conclusion also reminiscent of 'The False Knight'.

The Helgi lays also contain flytings between warriors and in some cases against supernatural enemies, such as the exchange between Atli and the giantess Hrimgerð in Helgakviða Hjorvarðssonar.⁽³⁷⁾ A flyting of a rather different type occurs in Gautrek's saga, once more between Óðinn and Þor; Óðinn is bestowing a number of blessings on Starkad, each of which is negated by a curse from Þor. The flyting in this case takes place on an island.⁽³⁸⁾

There is a Scottish example of the same type of story, although it is grounded in the Celtic tradition rather than in the Nordic; it was collected from a fisherman of Barra, Alexander MacNeill.⁽³⁹⁾ Gruagach, son of the King of Eirinn, goes out to challenge the band of Fionn, An Fhinn the Eén, and finds them fishing for trout in a river. He asks to join the band, and then suggests that they hunt rather than fish,

which they do; in due course Gruagach catches a deer. A carlin appears, demanding, 'Who seized the beast of my love?' She demands the deer, then a share of the meat, which is refused. The carlin and Gruagach fight, and exchange curses; each curse, however, has a conditional clause that will lift it. Gruagach's conditional clause is that he sleeps with the wife of the Tree Lion; hers is that she stands with a foot on either side of a ford with the water running through her. A shape-changing sequence follows as Gruagach, having fulfilled his conditional clause, has to fight the Tree Lion; this brings him to the end of his quest.

Bertha Philpotts argues that the Norse flyting is a part of an ancient ritual drama, comprising the slaying of a bridegroom, an accusation against the bride (or a curse), a flyting and a love scene, which may contain a suggestion of resurrection. This drama, she believes, lies beneath the plot of the Helgi lays and is essentially the universal folk drama of fertility and rebirth, representing the contest of the old and the new years, and performed 'to induce the earth to bring forth abundantly'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Whether or not this is true of the lays, flytings certainly occur in the English versions of this folk drama, the Mumming Plays, as described above, in association with the figure of the doctor, who is the figure most strongly associated with resurrection in the plays. There are, moreover, many traditions all over the world of abuse being used in a ritual context, not linked to any literary form. Frazer cites several examples of abuse uttered, or provoked from one's neighbours, in order to bring what he loosely terms 'good luck'; this nearly

always involves fertility. For example, in the Indian district of Behar, 'people... who accompany a marriage procession to the bride's house are often foully abused by the women of the bride's family in the belief that this contributes to the good fortune of the married pair'.⁽⁴¹⁾ In the Birbhum district of Bengal, when rain is scarce, 'people will throw dirt or filth on the houses of their neighbours, who abuse them for doing so. Or they drench the lame, the halt, the blind and other infirm persons, and are reviled for their pains by the victims. This vituperation is believed to bring about the desired result by drawing down showers on the parched earth'.⁽⁴²⁾ There seems to be no consistency as to whether the good fortune comes to the abuser or to the abused, or to a third party. Enid Welsford, in her study The Fool, develops this concept more fully, from Sanskrit drama to the Tudor court fool, whose function she describes as that of the scapegoat who, by jeering at his superiors, bore their abuse and their bad luck on his own shoulders.⁽⁴³⁾ She suggests that Unferth in Beowulf is an example of this official function of the abuser; and evidence of the Tudor court fools, such as Will Somers, certainly includes incidents of abuse and raillery that are demonstrated also in Shakespeare's fools; 'There is no slander in an allowed fool, though he do nothing but rail'. Welsford also links the court fool with the dramatic Vice of the morality plays, who tempts and abuses the Virtue. This brings the circle back to the Mumming Plays and the fertility dramas of Bertha Philpott's argument, since there seem to be definite links between court drama and folk drama in the Tudor period.

Whatever the precise relationship between these very diverse traditions, the fool, the Vice, the ritual doctor and the Indian fertility rituals, it seems clear that abuse is widely held to be a protection against misfortune, whether this misfortune is sterility, death, or being carried off by an evil spirit, and this idea seems to lie at the heart of the flyting tradition.

There remains the question of why so many of the flytings take place over water, or with one of the participants in a boat. As a purely practical consideration, the sea and the fjords would have been a dominant feature of Scandinavian life, and the positioning of enemies on opposite sides of a stretch of water would therefore have been an obvious image to use, just as it would have been a particularly meaningful curse, in a seafaring society, to wish your enemy's boat sunk. Water is so consistently associated with the flyting, however, that it would seem that there must be a more specific reason. Philpotts suggests that it may reflect an actual custom or ritual performance, but this still does not explain the association. One explanation may be that water is frequently associated with boundaries and with shape-changing. Tam Lin (Child 39) has to be thrown into water before resuming human shape; mermaids, half-human and half-fish, live in it and so do silkies, half-human and half-seal. Areas of changing nature, boundaries and 'between' areas that are neither one thing nor the other, are particularly potent areas in magic traditions,⁽⁴⁴⁾ and since many of the flytings are concerned with at least one supernatural character, it may be that this was an obvious association.

The conditional clause in the story of Gruagach and the carlin, in which the carlin has to stand with one foot on either side of a ford in order to lift a curse, seems to indicate that the power of water was definitely involved in the power of the curse; by bridging the water, the curse is lifted. Thus a general association of water with supernatural power, coupled with a specific association of a curse being delivered from one side of a stretch of water to the other, the water representing the enmity between the two parties, goes some way to explaining the flyting scenario. It is possibly that in some cases there was an idea that water protected the human from the supernatural enemy; witches are supposed to be unable to cross a running stream and to be afraid of water.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The boat curse in 'The False Knight Upon the Road' is a long way removed from these Norse flyting sequences, which date roughly from the twelfth century onwards, but the ballad has such similarities to the flytings that it seems most likely to have originated from the Scandinavian tradition. The use of a child as one of the contestants, and the 'Irish' association of the child with good, may owe something to the more classical European tradition of the Wise Child, a tradition demonstrated in the stories of the Christ Child disputing with his supposed superiors, popular in medieval England, and in particular in the stories of Ypotis, the wise child who reveals himself finally as Christ.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The roots of this tradition are complex, however, and it may be that the oppositional pair of characters represented in the

ballad, the young hero and the old villain, is one of the archetypal patterns of literature and of human thinking.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR (CHILD 3)

1. For the Swedish text, see Oskar Rancken, Några Prof af Folksång och Saga i det svenska Österbotten, in Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift (Suomen Muinaismuisto-Yhtiön Aikakauskirja III, Helsinki 1878), No.10 p.25. English translation, Child I p.21.
For the Faerose, see V.U.Hammershaimb, Faerøsk Anthologi, (Møller & Thomsen, Copenhagen, 1891), I p.283.
2. Child I p.21.
3. For a discussion of the literate Scottish folksingers, see Hamish Henderson, 'The Ballad, the Folk and the Oral Tradition' in Edward J. Cowan, The People's Past (1980), 106ff.
4. Sleeve notes, Topic, 'The Child Ballads I'.
5. D. K. Wilgus, Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898, p.213.
6. Hugh S. Robertson, Songs of the Isles (J.Curwen, London,n.d.) II p.42.
7. C. M. Barbeau, Jongleur Songs of Old Quebec (Rutgers U.P., New Brunswick, 1962), pp.9-12.
8. For details of this, see Anthony Slaven, The Development of the West of Scotland, 1750-1960 (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1975); and S.G.E.Lythe and J. Butt, An Economic History of Scotland, 1100-1939 (Blackie, Glasgow & London 1975).
9. L. Manny & J. R. Wilson, Songs of Miramichi, p.200.
10. Bronson, Traditional Tunes, I p.34.
11. See W. Grant, The Scottish National Dictionary.
12. Phillips Barry points out in his notes to text (xiii) that there are classical antecedents to this type of exchange and cites Plautus, Rudens, 375, an exchange between Ampelisca and Trachalio.
13. Hammershaimb, op.cit., p.283.
14. See Note 1.
15. Svend Grundtvig, Danmarks gamle Folkeviser, I No.18. Translated, R. C. A. Prior, Ancient Danish Ballads I No.xix.
16. Similar improvisation can be seen in text (xiii) (T).

17. Child I p.20.
18. Penguin Book of Scottish Verse, pp.241-4.
19. Scottish Studies IX Pt.1 (1965) p.13.
20. Robert Burns provides a collection of such euphemisms in his poem 'Address to the Deil' (J. Kinsley, The Poems & Songs of Robert Burns I p.168, No.76):

O Thou, whatever title suit thee!
 Auld Hornie, Satan, Nick or Clootie,
 Wha in yon cavern grim and sooty
 Clos'd under hatches,
 Spairges about the brunstane cootie,
 To scaud poor wretches! (st.1)
21. 'The Friar's Tale', l.1380 (Chaucer, Works p.90).
22. Bronson, Traditional Tunes, I p.34.
23. Mr. Pottipher was one of Vaughan Williams' sources of folksongs. He is cited in D. Occomore & P. Spratley, Bushes and Briars (Loughton, Essex 1979) p.60.
24. Hymns Ancient and Modern, revised, No. 390.
25. R. Tiddy, The Mummers' Play, pp.84-5.
26. Alan Brody, The English Mummers and their Plays (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1969) p.70.
27. Tiddy, op.cit., p.130. A similar passage occurs in the Smiths' greeting from Germany: (Lutz Röhrich, 'Rätsellied' in Handbuch des Volkslieder I, Munich 1973, pp.209-10):

Mein Schmied, wo streichst du her, daß
 deine Schuh so staubig,
 dein Haar so krausig,
 dein Bart auf Backen herausfährt
 wie ein zwieschneidig Schlachtschwert?
28. Ian Lancashire, Two Tudor Interludes (Manchester U.P., 1980) p.108.
29. Ibid. The phrase 'to catch a queck' probably means 'to be hanged', which idea strengthens the irony of the ladder in both examples.
30. Lines spoken by the Vice Mischief to Mercy: Mankind, 11.48-52. (J. A. B. Somerset, Four Tudor Interludes, Athlone, London 1974).
31. Bodleian MS Laud 615 p.134. See Cormac's Glossary, (transl. John O'Donovan, ed. Whitley Stokes, Calcutta 1868) pp.135ff.

32. Saxo Grammaticus, transl. Peter Fisher, ed. H. E. Davidson (1970), Chap.V 132ff.
33. Harbarðsljóð, in G. Neckel, Edda I p.75. Transl., Henry A. Bellows, The Poetic Edda (Regan, N. York 1923) pp.121-137.
34. Guðni Jónsson, Fornaldar Sögur Norðurlanda II p.169.
35. Bertha Philpotts, The Elder Edda & Scandinavian Drama, p.158.
36. G. Jónsson, op.cit., III p.293. Transl., H. Pálsson & P. Edwards, Gautrek's Saga & other medieval tales, p.66.
37. Henry A. Bellows, The Poetic Edda, pp.269-289.
38. G. Jónsson, op.cit., III pp.25-6. Transl., Pálsson & Edwards, op.cit., p.39.
39. J. F. Campbell, Popular Tales of the West Highlands (Edinburgh 1860) II pp.410ff., 'The Fair Grúagach, son of the King of Eirinn'.
40. Philpotts, op.cit., p.144.
41. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough (1926) I p.279.
42. Ibid., I p.278.
43. Enid Welsford, The Fool: His social and literary history (Faber & Faber, London 1935).
44. See Chapter 8, p.239; pp.254-5.
45. As Maggie and the rest of the coven are in Burns' 'Tam O' Shanter'; Kinsley, The Poems & Songs of Robert Burns No. 323, p.448.
46. See Francis Utley, 'Dialogues, Debates and Catechisms' in A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500 (ed. A. E. Hartung, Connecticut 1972) III No.71.

CHAPTER FIVE: 'KING JOHN AND THE BISHOP' (CHILD 45)

This is one of the most famous of English broadside ballads, with copies in at least ten of the existing broadside collections. Taking its plot from a well-known folk tale, it began its life as a minstrel ballad in the sixteenth century, and is still sung in modern times in America. Only two texts seem to have been found in Scotland, and none in Ireland, and this is presumably because the story is, in the ballad version, concerned with an English political situation which would have no relevance in the other British countries.

(i) The Oxford text

The sixteenth century text was discovered only fifty years ago, by Professor Carleton Brown, and was published by Roberta D. Cornelius in 1931. The manuscript is contained in the second of four volumes of *Collectanea* compiled by Brian Twyne, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who died in 1644. The collection brings together many separate items from diverse sources, such as college affairs, a chronicle of Abingdon monastery, a treatise on the analysis of dreams, and excerpts from the works of Roger Bacon. The only other item on the page with the ballad is a Latin text, much abridged, of an apocryphal life of Judas, based on the Legend Aurea.

The ballad is written in two hands, the second taking it up from line 128 on the verso, and adding a section of six lines that were omitted by the first scribe (36-41).

A third hand has given the ballad an erroneous title, 'A Tale of Henry ye 3. and ye Archb. of Canterb.', which accounts for the late discovery of the text; the error, as Roberta Cornelius points out, is due to the lines 5-8, where the syntax is confusing:

King rycherd ye fyrste was brother indead
 and henry the therd dyd hem succeed
 This K. (as the story sayth for certaytye)
 was greeyed with the byshipe of canterburye.

There are two cancellations in the manuscript, following lines 45 and 100. Both of these occur where there is a repetition in the text, and Roberta Cornelius has taken this to be a suggestion that the scribe was writing from memory, or from dictation. However, this is not conclusive, for if the scribe was copying another text, his eye could easily have slipped to another section of this repetitive ballad.

Whether the scribe was writing from a copy or from an oral source, the text certainly seems to bear the marks of oral transmission. It is written in rhymed couplets which generally, but not always, fall into groups of two couplets; the irregularity suggests perhaps that the text was not sung but recited, and three and a half centuries later there is still evidence of the text being treated as a recitation and not as a song. (See x). There are several repeated formulae, ranging from short phrases to longer sections of the text, which reinforce the structure of the story, and would also help the minstrel to collect his thoughts before proceeding to a new part of the plot. The phrase 'without

leasing', for example, is a useful line-filler and occurs at lines 15, 19 and 80, rhyming in each case with 'King'. Formulae are often built around a rhyme, a rhyming couplet being more memorable than a single line. The rhyming oppositional pair 'sad-glad' occurs twice (60-61; 70-71). More important structurally, the couplet in which the Bishop (or Shepherd as Bishop) defends his expenditure occurs three times (23-24; 36-37; 109-107):

...I wysh it were knowene
I spend nothing but godes end my owne

The first time they occur, these lines are spoken by the Bishop to the messenger; the second time, by the Bishop to the King. Thus the third occurrence, where they are spoken by the shepherd to the King, reinforces the disguise theme. The same is true of the couplet 31-32, repeated at 99-100, which describes the Bishop and the Shepherd-as-Bishop kneeling before the King. On a larger scale, the riddles themselves are repeated, which completes the pairing of Bishop and Shepherd-as-Bishop. By the accumulation of repeated elements, the two episodes of the Bishop/ Shepherd-as-Bishop arriving at court and being set riddles are thus paired, and together they form the central interest in the story, around which the other episodes are arranged. This basic structure is preserved in most of the later versions of the ballad, although in some, a third section is added between the two main sections, in which the Bishop relates the questions to the shepherd on his arrival home. (See Appendix D). This firm, balanced structure has presumably been responsible for the stability of the ballad through the four centuries

of its history, although the influence of print must also have greatly contributed to this.

(ii) The Percy Folio text

The nearest relation to the Oxford text is the text found in the Percy Folio of around c.1650, the 'curious Old Manuscript' belonging to Humphrey Pitt of Shifnal which was rescued from oblivion by Thomas Percy and used as the basis of his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. The most striking difference between the text of 'King John and the Bishop' in the Oxford and the Folio texts is in the description of the King's character. In the Oxford text, this is as follows:

I read in a story I can shew you anone
Of a noble prince they called K. Jhon
was borne in England a princ of great myght
for he put downe wroynge & held vp right (1 - 4)

The corresponding lines in the Percy MS are:

Off an ancient story Ile tell you anon
Of a notable prince that was called King Iohn
In England was borne, with maine and with might,
Hee did much wrong and mainteined little right.
(1 - 4)

This is the normal reading, found in most of the subsequent texts, and by the eighteenth century at least, it was the popular view of John, as witnessed by the editor of the Collection of Old Ballads attributed to Ambrose Phillips, of 1723:

He is recorded as a very cruel and unjust Prince. To the clergy he was an inveterate Foe; for he seized their lands and revenues, put many to death, and forced the rest to fly...(1)

From the portrayal of John's character in the remainder of the ballad, either the Oxford or the Percy MS reading could make sense. He is jealous and threatens arbitrary violence; yet he is good-humoured and generous towards both shepherd and Bishop after the deception has been revealed, a fact which the editor of A Collection points out as a breach of verisimilitude, and an indication that the ballad was originally not about John at all. John certainly could have inherited this dual personality from the dramatic demands of the folktale, but it is not far removed from what seems to have been his actual political character, and it is certainly true to the controversy over his reign which raged in the sixteenth century, at the time when the ballad was composed.

The events of John's turbulent reign (1199 -1216) were easily adaptable to either Protestant or Papist argument: he was the first English King to make a stand against the Pope; yet at the threat of deposition he retracted, subjecting his nation to Papal control. It would be difficult to make him a hero, as is shown by Bale's play King Johan, but he was not an out and out villain. Contemporary sources are ambiguous: Giraldus Cambrensis, for example, comments wryly on the King's duplicity towards the Church but is not openly hostile. In the sixteenth century, Holinshed maintains a sympathetic view of John's character, but he notes that he was:

Somewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of his time he is noted, and not so hardie as doubtfull in time of perill and danger... he was a great and mighty prince, but yet not verie fortunate...(2)

Even the ardently Protestant author of the play, The Troublesome Raigne (1591) was unable to make a straightforward hero of the King; in the words of the character Lewis, he is forced to concede that,

England is England, yielding good and bad,
And John of England is as other Johns. (3)

John Bale had fewer qualms than most. In his violently anti-Papist play King Johan (1538 - 60), the character of Veritas proclaims,

I assure ye, fryndes, lete men wryte what they will,
Kynge Johan was a man both valeaunt and godlye.
What though Polydorus reporteth him very yll
At the suggestyons of the malicyouse clergy? (4)

He then produces a list of nine historians more sympathetic towards John, but not all of these are in fact as complimentary as Bale suggests: Hector Boece, for example, comments that the King showed himself to be a reasonable man over the issue of the Papal Interdict, but he also remarks in strong terms on his avarice, and writes that the nobility rose against him,

For to remeid the wrang and greit injure,
that he had wrocht baith agane riche and pui (5)

Another of Bale's supposedly sympathetic sources, John Major, also notes the less attractive traits of the King's nature, calling him,

That far from worthy king of the English (6)

Bale identifies King John with Henry VIII as a champion of the English Protestant cause, and this was a common comparison. He was also likened to Elizabeth, as in the homily 'Against

Disobedience and Wyylfull Rebellion', which would have been read out in parish churches from the 1571 Book of Homilies.

Thus the author of the Oxford text of 'King John' would have had a political, as well as antiquarian, interest in his material. It seems unnecessary to press the origins of the ballad further back than the estimated date of the manuscript (1550-70), when such an interest would have been so topical, and it is unlikely to have been made before the 1530's, when Henry VIII began his fight against the Papacy. The portrayal of King John as a 'prince of great might', a phrase which echoes Holinshed, would have been a fashionable view.

As to the identity of the Bishop, if an individual was in mind, the obvious historical candidate would have been Archbishop Stephen Langton, whose consecration in 1207 marked the beginning of the conflict between King and Pope. Bale's play features Langton as the vice Sedicyon, but there seems to be no link between the vice and the ballad Bishop, and although the antiquarian Bale knew of Langton, his name may well have been forgotten by the general public by the sixteenth century. The events of the ballad story are not unfitting to the real relations between John and Langton, however, which developed from open hostility to an uneasy alliance. The ballad Bishop tells the shepherd that he will 'fle into France', and from 1207 to 1213 Langton did in fact live mostly at the Cistercian foundation at Pontigny, having been forbidden by John to take up his see. However, France was an obvious refuge for a persecuted bishop, much used in John's reign. It is possible that the ballad composer had Langton in mind, but his portrayal of a merry, pleasure-

loving cleric could be derived from popular stereotype.

There is, however, another candidate. Several of the nobility of Henry VIII's reign boasted huge households, with which the King had to compete, and none was more ostentatious than that of Cardinal Wolsey, who entertained 400 guests at one sitting at Hampton Court, where his staff numbered over 100.⁽⁷⁾ Although this was not the chief reason for his downfall in 1529, when his estates were seized, to the public it was the most obvious reason for his unpopularity. It may be that the ballad maker was referring to the disgraced Cardinal, at least in the motive for the King's displeasure.

The Percy Folio text, then seems to be a deliberate reversal of the sixteenth century view of John, and this is in keeping with other satirical pieces in the manuscript.⁽⁸⁾

The text of the ballad, like the Oxford text, is in couplets, but not regularly in four-line stanzas; however, the irregularities occur at different points in the two texts. The narrative structure remains essentially the same, with a few additions and one omission (D in Appendix D). There is a confused passage (sts.36-8) where the shepherd's refusal to serve his master precedes the offer of a reward; in the older text, the order is reversed to make more sense. The Folio text is in general of a lower standard of verse, being more repetitive and rambling; instead of marking time with formulae, as in the Oxford text, the author fills in with verbose paraphrases and flat comments. He makes too much use of the half-line 'without any doubt', which occurs six times. The conclusion is also weak; after six lines which reiterate the story, the author is still unable to make an end, and trails off in mild amazement:

I neuer hard of his fellow before.
 Nor neuer shall: now I need so say noe more.
 I neuer knew shepeard that gott such a liuing
 But David, the shepeard, that was a king.(9)

The two texts together show the great difference between repetition used well and badly. In (i), repetition emphasises form and helps to consolidate the story; in (ii), it loosens the text and gives the impression of a lack of control of the narrative structure.

The precise nature of Percy's Folio manuscript is not clear, but David Fowler suggests that it was compiled 'during the twilight of minstrelsy in a somewhat nostalgic spirit'.⁽¹⁰⁾ Thus, it contains a good selection of the minstrel repertoire, but is unlikely to have been compiled by a professional, since the profession was by 1650 virtually obsolete in England. The weakness of style in the ballad may therefore be attributed to an amateur imitation of an old-fashioned style.

Broadside versions

A. Early ballad versions of the story (not included in Appendix D)

The verbosity and improvisatory style of the Folio text seem to owe nothing to the influence of print, but by 1650 there was already a broadside version of the tale published. This was the ballad sheet dated 1642 and printed for Wright, Clarke, Thackeray and Passinger.⁽¹¹⁾ Although the substance of this composition is the same as that of the minstrel versions, the author has made of it a completely different text, well-polished, compact, with no repetitions even of the riddles. It is entitled, 'The King and the

Bishop: or, Unlearned men hard matters out can find,
 When learned Bishops miss the mark, and Princes eyes do
 blind', and is directed to be sung to the tune of 'Chevy
 Chase', one of the most commonly used broadside ballad tunes.
 The King in this ballad is not John but 'old Henry'. Despite
 its neatness, the broadside lacks the impact of the Oxford
 ballad; the story has lost its compelling rhythm and, without
 this, the verses are unmemorable. No oral versions of this
 ballad have been found.

The story must have remained in demand, however, perhaps
 because of the appeal emphasised in the sub-title, the triumph
 of the lowly man over the great. In about 1682, another
 working of the story into ballad form was printed for the
 same group of publishers, with a different title, 'The Old
 Abbot and King Olfrey', and a different tune, 'The Shaking
 of the Sheets'. There are two separate tunes of this name,
 of which the one connected with the ballad seems to be the
 irregular sixteenth century air, first printed in William
 Ballet's Lute Book of 1600. According to Bronson, references
 to the tune are common in the second half of the sixteenth
 century,⁽¹²⁾ indicating that the tune was in vogue then, but
 this does not mean that it would not still be in currency
 in the next century. The stanza form of the ballad is
 unusual, to conform to the tune:

In old times past there was a king, we read, was
 bountiful in each degree,
 That gave rewards to each Subject's need, so
 orderly as it might be,
 And kept his Princely Pallaty,
 In every kingly quality,
 Maintaining hospitality.⁽¹³⁾

Despite the garbled form of 'Principality', which might on its own imply an oral version, the general style of the text is literary and clumsily worked to fit the tune, with lines such as,

No, I am but his Brother, God wot, in field which
after his sheep do trot^(1.59)

It seems unlikely that the ballad was taken from any singing tradition, although it may well have been a reworking of a known broadside.

The identity of 'Olfrey' is obscure, and has been the subject of some minor controversy in the eighteenth century, when there was a strong antiquarian interest in the ballad. Francis Wise, in 1738, claimed that the original must have been King Alfred, and that 'modern bards' transferred the ballad to John; this claim was attacked in 1740 by one Mr. Bumphrey, in a shilling quarto entitled 'The Impertinence and Imposture of Modern Antiquaries Displayed', to which Wise duly responded in 1741.⁽¹⁴⁾ The editor of the 1723 Collection of Old Ballads suggested Offa as the original King. Another possibility is that 'Olfrey' is a corruption, or a wild misprint, for 'Old Henry', the subject of the 1642 broadside. In any case, the name occurs only in the title, and cannot be used in any way as an indication of the date of the ballad.

These two seventeenth century broadsides, though using the same story as the manuscript texts and the later Brooksby broadside, are unrelated in any other way and are therefore not included in the Appendix for this chapter (Appendix D).

A. The Brooksby broadside (iii)

The broadside text of the story which passed into the oral singing tradition was the black-letter copy printed for P. Brooksby at the Golden Ball, Pye Corner, which dates it between 1672 and 1695. It is entitled, 'A New Ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury', to be sung to the tune of 'The King and the Lord Abbot'. As Bronson remarks, the adjective 'new' means little in broadside jargon, but the mention of a tune with a different title from any of the known texts does suggest that in this case there was another older ballad, as well as the two discussed above, from which this version, and possibly the two others, were derived. The tune is found in D'Urfey's Pills to Purge Melancholy of 1719-20; it has a distinctive form with the famous 'Derry down' refrain, and would not fit any of the surviving earlier texts.

Textually, the Brooksby broadside is unrelated to the two earlier versions of the tale, although the story is the same. However, it does closely resemble the Folio text (ii), combining the rhythmic balance of the two minstrel versions with the verbal neatness of the two unrelated broadsides. Some archaic forms in the Folio are found here modernised, such as the substitution of 'steed' for 'stead' in the fifth stanza. The rambling descriptions of the Folio text are absent from the broadside, and the common formula, 'Sad news, sad news, I have thee to give', appears in stanza 10. All these factors point to a popular text being adapted to suit the broadside format. All unnecessary journeyings and comments are omitted, as is the prolix end to the

earlier versions. In this new format, the ballad evidently pleased its audience; copies were printed throughout the eighteenth century and can be found in many of the existing broadside collections.⁽¹⁵⁾ The tune was used in at least a hundred other songs,⁽¹⁶⁾ and was included in the second edition of Gay's Beggar's Opera and in eleven other ballad operas from 1728 to 1749. The first line of the text, 'I'll tell you a story, a story anon', became a cliché for eighteenth century satirists to seize upon: a satire attributed to Swift, for example, on the Archbishop of Armagh, Hugh Bolton, begins 'I'll tell you a story, a story most merry'.⁽¹⁷⁾

It is not possible to give a definite chronological order to the three seventeenth century broadsides. All were printed in the period 1642-95; all three have tunes which could have been Elizabethan. In plot, they closely resemble each other, but not in diction, and they name different kings. Only the Brooksby text has any connection with evidence of an oral tradition prior to its publication. It is possible that the three texts have a common broadside ancestor, perhaps the original owner of the tune mentioned in the Brooksby copy, 'The King and the Lord Abbot'. (Thackeray's trade list of 1689 mentions a ballad of the 'King and the Lord Abbot', but this could be an abbreviation of the Brooksby title.) Since the King in the 1642 and 1682 texts is a generalised figure, it seems likely that there was an early broadside with a generalised king. The Brooksby text would then be a convergence of this tradition and the minstrel tradition which specified King John. However, in the absence of further evidence of an older version, it is impossible to reconstruct for certain the history of the broadside tradition

of this ballad.

(iv) The Reliques version

The other seminal text of the ballad is Percy's refashioning, published in his Reliques in 17 . In the headnote, Percy claims that the Folio MS was too corrupt to print, but that it 'afforded many lines worth reviving, which will be found inserted in the following stanzas'. He describes his chief source as 'an ancient black-letter copy to the tune of Derry Down.'. There are, then three components of the Reliques text: the Folio text, the broadside, and Percy's own distinctive additions. Evidence from his letters suggests that the broadside he used was the Brooksby one; in a letter to Shenstone, July 19th 1761, Percy tells him that William Dicey of the Printing Office in Bow Church Yard,

has promised me copies of all his old Stock Ballads, and engaged to rommage into his warehouse for everything curious that it contains: as a specimen only I have already recd. above 4 score pieces from him, some of which I never saw before.(18)

Dicey was the most important printer of ballad broadsides in the eighteenth century, and one of his first sources was the 1723 Collection of Old Ballads, attributed to Ambrose Phillips, from which Dicey used seventy items, including 'King John and the Abbot of Canterbury' (No.8), which is virtually identical to the original Brooksby broadside.(19) The Collection of Old Ballads also includes a copy of 'The Old Abbot and King Olfrey', but no influences from this can be seen in the Reliques text.

Working from the basis of the broadside text, Percy's chief aims seem to have been to emphasise the antiquity of the ballad, and to neaten a few points of metre, rhyme and sense. He also adds some idiosyncratic embellishments of his own.

To emphasise the ballad's antiquity, he draws upon the Folio version, borrowing such phrases as 'with main and with might'; 'they rode post for him'; 'my owne true-gotten geere'. He also adds a few minor archaic details of his own, such as the replacement of 'pounds' in the reward with 'nobles'.

To neaten the sense of the story, Percy adds a stanza (17) in which the shepherd explains a chance similarity in appearance between himself and the Bishop; this point is covered in the Folio version by the fact that they are half-brothers, but is not mentioned in the broadside.

As for Percy's more idiosyncratic additions, the most colourful are the three oaths sworn by the King after each correct answer to the riddles. In the Folio text there are two oaths, after the first and the third answers, calling respectively upon Saint Andrew and Saint Mary. Both are rather clumsily worked, and the first is an imperfect rhyme (Andrew-value). There are no oaths in the broadside text. Percy has the King swear by St. Bittel, by St. Jone, and by the Mass. 'Bittel' rhymes nicely with 'little'; the other two rhymes are imperfect ('soone' and 'place'). Percy gives a footnote to 'Bittel', explaining that it is probably a corruption of 'Botulph', but, like 'Olfrey', the form seems to be unique and is possibly an invention of Percy's. 'Jone' might be a corruption, or archaised form, of John,

Joan, or even Jonah; again, this may be an invention of Percy's.

The Reliques text was reprinted several times in the nineteenth century: a luxury edition, printed privately and with no acknowledgement to Percy, appeared in 1872, an opportunity for its publisher and illustrator, Matthew Hinscliff, to display his extravagant typography and full-page drawings. In 1876, Hinscliff produced another edition of the text, in a larger and still more extravagant Gothic format and copiously illustrated, the pages bearing large banners with the words 'Gloom' or 'Hope' to guide the reader's sensibilities, and including drawings which purport to be from 'stone sculpture of the 13th century', almost certainly a false claim, which depict a King chasing an Abbot in the hunt. These editions indicate that the ballad was now the property of the whimsical Victorian antiquarian, not the down-trodden lower classes to whom it was directed in the seventeenth century.

The text was also translated into Swedish, German, French, Russian, Dutch and Italian;⁽²⁰⁾ a German translation by Gottfried August Burger, 'Der Kaiser und der Abt', 1784, was in turn widely translated. Free adaptations also continued: an English example is the prose version, 'King John and the Abbot of Canterbury' in Joseph Jacob's More English Fairy Tales (London, 1894). Thus Percy, more than anyone else, was responsible for returning the story to the European tradition from which it came.

American Versions

Percy's Reliques were also known in the United States, for there was a reprinting of the collection in 1856 in Boston (Phillips, Sampson & Co.). However, only one version collected in America seems to have been influenced by the Reliques text. This is the fragmented text from Massachusetts (ix) in which only three stanzas are complete. Although the existing lines are not identical to Percy's, and show some influence from the other American traditions, there are a few lines which are not found in any other American text, and which are close to the Reliques version:

... in his stead,
With my crown of gold so fair on my head.

The qualification, 'so fair', is elsewhere found only in Percy. The last line probably also came from his version, although it is found also in the Brooksby text, because no other American text uses it:

You bring him a pardon from good King John.

There are two American fragments which seem to have derived from the Brooksby broadside text without the help of Percy. These are Henry Vaughan's version from Michigan, 1937 (xiv), learned from his mother in Vermont, and the most recent of all versions, that of Mrs. Maxine Elkins of Kentucky, 1965 (xxi). The latter has only the first two stanzas; the former has only the first, but in the case of (xiv), the lines are identical to the broadside, and in (xxi), the only differences are obvious developments of the same: in place of 'a story anon', for example, she has, 'a story I know', and in place of 'high renown', 'great compound'.

The Stevens-Douglas Group (vii; xviii; xix)

Earliest of the American oral versions is the text from the Stevens-Douglas family manuscript, dated 1841-56: this is a record of songs used at family gatherings in the mid-nineteenth century, written down by Artemas Stevens, who died in 1877, and by his children. It contains 89 songs, including 36 of British origin, unfortunately without music. The family lived near Buffalo, in an area settled mainly by Puritans from New England in the seventeenth century.

The 'King John' text is entitled 'The Bishop of Canterbury', and apart from some unique mis-hearings, such as 'abilities' for 'nobility', in stanza 3, it is coherent and well-structured. It is evidently related to the Brooksby text in some respects, but there are certain elements which occur here and in other American variants, which point to another source. The elements, as they are found in the Stevens-Douglas text, are as follows:

1. In the third riddle, in place of the normal broadside reading, 'thou must not shrink', the MS reads, 'As I do now wink'. This is found in six other American texts.
2. The Bishop offers the shepherd a reward before he sets off:
 "A suit of pearl (apparel) I will freely give,
 "And ten pounds a year as long as I live."
 This occurs in the same six other American texts, although the sum varies (See Appendix D).
3. On the arrival of the shepherd, the King asks,
 "Have you come here to live or to die?"
 This occurs in four other texts.

Two texts in particular are very close to the Stevens-Douglas, and can be traced to the same period: the first of these is

Virginia Hiner's version from Kansas, 1945 (xviii), which came from a great-uncle who had lived in New York State, moving to Kansas in 1857. The second is from Mrs. Salley Hubbard, Utah 1946-7 (xix), which she learned from her brother in 1875. Both these two texts have a syncopated refrain of the 'Fol-de-rol' type, which sets them apart from other American versions, most of which preserve the 'Derry Down' refrain. The Stevens-Douglas MS records no refrain. They also share an ending not found in any English version, in which the King says to the shepherd,

"Go tell the old Bishop, go tell him for me,
 "He keeps a fine fellow if he keeps thee.

It seems probable that these elements, not found in the Brooksby text or the Reliques, came from another broadside version of the ballad.

The Vermont Group (xii; xiii; xi; xv; xvi; xx)

A second group of texts seems closer to the Brooksby version, but also has in common certain features not known in any English version. The texts come mainly from Vermont, three of them from the Elmer George family.⁽²¹⁾ The Warde Ford version (xv) is close to the Stevens-Douglas group in tune and refrain, but in its opening stanza and in general diction it belongs in the Vermont group.

These texts, unlike the Stevens-Douglas group and the Brooksby broadside, succeed in avoiding self-contradiction in the opening description of the King. The Virginia Hiner text (xviii), for example, in the Stevens-Douglas group, blatantly presents a double view:

A health to King John, that worthy old knight
 Who set up great wrongs and put down great rights...

The Elmer George texts thoughtfully put this right:

A story, a story, a story of one
 About an old prince whose name was King John.
 He was a man, a man of great mirth
 Who set up all rights and downed great wrongs.

Warde Ford (xv) does not describe him at all. George
 Farnham (xi) has the most original and, in social context,
 the most realistic version:

He was a man and a man of great might,
 He tore down great barns and set up great right.

The other significant feature that distinguishes these texts
 is the taunt of the shepherd when the Bishop explains his
 predicament:

"Are you a man of learning and wit
 "To answer these questions, so soonly put to it?"
 (xii)

Each of the texts has this question in some form: in the
 fragment from Alice Sicily, (xiii), it has shifted to the
 opening description of the King:

He was a man of learning and wit.

The taunt is absent from both the Brooksby broadside and the
Reliques text: it does exist, however, in the Folio version:

"Brother", quoth the shepard, "you are a man of learninge;
 "What neede you stand in doubt of soe small a thinge?"
 (st. 18)

The word 'wit' may have come from the proverbial remark
 retained by the Brooksby writer and by Percy,

"Brother", quoth the shepeard, "you have heard itt,
 "That a foole may teach a wisemane witt..."
 (Folio, st.13)

The Stevens-Douglas group and the Vermont group, then, exhibit between them a number of regular features which cannot have come from any of the known English sources. This suggests an independent source, most probably a broad-side, since the area covered by the texts is too large for an unprinted text to remain as constant. This hypothetical text could have been taken to New England by Puritan emigrants and thence to the Puritan settlements in New York State, the home of the Stevens family.

One American text does not fit into any of the groups described above: this is the version from Mr. Jack MacNelly, Maine, 1949 (xvii). It has no tune or refrain, and has become well acclimatised to its new nationality: it opens with the formula:

Come all you folks and I'll make you merry

The basic story is still there, and the three riddles, but the text is so much altered that it is impossible to determine its probable source. It shows, however, that the song was robust enough to adapt to a completely foreign environment. The King and the Bishop are token figures, barely given a mention, but the shepherd evidently struck a sympathetic chord; his answers to the questions are the main substance of the text, which ends:

"You think I'm the Bishop of Canterbury
"And I nawthin' but his hired man."

The ballad has given to, as well as taken from, the wider American folksong tradition: the tune continued to be used for other songs in the twentieth century, such as 'The Belle of Long Lake' (22). And like the eighteenth

century satirists, ballad-makers continued to use the famous opening formula to begin new ballads, such as the variant of 'The Liverpool Landlady' collected in Nova Scotia at the beginning of the century:

I'll tell you a story, I'll not keep you long,
Concerning a sailor whose name it was John... (23)

Modern English Versions

The ballad does not seem to have lasted in the English oral tradition beyond the first decade of this century, when two texts were recorded: from Joseph Skinner, in Barrow-on-Humber, in 1906 (viii), and from Mr. Windsor, in Hampshire, in 1907 (x).

The Hampshire text was collected by Gardiner, who noted that Mr. Windsor, who learned the ballad from his grandmother, repeated the text as a recitation. It is in fact the Reliques version, almost verbatim, except for the three oaths, which not surprisingly gave the reciter some problems: 'St. Bittel' becomes 'St. Vital', perhaps confused with St. Vitus; 'Jone' becomes 'June' (which does at least rhyme); 'by the Mass' becomes 'by St. Mace'.

Mr. Skinner's text, which was collected by Grainger, seems to be likewise based on the Reliques text, but has mixed with the broadside tradition in acquiring the 'Derry Down' refrain and a tune that is very similar to the one printed by Chappell in his 1838 Collection of National Airs with the ballad (Bronson 45.3). Since Chappell also printed the Reliques text, it is quite likely that this is the source of the 1906 version, although it is possible that the mixing of the two traditions had already occurred before Chappell

published his variants. Mr. Skinner's text has its own peculiarities and additions: there are only two riddles, and the text has been completely reworked to accommodate this fact; there is no suggestion of something missing. The most striking alteration is the detail that the Shepherd-as-Bishop goes to court on a mule, a detail which is not found in any other existing text, but which is consistent with late medieval tradition, when Bishops rode on mules in festival processions, a sign of their Christian humility and a remembrance of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The tradition is recorded in a poem by William Dunbar to the King, requesting new clothes for the Christmas festivities, and concluding with a reply attributed to James IV, which gives orders to 'Tak in this gray hors, auld Dunbar', and to 'busk him lyk ane bischopis muill'.⁽²⁴⁾ Unless an antiquarian reviser had a hand in this text, it would seem that this is another indication of a more complex broadside tradition, the details of which are now lost.

As in the American tradition, the tune has been adopted for other songs, such as the industrial ballad, 'The Poor Pitman's Wife'.⁽²⁵⁾

The Scottish versions

There are only two texts of the ballad from Scotland, both closely related to the broadside tradition, which may have reached Scotland via the Newcastle printer, John White, who printed a text of (iii) in 1740. (See Appendix D). The Buchan text (vi) is very close to the broadside (iii), with a few minor differences of wording, such as the opening line, 'I'll sing you a story, a story anon'.

The Glenbuchat text (v) is more loosely worded, but still recognisably related to the broadside. Neither of the Scottish versions contain any Scottish dialect spellings. The only significant difference between the Glenbuchat and the Brooksby broadside type is the tenth stanza:

"You that's a man of so high learning
 "Cannot you tell him such a small thing?"

This is not found in the English broadside versions: it is, however, very close to the wording of the Folio MS (ii):

"Brother", quoth the shepard, "you are a man of learninge;
 "What neede you stand in doubt of soe small a thing?"
 (st.18)

The same taunt is found in the Vermont group of American texts:

"Are you a man of learning and wit
 "To answer these questions, so soonly put to it?" (xii)

Although this is the only feature of the Glenbuchat text which diverges from the Brooksby broadside, it suggests that the lost broadside, or broadsides, which seem to be behind the Vermont and the Stevens-Douglas groups of texts in America, and which are linked with the Folio text, also reached Scotland.

The Folk Tale

Running concurrently with the ballad is the tradition of the international folktale from which the story originally came, Folktale versions are still being collected on both sides of the Atlantic; a recent text is the tale related in Lance au Clair, on the Labrador coast, in which the accused man and his rescuer are both Irishmen. (26)

In 1923, Walter Anderson published his detailed analysis of the transmission of the tale, entitled 'Kaiser und Abt'.⁽²⁷⁾ After examining 474 variants of the tale worldwide, Anderson calculates that the English ballad version is only one of 62 literary reworkings of the story. His variants come from a survey of Celtic, Romance, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, African, Eastern and American traditions: the details of the plot vary a great deal, but the basic components of the three characters, the threat of death, and the test of the riddles, remain, although the riddles themselves vary. The accused is normally of high social status, a nobleman or a cleric, and the answerer of the riddles is normally a miller or shepherd, and always 'ein Mann aus dem Volk'; the judge is usually a King or Emperor. Thus the essence of the story, which has made it appeal all over the world for many centuries, is the triumph, by wit, of the lowly man over the high-born.

Anderson constructs a tentative history of the tale, which begins, according to his findings, in a Judaic community in the Near East, possibly in Egypt, and probably in the early seventh century, before the Arab conquests. Near Eastern versions have since then remained remarkably constant, the three characters being a King, a nobleman and a simple man. The tale spread through Eastern Christendom, and it was here that the riddle, 'How much am I worth', first appeared in the tale. The first Western European versions appeared in the early thirteenth century, in Southern France and Germany. In the early fourteenth century, the character of the noble was superseded by that of the cleric. The riddle, 'What do I think', first appeared with the tale in about 1500;

the riddle, 'How long would it take me to travel round the world', is first found in the ballad version, but riddles of this sort do appear in different tales, and as separate riddles, in sixteenth century sources, such as the Demaundes Joyous, which appeared in English in 1511.

English versions of the tale seem to be scarce, although this may well be because of the lack of adequate searching. There are several Scottish variants, such as the tale entitled 'The Three Questions', recorded from the brothers MacCraw in North Uist, in 1859, and published in J. F. Campbell's Popular Tales of the West Highlands, in which the characters are a scholar, his master, and a miller. The riddles are as follows:

1. How many ladders would reach the sky?
(one, if it were long enough)
2. Where is the middle of the earth?
(Miller sets down a rod, saying, set a hoop around it and the middle will be here)
3. What is the world's worth?
(Thirty pieces of silver) (28)

In all versions of the tale, the riddles seem to be of this type: the emphasis is not on esoteric knowledge, or the solving of ingenious paradoxes, and the only hint of a catechismal riddle tradition is in the riddle, 'How much am I worth'. The riddles are exercises in evasion, the ability of the answerer to outwit his social superior, as he is doing in a physical sense by his disguise.

Anderson's research of the 'Kaiser und Abt' is sometimes regarded as the prime example of the 'Finnish' historic-geographic method of research. Some of his aims and methods

are now questionable, in particular his search for an 'original' form of the story. Moreover, some of the assumptions of the Finnish school are possibly more true of the folk tale than of the ballad: for example, the ballad, with its more stable form, is more likely to be disseminated as a kind of family tree, (the Stammbaumtheorie) than in 'waves' (the Wellentheorie)⁽²⁹⁾. However, although the aims and conclusions of Anderson's study may be questioned, his research and the wealth of material he discovered remain extremely valuable in setting the ballad in its wider context.

Tunes for the ballad

Bronson treats all the tunes associated with the ballad text (discounting those of the other broadside versions) as variants of the same family, despite their 'superficial changes'. Some are indeed so far removed that they could have been composed or improvised independently, the metre and distinctive refrain giving them a similarity of shape. The only surviving English tune is certainly very similar to the tune printed in D'Urfey and Chappell (see p.152 above). Of the American tunes, George Farnham's is the closest to this prototype; Mary Eddy's also bears a strong resemblance in mode and melodic contour (xi; ix). The Elmer George tunes are, as might be expected, very close to each other, but apart from a general resemblance in form (for example, the repetition of the first line), are far removed from the seventeenth century tune. The tunes from Henry Vaughan and Warde Ford (xiv; xv) are similar to each other, especially in the

first two lines, but again there is no strong resemblance to other tunes associated with the ballad. Salley Hubbard's tune (xix) seems unrelated to any other. The seventeenth century tune printed by D'Urfey, which was used for so many English broadsides, did survive almost intact in America, associated with other ballads such as the lumberjack ballad 'The Belle of Long Lake'. However, in passing into the wider song tradition it would appear to have lost its strong connection with 'King John and the Bishop', for although there are still traces of it in a few of the tunes collected, the rest of the tunes cannot be regarded as mere variants, because of their wide diversity of contour and modal setting.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE (CHILD 45)

1. A Collection of Old Ballads, 1723, Vol.II p.49.
2. Holinshed, Chronicles (Everyman, London 1927), 196 i.
3. The Troublesome Raigne (ed. F. J. Furnivall & J. Munro, Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1911) Act I Scene ii, 35-6.
4. King Johan (ed. Peter Happe, Four Morality Plays, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1979) lines 2193-96.
5. Hector Boece, Chronicles (transl. J. Bellenden, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh 1938-41), 11. 44957-8.
6. John Major, History of Greater Britain (transl. A. Constable, Edinburgh, 1892) Book IV Chapter 3.
7. Lacy Baldwin Smith, Henry VIII: The Mask of Royalty (Jonathan Cape, London, 1971) pp.77-8.
8. For example, the song 'To Oxfforde', which ridicules the visit of a King to a University, and is presumed to be directed at James I.
9. The reference to David may show influence of the metrical version of the Psalms of David, which was widely used during the Commonwealth period.
10. Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad, p.157.
11. Roxburghe Ballads, ed. J. W. Ebsworth, VI p.751.
12. See Bronson, Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads, I p.354, for the tune's history.
13. Roxburghe Ballads, VI p.753.
14. Ibid. p.750.
15. See Appendix D, (iii).
16. Claude Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and its Music, pp.172-6. The tune and first line were also used in a ballad, 'Dialogue between the K(in)g (George I) and B(isho)p of R(ochester)', attributed to Sam Wesley:

I'll tell you a story, a story that true is,
 What it was for to tell a great king what he meant...
 (Bodleian MSS Eng. Poet. f.12 p.100)

Similarly, there is a satire on Justice Bush of Cirencester to the tune of 'The Abbot of Canterbury', by Philip (?) Hawkins:

I'll tell you a story, though tis but a queer one,
Tis plain from what's past that the church is in
danger.

(Bodleian MS Ballard 47, fol.167)

The item in Pepys' Penny Merriments, I 14, 'The pleasant history of King Henry VIII and the Abbot of Reading', which Child assumed was a variation of 'King John and the Bishop' (Child I p.404), is in fact a prose tale and unrelated to the ballad (it is printed in Roger Thompson, ed., Samuel Pepys' Penny Merriments, Constable, London 1976).

17. Printed in Dublin for T. Harbin, 1725-6. British Museum c 121 g g(40).
18. Quoted in R. S. Thomson, The Development of the Broad-side Trade, p.125.
19. Ibid., pp.112-3.
20. For details, see Walter Anderson, Kaiser und Abt, section i; Child I p.410.
21. Two are from Elmer George, sung on different occasions; see Appendix D.
22. Bronson, Traditional Tunes, no. 45.10.
23. W. Roy Mackenzie, The Quest of the Ballad, p.71.
24. James Kinsley, The Poems of William Dunbar, no.43, p.128.
25. A. L. Lloyd, Come All Ye Bold Miners (2nd edition, 1978, Lawrence & Wishart, London), p.253, 'The Coal-Owner and the Pitman's Wife'.
26. MacEdward Leach, Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast, pp.24-5 (related by Peter Letto).
27. Walter Anderson, op.cit.
28. J. F Campbell, Popular Tales of the West Highlands II pp.391 ff.
29. See Wolfgang Müller, Die englisch-schottische Volksballade, p.40.

CHAPTER SIX: 'CAPTAIN WEDDERBURN'S COURTSHIP' (CHILD 46)

David Fowler called 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' an 'omnibus',⁽¹⁾ in that it has drawn into itself a wide variety of elements from other songs or from other areas of the oral tradition, such as riddles and tales. The ballad proper first appeared in Scotland in the late eighteenth century, and rapidly became popular in Scotland, Ireland, and later in America; apart from a Newcastle broadside, there are no English texts recorded. The oldest and most persistent component of the ballad, however, is English, and made its first written appearance in the Sloane MS British Museum 2593; this is the riddle song, 'I have a 3ong suster'.

The Sloane text.

The Sloane MS 2593 is dated at about 1450; it comes from Bury-St.-Edmunds in Suffolk, and R. L. Greene believes it to have been the property of the Benedictine monastery there⁽²⁾. As for its origin, R. Hope Robbins identifies the manuscript as a minstrel collection, and groups it with the contemporary manuscripts Bodleian Eng. Poet. e.1 and St. John's College Cambridge 259.⁽³⁾ The small size of the manuscript would make it suitable for carrying (it is about six by four and a half inches). There is a memorandum on f.36^v:

Johannes bardel debet istum librum the qweche bardel
is of....dwellyd....In.

Greene notes that Bardel, Bradel or Bardwell is a name peculiar to the area around Bury-St.-Edmunds, and there was

a monk of Bury called Johannes Berdwell, who is mentioned in an inscription in the Bodleian MS. Holkham Misc. 37 (f.197^v):

Liber dompni Johannis Berdewell monachi sancti E.

Greene also points out a Johannes Bardel described as a 'Knight of St. Edmund' in the Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond.

The pagination of the MS. shows it to have been a part of a larger volume now lost, since f.2 is also marked f.49. Except for some minor items, everything is written in one hand and in East Anglian language⁽⁴⁾. Of seventy-five pieces, three are in Latin verse and the remainder are in English; Greene selected fifty-seven of them for inclusion in his Early English Carols on grounds of metre. Although no music is included in the MS., the majority of the items seem to be songs; they are in simple, regular metre and bear marks of oral transmission in their simplicity of language and their extensive use of repetition. Child chose two pieces for his ballad collection: 'St. Stephen and Herod' (Child 22) and 'Robyn and Gandelyn' (Child 115); as Fowler points out, the MS. thus provides a useful demonstration of Child's ballad criteria at work. The two ballads are very different in style and subject matter, the former being a straightforward reworking of the saint's legend, very much on the lines of the carols of St. Nicholas (Greene 315, 316), the latter being an obscure and curious secular narrative describing the death of Robyn and the revenge of Gandelyn, uniquely written in the MS. without line or stanza division, although the

structure is plainly that of the four-line 'ballad stanza'. A line which may be an internal or an external burden, or neither, precedes and follows the text:

Robyn lyth in grene wode ybounden

Fowler suggests that while 'Robyn and Gandelyn' stands out as a crucially different type of song from the others in the MS., 'St. Stephen and Herod' was admitted rather for its quaintness of subject-matter, and its inclusion in the category of folk ballad is open to question.⁽⁵⁾

In general, the MS. calls into question a number of the modern habits of categorisation into religious and secular, lyric and ballad, folksong and literary song, all of which are mixed in the MS., the only obvious recognition of differentiation being in the manner in which 'Robyn and Gandelyn' is transcribed. It was perhaps regarded as too worn down and obscure to be written in the same manner as the other items; it certainly seems to have been in oral circulation for longer than the others, to judge by its repetitions and its absence of explanations as to the identity of the characters. Certain phrases are part of the stock of folksong, such as line 27:

Gandelyn lokyd hym est and lokyd west

and lines 25-26:

There cam a schrewde arwe out of þe west
þat felde Robertes pryde

This last is reminiscent of 'John Barleycorn', for example in the text recorded by Sharp from Somerset in 1908:

There was three men come from the West
 Their frolics for to try.
 They vowed and swear and did declare
 John Barleycorn should die. (6)

The contents of the MS. as a whole seem more appropriate to the repertoire of a minstrel than to that of a Benedictine monk: they include an apology for a poor voice (lxvii)⁽⁷⁾, a drinking song (xxvii) and a number of satirical and amorous lyrics, as well as a corpus of religious carols. There are a few topical references which can be tentatively dated to the 1360s, and because one of these is to the survival of the Franciscan church in the storm of 1362 at King's Lynn, Greene suggests that this particular item is of Franciscan authorship⁽⁸⁾. One lyric makes a direct reference to the minstrel's trade:

We ben chapmen lyȝt of fote,
 The fowle weyis for to fle. (liv)

If separate categories for 'folksong' and 'artsong' are imposed, it might be said that 'Robyn and Gandelyn' is the sole folksong among the collection, the rest of the items bearing marks of literary polish or composition. Rather than use such categories, however, it seems reasonable to regard 'Robyn and Gandelyn' as being at a different stage in the same process, the process being the oral inter-transmission of material between performer and audience. A worn down song could be collected by a minstrel or collector, and reworked to make metrical and artistic sense, just as, centuries later, the broadside poets reworked traditional material or, later still, the compilers of modern folksong

collections such as Burl Ives and Richard Chase produce edited or composite texts for publication. 'Robyn and Gandelyn', then, was in disrepair, but it need not be assumed that, in transcribing it without line divisions, the scribe considered it to be of a different genre.

In a process of interchange between written and oral transmission and in the absence of external evidence, it is impossible to determine with any certainty what is a newly-composed piece, and what is a reworked one. The riddles in the eighteenth century texts of 'Captain Wedderburn' might have been assumed to have been composed along with the ballad narrative, were it not for the chance survival of the Sloane MS. and of the one other fragment which preserves the tradition in writing, the seventeenth century English song-book in the library of the University of Edinburgh (Dc.1.69). It is therefore difficult to say whether the rhyme, 'I have a yong suster' was newly-composed, or already in circulation. It is certainly well-adapted for oral transmission, being so memorably compact in its threefold structure of riddle, question and answer, that it has remained independently almost intact until the present day.

The opening formula of the song, 'I have a...' is a common one in such rhymes, both at the time of the MS. and in modern times, being one of the most simple ways of introducing a subject. The formula often heralds a riddle, as it does in the nursery rhyme which is a riddle for a star:

I have a little sister, they call her Peep-Peep,
 She wades in the waters, deep, deep, deep;
 She climbs the mountains, high, high, high;
 Poor little creature, she has only one eye. (9)

A fifteenth century example which does not apparently precede a riddle is the rhyme, 'I have XII oxen'.⁽¹⁰⁾ Two pieces in the Sloane MS. open with the same formula, and share the same style of rhyming repetitions, and the same metre: 'I have a newe garden'⁽¹¹⁾ and 'I have a gentil cook'.⁽¹²⁾ Both of these are sexual metaphors, and both have, in some fashion, lasted in the oral tradition: 'I have a newe garden' in the nursery rhyme, 'I had a little nut tree'⁽¹³⁾ and 'I have a gentil cook' in the late eighteenth century text of 'The Grey Cock' (Child 248), which contains a stanza derived from the medieval text. Another sexual metaphor rhyme from the MS. which has not been preserved in later tradition is No.1iv, 'I have a poket for the nonys'.

It has been suggested by J. B. Toelken, in the article, 'Riddles Wisely Expounded'⁽¹⁴⁾, that the riddles of 'I have a yong suster' are likewise sexual metaphors, particularly since the fourth and last riddle, which is not really a riddle at all, is concerned with courtship:

She bad me love my lemman withoute longgyng...

Quan the mayden ha³t that che lovit, che is without
longyng...

The formula, 'I have a...', although often associated with sexual riddles, cannot be taken as a firm indication that this is what is to follow, for it was used also in other contexts, for example to describe a lady in a poem written on the marriage of Joan of Navarre to Henry IV in 1403⁽¹⁵⁾, which begins:

I have a lady where so she be...

The other riddles in the Sloane poem are, to say the least, ambiguous: the 'cherye with-outyn ony ston', the 'dowe with-outen ony bon' and the 'brer withouten ony rynde'. The symbolism of these three riddles goes deeper than the surface riddle-structure given in the song's answers, which are: the cherry as a flower; the dove in the egg; the briar when it is 'onbred' (growing).

A poem by D. H. Lawrence, 'Cherry Robbers', demonstrates the use of the cherry with a double association of blood and fertility:

Under the long dark boughs, like jewels red
In the hair of an Eastern girl
Hang strips of crimson cherries, as if had bled
Blood-drops beneath each curl.

Under the glistening cherries, with folded wings
Three dead birds lie:
Pale-breasted throistles and a blackbird, robberlings
Stained with red dye.

Against the haystack a girl stands laughing at me,
Cherries hung round her ears.
Offers me her scarlet fruit: I will see
If she has any tears.(16)

In fifteenth century England, the symbolism of the cherry was relatively new; the word itself was not recorded, it seems, except in compounds, until the mid-fourteenth century. In continental tradition, however, it was a well-established emblem of Christ's suffering and Mary's grief, a combination of blood, tears and fertility. As early as the seventh century, the Church of St. Maria Antiqua in Rome depicted cherries with spearheads in frescoes, to signify the crucifixion.⁽¹⁷⁾ The use of cherries in paintings of the Holy Family was common in Northern and Southern Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and cherries were

depicted in other religious scenes; for example in Bosch's 'Adoration of the Magi' and in Niccolo di Giacomo's 'Woman taken in Adultery', where a cherry tree is seen close to Christ.

In England, this tradition was absorbed into two plays from the mystery cycles: the *Ludus Coventriae* 'Birth of Christ' (Play XV) and the Wakefield 'Second Shepherds' Play'.⁽¹⁸⁾ In the former, from which the traditional 'Cherry Tree Carol' (Child 54) developed⁽¹⁹⁾, Mary, travelling with Joseph and carrying the child, desires some cherries from a nearby tree, and when Joseph fails to oblige her, the tree bows down to give her the fruit. (In earlier sources the fruit differs: the Pseudo-Matthew gospel, for example, gives a date-palm, signifying victory). Associations of fertility mingle with suffering, with a prophetic glance at the crucifixion, which is particularly emphasised in some versions of the 'Cherry Tree Carol'. The same symbolism, though more cryptic, is found in the figurative gifts of the three shepherds at the close of the Wakefield Master's 'Second Shepherds' Play', which are very close to the three riddles in 'I have a yong suster': a bob of cherries, a bird and a ball. These gifts, like the similar group of symbols in Bosch's 'Adoration of the Magi' (a cherry, a bird and a globe) are apparently parallel to the gifts of the Magi; cherries, symbols of blood and death, are like myrrh, the embalming spice; a bird, symbol of the divine, is like the frankincense; the ball, or globe, signifying kingship, is like the gold.⁽²⁰⁾

The symbolic association of fruit with the Passion is found also in the poetic tradition; Christ was conventionally

described in medieval poetry as the fruit of Mary, as in the fourteenth century poem from the Vernon MS. II, the 'Dispute between Mary and the Cross', where the image is developed to describe the Crucifixion:

Mi fruit I seo
 In blodi bleo
 Among his fon
 Serwe I seo
 þe veines fleo
 From blodi bon(21)

The Cross, like Mary herself, is here the fruitful tree of life; the Cross ripens the fruit and presses it into wine.

A further association of the cherry is as a miraculous fruit produced in winter, as it is in some texts of 'The Cherry Tree Carol'. This idea, which is taken up in another riddle from 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship', was common in medieval legend: St. Gerald of Monza, for example, who died in 1207, had as his attribute a 'bob of cherries', which he had produced one January for a sick man. The idea was developed in the English romance of 'Sir Cleges' (late fourteenth to early fifteenth century): having given away his wealth, Sir Cleges kneels on Christmas Eve beneath a cherry tree in prayer; miraculously, it bears fruit, which he takes to the king, who in turn sends it as a 'dowry' to a lady. Here, the cherries symbolise the miraculous birth of Christ in midwinter, which in turn calls upon the idea of the Passion and Resurrection.(22)

Thus, the cherry calls upon a large number of resonant Christian associations centring on the Passion and Mary. In modern times, only the general associations of fertility, and sometimes blood, remain, as in Lawrence's poem and in the

American song, 'The Blue-Eyed Girl', which has the stanza:

The higher you climb the cherry-tree,
The riper grows the berries,
The more you court and kiss them girls,
The sooner you will marry.⁽²³⁾

In English and American slang, 'cherry' signifies virginity.⁽²⁴⁾ In its fifteenth century context, however, it seems probable that the religious associations of the 'cherry without a stone' would be connected with the riddle. The answer given in the song, the 'flour', may also be a symbol of Mary or her child.

The third riddle, the 'brer withoutyn ony rynde', reinforces the religious undercurrent, for, although the answer is given rather weakly as a growing shoot, the brer, which can mean either a thorn-tree, or a branch cut from one, and by association the crown of thorns, may also be taken to signify the Cross itself. The Cursor Mundi (c.1400) calls the cross a love-token, 'þat druri dere'⁽²⁵⁾, and the fourteenth century Legends of the Holy Rood contain the description of the Cross as a tree without bark:⁽²⁶⁾

Over the welle stod a tre, ac it bar noþer lef ne rynde
Concepts of the Cross as the Tree of Life go back to early Christian times, as in the anonymous fourth century poem, De Pascha⁽²⁷⁾, which includes fruit among the attributes of the Tree. Drawing on Old Testament descriptions, such as Ezekiel's Tree of Life (17:22-24), Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, describes the tree with fruit, and also birds resting on it, the birds being the souls of the faithful.⁽²⁸⁾ The same picture is found in the thirteenth century Rätsel Spiel from Wolfram von Eschenbach's Wartburgkrieg, where the riddle

of the 'Kreuzebaum' describes a great tree in a garden, its roots reaching to Hell, its branches to Heaven, and encompassing the world, with birds singing in its branches; the answer to the riddle identifies the tree as the Cross.⁽²⁹⁾

The second riddle of the Sloane text is the 'dove without a bon', which is an egg. As a gift, the bird was an emblem of the soul, used in many pictures and legends, such as the Life of St. Francis.⁽³⁰⁾ The dove was associated with the Holy Spirit from earliest Christian times, preserved in the description of Christ's baptism in St. Luke's Gospel.(3:22). However, the dove is an eclectic symbol, whose associations are not restricted to innocence and purity, but can also imply fertility and peace, as in the Noah story (Genesis 8: 8-12). As with other symbols, these two opposite meanings are brought together in the paradoxical figure of Mary, who is described as Noah's 'colvere' in medieval lyric.⁽³¹⁾

Thus the riddle-gifts are not straightforward riddles, but carry with them a weight of religious and amorous symbolism. The song shows a deep intermingling of the concepts of sacred and profane love, an intermingling also reflected in the contents of the MS. as a whole, with its random mixing of secular and sacred pieces. If one has to be placed above the other as regards the intent of the poem, however, the combined iconography of cherry, tree and dove suggests that the religious associations were at this early stage dominant.

The poem was evidently a success in popular terms, and if it was not already a song by 1450 (and it seems probable that it was), it was certainly one by the seventeenth century;

as is often the case, there is a complete absence of evidence for the intervening two hundred years. The tradition is divided into two distinct streams, with different tunes and refrains: the stream which is closer to the Sloane text is the group of texts with the dog Latin refrain, 'Perry Merry Dictum Domine', of which the earliest example is only 1838, and the most recent, 1964. Texts are mostly English in the nineteenth century, and American in the twentieth.

'Perry Merry Dictum' Texts.

The song was printed in 1848, in Halliwell's Nursery Songs and Rhymes, and the tradition by this time certainly seems to have centred around children, often the sole preservers of medieval traditions. Two of the earliest orally-transmitted versions come from children's sources: the earlier of them, (iii), comes from a document belonging to Miss M. C. Meyer, who taught it to children in Forty Hall Infant School in Kent before 1843. The other (xii), from Oxford, 1860, is from an unusual source connected with children and undergraduates; in a letter to the librarian at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, in 1932, Mr. G. H. Page enclosed a text of the song as he remembered it from his days in the St. John's College choir in the 1860s: it had been sung at a college gaudy, and the older boys in the choir had seized upon it, singing it in true communal style, with a soloist giving the verse line and the others joining in the chorus. Mr. Page supplies block chord harmony and suggests that they sang it in four parts. Despite their background, the choir-boys provide one of the least convincing mock-Latin refrains:

Meré meré victus domine

Both text and tune are fragmented and Mr. Page adds that he never saw the song written down. The sister, or sisters, have by now disappeared, and from 1878, the date of publication of Mason's Nursery Rhymes and Country Songs (which probably did much to popularise and stabilise the song), they are replaced by brothers in most cases, the one exception being text (x) from Stratford-on-Avon (1914).

The text (vi) sent to Notes & Queries in 1866, which is allegedly from 'an aged country-woman', is almost certainly a literary forgery by someone who knew the Sloane text (which was published by Wright in 1856), since this is the only text which is at all close to the medieval song; moreover, the language is most unlike that of the average aged country-woman and includes lines such as:

Whoe'er loved without desire since first true love
was born?

Even allowing for the fact that folksongs often employ an idiom foreign to that of normal speech⁽³²⁾, this seems very dubious, the more so as the riddles are identical to the Sloane riddles and unlike any contemporary texts.

Willa Muir believes 'Perry Merry Dictum' to have affiliations with game-song, and she likens it to the wide-spread one which, in its most archaic form, begins:

We are three Jews
Come out of Spain
To call upon your daughter Jane.⁽³³⁾

She suggests that this has medieval origins; so too does another game-song close in subject-matter to 'Perry Merry

Dictum', the 'Twelve Days of Christmas', which is found in both England and France and may have troubadour origins.

However, there is no direct evidence of 'Perry Merry Dictum' being used as a game-song. Songs which rely on a simple numerical structure are not restricted to gamesongs, or indeed to children: the carol 'The Joys of Mary', in which the numbers vary from five to twelve, was possibly composed as a Franciscan mnemonic.⁽³⁴⁾ Even more venerable in tradition is the song 'Green Grow the Rushes O', sometimes known as 'The Twelve Apostles' or 'The Ten Commandments', which probably began life as a Hebrew religious rhyme, each number having religious, and often obscure, associations.⁽³⁵⁾

In assigning a separate gift to each of four brothers, or sisters, then, the singers of 'Perry Merry Dictum' were following a well-established habit of traditional song. The riddles themselves had changed a little since the fifteenth century: the dove without a bone became the more mundane chicken; the cherry remained the same; the 'brer' and the 'leman' disappeared, and two different riddles took their place: the blanket without a thread (in the fleece) and the book no man has read (in the press). Both religious and sexual overtones persist, however, for the book is in some cases a Bible, possibly a Protestant reworking of the 'leman', which would only have a religious meaning in Catholic tradition; the blanket is analogous to the 'mantle without weft' of 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship', and to the many mantles and cloths made of mysterious material or with mysterious origins in popular tradition, which have medieval origins.⁽³⁶⁾ The fleece, or the dew on Gideon's fleece, was

another traditional religious symbol, again linking the Annunciation with the Incarnation.⁽³⁷⁾

The most mysterious feature of the 'Perry Merry Dictum' group is the refrain itself; the words vary slightly (see Appendix E), but none can be translated into anything recognisable. The closest possibility seems to be a refrain from the carol (Greene 374): 'Parce michi, Domine'. Other phrases which may have been in mind are 'Dixit Dominus' and 'Benedictus Dominus'. There are many other examples of parody Latin, or Latin used in absurd contexts, such as the drinking song from Sloane 2593, 'Omnes gentes Plaudite':

I saw myny bryddis setyn on a tre;
He tokyn here fleyt and flowyn away,
With Ego dixi, have good day! (xxviii)

An example of a complete poem in dog-Latin is the poem attributed to William Drummond, 'Nymphae quae colitis highissima monta Fifaea'.⁽³⁸⁾ However, all such examples are by authors who understood Latin, and who belonged to an earlier period when Latin was either still used in Church services or still in living memory. The text of 'Perry Merry Dictum' was first recorded in 1838 and the most likely explanation of the mock Latin is as an uneducated gesture to acknowledge the age of the song and to produce an imitation of an archaic Latin refrain.

Niles' text (xiv) bears his usual individual marks in both text and tune, for example in the spelling of the refrain (see Appendix E), but it is probably based on a genuine tradition in Ohio, since it is close to a more reliable text from the same state (xvii).

Tunes in this group are all closely related, except for the fragment from Mr. Page (xii), and this might be a worn-down version of Miss Aimer's tune (x) . The tunes are melodically simple, perhaps because of the influence of children, the most rudimentary being that of Charles Muchler (xiii), which is based on the first three notes of the major scale, and which seems, with its monotonous refrain line, to be the musical counterpart of the pseudo-Latin words, imitating the intonation of an ecclesiastical chant. The Mason tune (vii) has the same repetitive refrain, but is embellished with an unexpected and unusual octave leap in the fourth line of text; singers of ballads rarely use the octave as a decoration, but usually as a means of shaping a phrase. Most decorative of all the tunes in this group, however, is the Oklahoma version (xx), where the basic melody is adorned with slurred passing-notes (bars 2-4) and the tonal centre of the third line is transposed a tone higher, giving more variety and movement to the tune.

'Riddle Song' Texts.

The second stream of tradition which seems to flow from the Sloane MS. text is the group of texts which are often entitled 'Riddle Song'. The features which distinguish this group from the 'Perry Merry Dictum' types are, firstly, the inclusion of different riddles; the transference from brother/sister relationships to lover relationships; different tunes and, where there are any, different refrains. The fact that the two types are included under separate headings in Mason's

Nursery Rhymes and Country Songs, where there is no attempt normally to print more than one version of a song, indicates that the two were regarded as separate songs.

The basic structure, however, is the same, and the riddles of the cherry and the chicken remain unaltered. There has been some borrowing between the two types, as might be expected, and the Mason text (iv) uses the book and blanket riddles from 'Perry Merry Dictum'. Most commonly, however, the third and fourth riddles are the ring (or thimble) without end (or rim) - when it's rolling or melting; and the baby with no crying - when it's sleeping (or 'a-getting'). With these riddles, and with the opening formula 'I gave my love', or 'My love gave me', the song moves to the sexual side of the religious-sexual duality it showed in the fifteenth century; it has clearly become a love-song. This is manifested also in a number of developments: firstly, in two American texts (xiii,xxi), the riddle is more explicitly romanticised: the ring becomes a 'story without end', which is 'the story of our love', or 'the story that I love you'. J. B. Toelken, however, finds another 'anatomical referent' here, taking the phrase 'a ring with no end' to be a symbol of female virginity.⁽³⁹⁾ Secondly, there is the development of an additional riddle sequence: the apple without a core (head); the house without a door (mind); the palace that can be unlocked without a key (heart). This is found intact in (ii,iii,viii and xxii); it is found partially in (vi) where it has a less romantic twist:

I'll get my love a home, wherein she may be,
Where she may be kept fast, without any key.

These additional riddles seem to have made their first printed appearance in broadsides of the early nineteenth century: the Opies mention a song-sheet printed by Pitts in c.1830;⁽⁴⁰⁾ and the new riddles are found embedded in an oddly strung together medley of the same title, printed as a slip-sheet by J. Jennings of Fleet Street, who was one of the smaller printers used by Pitts. (See App.E, 'Riddle Song' ii).

At least two other songs are recognisable in this slip-sheet: one of them is the Irish song, 'The Boys of Kilkenny', from which a complete stanza is transplanted:

Kilkenny is a fine place and shines where it stands
The more I look upon it the more my heart's won
Was I at Kilkenny I should think myself at home,
For there I've got a true love, but here I've got none

This stanza immediately precedes the riddle sequence. The opening of the song is an incoherent jumble of lines and phrases from songs of courtship, with a passing reference to 'Bushes and Briars':

Over hills and lofty mountains, long time I have been,
Through bushes and briars by myself alone,
Through bushes and briars, being void of all care,
Over hills and lofty mountains for the loss of my dear,
'Tis not your long absence I value a straw,
But to leave my dearest jewel, the girl I adore,
There's nothing will grieve or trouble my mind
But to leave my dearest jewel sweet Kilkenny behind.

At the end of the riddle sequence, which is perfectly coherent, the song reverts to a jumble of commonplaces:

So you lords and dukes of high renown,
Kings, princes, or emperors, or any of you all,
The King can but love you and I do the same,
I will call you a sheperdess and I'll be your fond
swain.

It would seem that the purpose of these extra, transplanted lines was solely to eke out the song to a standard broadside length; in terms of narrative or poetic content they are as irrelevant as the woodcut of an elegant mansion house at the head of the broadside (unless this was intended as a representation of the 'house without a door' or the 'palace without a key'). No tune is suggested for this version; the words would not fit 'Bushes and Briars', 'The Boys of Kilkenny', or any of the known tunes for the 'Riddle Song' without a great deal of rescanning.

Nevertheless, the song evidently found its way into the oral tradition, for the text collected from J. Burrows of Sherborne, Dorset, by Hammond in 1906, not only has the 'apple' riddle sequence, but also two stanzas from a version of 'The Boys of Kilkenny', close, but not identical, to the stanza in the Jennings copy: (viii)

As I was a walking one morning in June
Down by some pleasant riverside by myself all alone
But there is one thing more still runs in my mind
To think I should leave Kilkenny behind

Kilkenny is a fine place it lies in the west
And when I think on it, it lies on my breast,
But now I am in London Oh! so far from my home
In Kilkenny I've a true love, but here I have none.

Moreover, although there is no mention of 'Bushes and Briars', the tune taken down by Hammond, a very melodious Aeolian air, is reminiscent of the Essex tune of 'Bushes and Briars' in its leaps of a seventh and the cadences at the end of the second and fourth lines, especially at the end of the second line where the cadence is followed by a rise to the fifth of the scale, also found in the Essex song. This tune would easily fit the broadside text.

Thus the broadside 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' was not the last attempt of the broadside publishers to graft the 'Riddle Song' onto another framework.

The American text (xxii) is almost identical with the broadside copy for the apple sequence, but has no hint of the 'Kilkenny' version, and the tune is not related to any of the others. It seems very likely that a 'Riddle' broadside was the origin of this text.

The riddle of the head as a building is not uncommon; Archer Taylor gives nine examples in his collection of English Riddles from Oral Tradition⁽⁴¹⁾, such as this American one:

A large theatre has two windows upstairs, two windows downstairs, a large door with white people, a red stag.

All Taylor's examples are concerned with physical detail; romantic metaphors are perhaps too delicate to survive alone in the oral riddle tradition. One is found in another song, 'The Keys of Heaven', which in some versions contains the stanza:

I'll give you the keys of my heart
That we may marry and never part.⁽⁴²⁾

The third major addition to the basic riddle sequence found in this group is the four-line refrain, occurring in four English texts, and which comes from another song:

Go no more a-rushing, maids, in May;
Go no more a-rushing, maids, I pray;
Go no more a-rushing, or you'll fall a-blushing,
Bundle up your rushes and haste away.

Bronson notes that the song, which is printed in Chappell's *Popular Music of Olden Time*, was found in a manuscript of pieces by William Byrd. 'Rushing', also called rush-

bearing', is the custom of decorating the church with garlands of flowers and rushes, after a festival procession and a short service; it seems to have been most prevalent in the north of England, and especially in the north west, where Wordsworth had some influence in the preservation of the custom. It occurred annually, usually at the dedication or the patronal saint's day, and the festivities resembled May-day or Whitsun celebrations. Once again, there is a convergence of religious and sexual connotations, for, as the refrain suggests, 'rushing' took on a euphemistic meaning and appears more explicitly in other songs such as 'The Bonny Bunch of Rushes Green'.⁽⁴³⁾

The rush-bearing song, however, does not seem to have become popular in modern times, and so the two songs probably combined in the Elizabethan period, when it seems that they might both have been dance-songs. Charles Read Baskervill, in his study of the Elizabethan jig, writes that dance-songs in which a wooer offers gifts to win a wife, enacting the narrative as in a game-song, were in the sixteenth century a popular convention, and the subject of several sixteenth and seventeenth century burlesques.⁽⁴⁴⁾ He uses as an illustration the 'Keys of Heaven' song mentioned above.

The earliest 'Riddle Song' text is set to a dance tune, to which the words have been subjugated; this is the text (i) from the mid-seventeenth century song-book belonging to Edinburgh University, which contains songs by J. Wilson, W. Lawes and H. Burman, among others; there is what appears to be a companion MS. in the Bodleian collection (Mus.d.238), in the same hand.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The tune printed with Barrett's text

(vii) is of the same style and idiom as the seventeenth century tune, and allegedly comes from oral sources, but the first half of the tune is identical to 'Tell me, Daphne', in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book⁽⁴⁶⁾. Since Barrett was an early music scholar as well as a folksong collector, it is possible that there was some borrowing or polishing here, but other tunes from the Fitzwilliam book also appear orally.

Nevertheless, in the absence of more complete evidence, it seems possible that the 'Riddle Song' took on its character in the Elizabethan period and as a dance-song, thus swerving away from the medieval tradition which is preserved more closely in 'Perry Merry Dictum' texts. There are two features, however, which link it to the Sloane text where the 'Perry Merry' texts differ: firstly, the final phrase of the last riddle, 'without mourning', or 'without crying', echo the line in the Sloane text, 'Sche bad me love my lemman wythoute longgyng', although this may be pure coincidence. Secondly, the riddle of the oak without a limb, which occurs in the Baring-Gould text, (v), recalls the 'brer' without bark. It also gives a better rhyme for the last two riddles, since in this case the ring is a 'ring without a rim', and the answer, 'when it's melting'. There may have been a gradual change in the third riddle from 'rynde' to 'rim', followed by a rationalisation which produced a 'ring' riddle. Baring-Gould might himself have been responsible for the introduction of the 'oak' riddle, either by coincidence or by conscious imitation of the medieval text.

The texts of the 'Riddle Song' group have attracted a wide variety of tunes, some of which are identifiable as belonging also to other songs. The tunes marked A in the Appendix are similar in melodic idiom and shape, but are not directly related, except for the identity between (i) and (vii) which has been already mentioned. Tune B (viii) has also been mentioned as bearing similarities to 'Bushes and Briars'; however, Lucy Broadwood saw a kinship of this tune with a 'Celtic' one from Antrim, while Annie Gilchrist found a resemblance in the opening bars to a version of 'Glenlogie'.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This illustrates the difficulty of identifying relationships between tunes; melodic formulae may be so common that they cannot be used alone as evidence of a 'family'; they are merely a part of the melodic apparatus available.

Tune C, however, has more than a passing resemblance to the tune 'The Bold Princess Royal';⁽⁵⁰⁾ the two tunes differ only markedly in the last line.

Tunes marked E, like the A tunes, are not directly related, but bear similarities in idiom and in their simple melodic range and habit. The only true 'tune family' for the 'Riddle Song' is the group D; tunes in this group seem to be found only with this song, and have become the standard modern American and English song-book melody. Tunes designated DD have apparently been influenced by D tunes, but are not full members of the family; (xiv), for example, has turned the ABBA form of the tune inside out, with two new and distinctive lines, which end on

the dominant, so that the new form is BACD. (xi) looks as if it might have originated as a harmony for the standard D tune.

'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' Texts.

Neither the 'Riddle Song' nor 'Perry Merry Dictum' seem to have circulated in Scotland, the home of 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'. The earliest date for the ballad is that of Herd's MS., about 1776 (i), and it seems unlikely that it originated much earlier than this, since it fits in with the vogue for abduction ballads at this time in Scotland (e.g. Child Nos.222-228). The author of the ballad must have known the riddle sequence, however, since both cherry and chicken (sometimes a capon) riddles are included. They appear in a sequence of three riddles, usually demanded by the lady as meals to be provided by her suitor as a pre-requisite to marriage. The new riddle is another bird, the bird without a gall. This may be a play on words, for gall can mean 'rancour', a tumour, a gall bladder, or a swelling on a bird's foot, a term used in hawking. It may have been introduced into the ballad as a rhyme for the fourth line of the stanza, usually something like 'and you'll lie next the wall', or 'at either stock or wall'. The answer to this riddle is 'the dove she is a gentle bird, she flies without a gall', which incorporates the first and the third of the meanings of 'gall' listed above. The source of the riddle was possibly the popular German 'Ten Birds Riddle', a rhyme known throughout Germany and included in several of the nineteenth century collections.⁽⁵¹⁾ A number of 'birds' are

listed as riddles, the term being used loosely to cover anything that flies, including the bat and the dung-beetle. An example is from the eighteenth century Smiths Greeting:

welcher Vogel ist ohn' ein Zungen,	(der Storck)
welcher Vogel säugt seine Jungen,	(die Fledermaus)
welcher Vogel ist ohne Mut,	(die Eul')
welcher Vogel ist ohne Blut,	(die Imm')
welcher Vogel ist ohne Gall,	(die Turteltaube)
welcher Vogel singt über die Vögel all?	(Frau Nachtigall)

(52)

The earliest source known for the 'Ten Birds Riddle' is the fourteenth century Trougemundslid, but this does not include the dove riddle.⁽⁵³⁾ There are several 'scientific' sources for the idea that a dove has no gall bladder: Isidore of Seville describes doves:

aves mansueti et in hominum multitudine conversant,
ac sine felle.

(gentle birds dwelling among the company of men,
but without gall)⁽⁵⁴⁾

The Middle English translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum also notes that:

a colvere hap no galle and hurtip nouȝt with þe
bylle but hir owne peere.⁽⁵⁵⁾

It seems probable that a translation of the German 'Ten Birds Riddle', or something like it, circulated in Scotland and provided a source for the author of the ballad. Collections of British riddles were not made to the same extent as German collections until recently, and much material must have been lost: the survival of riddling traditions in modern times, especially in Scotland, indicates that there might have been ample material for collection in previous centuries.

The other riddles in the ballad come from a variety of sources, and some may also owe something to the German tradition; as Röhrich has shown,⁽⁵⁶⁾ the traditions of Britain and Germany are closely related.

Riddles J(a,b,c,d,e) (see App. E) are shared with Child 1 and are probably borrowed from the older ballad. The rest of the J riddles are closer to the 'Ten Birds' type; they involve no spiritual metaphors, but appear to be questions about natural lore, with largely stable answers. However, they also bear resemblances to Old Norse riddle sequences in the Poetic Edda, which unfold an esoteric knowledge in a ritualistic catechism.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Even closer are the riddles in Hervararsaga ok Heiðreks.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Here, convicted criminals have been offered the chance to save their lives by proposing a riddle that the king cannot solve. Óðinn, disguised as the convictedthane Gestumblindi, offers a series of riddles which later became a Faroese ballad, the Gáturíma.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In the saga, the riddles are concerned with everyday objects, or natural phenomena, in various degrees of disguise, and in the seventeenth century MSS they include two which are very similar to the ballad riddles J(f-1):

Hverr byggir há fjöll? Hverr fellr í djúpa dali?...
Hrafn byggir jafnan á hám fjöllum en dagg fellr jafnan
í djúpa dali...

(What lives on high fells? What falls in deep dales?...
The raven lives ever on the high fells, the dew falls ever
in the deep dales...)⁽⁶⁰⁾

This is found also in Völuspá, stanza 19:

þaðan koma daggvar
þær í dala falla⁽⁶¹⁾

(Thence come the dews which fall in the valleys)

The reference to dew may have picked up poetic resonances also from the medieval Christian symbolism of dew, which is best shown in the lyric, 'I Syng of a Myden that is Makeles':

He cam also styлле ther his moder was
 As dew in Aprylle that fallyt on the gras.
 He cam also styлле to his moderis bowr
 As dew in Aprylle that fallyt on the flour.
 He cam also styлле ther his moder lay
 As dew in Aprille that fallyt on the spray. (62)

There are two other riddles of this type in the ballad: 'What bird sings first?' and 'What tree buds first?': and it may be that these are also connected with a creation myth. The most common answer to the bird questions (Jg) is 'the cock', and although this corresponds to natural history, cocks are also found with mysterious associations in folkloristic and Norse sources. In the account of a Rus Ship-Burial on the Volga in the tenth century, by the Arab Ibn Fadlan, (63) a rooster and a hen are killed and thrown onto the ship with other offerings. The crowing of a red, then a grey cock, in 'The Wife of Usher's Well' (Child 79A) tells the three sons that they must return to the world of the dead; in Völuspá (sts. 42-3) a red, a golden and a dark red cock crow to wake combatants for the last battle. The link between all these sources seems to be a passage between life and death, which may have arisen because of the cock's actual function of announcing the passage from night to day. Of the various trees given in answer to the questions (Jk), the yew and the palm-tree both have religious significance: the palm-tree was the original of the cherry-tree in the story of 'The Cherry-Tree Carol', and the yew is the wood of the

Cross in the carol 'The Leaves of Life'.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The first tree in Norse mythology was Yggdrasill, the ash, which is described in Völuspá as an evergreen, from which the dew emanate (st. 19); it is occasionally fused with the tradition of the Cross.⁽⁶⁵⁾ If the original answer to the tree riddle was the ash, it would have been rationalised out of the text once the 'first tree' was taken to mean the first tree to bud in the spring, rather than the first tree in Creation. Thus, although the evidence is nebulous, it is possible that the bird, the tree and the dew riddles are echoes of Norse mythology, reinforced by Christian associations of dew and holy trees.

The riddle of the 'best bird' (Jf), which occurs in Irish and American texts, may simply be an extension of the 'first bird' riddle - the two often occur together - or it may be derived from the German 'Ten Birds Riddle' tradition, where the bird that sings best is usually the nightingale, as it is in variant (1) from New Hampshire. In the great majority of texts, however, the answer is the thrush.

The third riddle sequence (K), comprising four questions which are relatively constant, returns to the structure of the 'true' riddle in which there is a metaphorical jump. The first two riddles, the winter fruit and the silk mantle without a weft, are both common motifs in medieval legend. The cherry-tree miracle in the romance 'Sir Cleges' has already been mentioned (see p.169); miraculous fruit of various kinds was particularly popular in Irish saints' lives, such as the lives of St. Ciaran, St. Barrus and St. Berrachus; in Scotland, the story is attached to St. Kentigern, who contrived to find blackberries in December.⁽⁶⁶⁾ There are

several stories of mysterious mantles, such as the 'Boy and the Mantle' (Child 29), versions of which were known in many European and Scandinavian countries; the concept is very close to the sark made in impossible conditions (see Chapter 2). There is a fragment written on the fly-leaf of the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson D 913, the manuscript which also contains the fragments 'The Maiden on the Moor' and 'The Irish Dancer', which are believed to have been in the repertoire of a fourteenth century minstrel:

Ichave a mantel i-maket of cloth⁽⁶⁷⁾

This looks as if it might have been the beginning of the same riddle, and, as mentioned above, the formula 'Ichave' may have heralded a sexual metaphor. There are several modern riddles of cloths neither woven nor spun, to which the answers are 'beehive', 'feathers of a cock', or 'moon-shine'.⁽⁶⁸⁾ One of these has the same formula as the answer to the mantle riddle in the ballad:

Mother had a piece of checkety cloth
It was neither spun nor woven
It had been a sheet for many years
And not a thread had been worn.

- Beehive.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The common riddle formulas 'My father had...' and 'My mother had...' have in the ballad become the answers to the riddles, and have been interpreted by J. Barre Toelken, and possibly by the transmitters of the ballad, as sexual metaphors.⁽⁷⁰⁾ It may be that this was the original sense of the formulas, which were then extended to non-sexual riddles.

The third riddle in this group (Kc), the sparrow's horn,

which is its claws and beak, also has a parallel in another riddle:

Itum Paraditum all clothed in green,
The king couldn't read it, no more could the queen;
They sent for the wise men out of the east,
They said it had horns, but wasn't a beast.

~ Parrot.(71)

The text of this was from Lancashire, but it has been noted in other parts of Britain.

The 'priest unborn' riddle (Kd) seems to be a sophistication of the several popular riddles which describe objects such as a silkworm, or, in Russia, a chink in the wall, as being born without parents, or which describe the egg, the bullet and dung as being born 'without a caul'.⁽⁷²⁾ Scottish texts of the garland tradition describe the priest as a man waiting at the door who was born by a Caesarian operation, either in the normal fashion or by a wild boar. Several heroes in Celtic legend are said to have been born by a Caesarian operation, though without the wild boar,⁽⁷³⁾ and Irish texts of the ballad normally name a specific priest or hero, the most common being Melchisedek (the story from Hebrews VII:3).

Thus it seems that all the riddles in 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship', except those derived from other riddles in the ballad itself (Jf,h,i,j,k¹), were not composed for the ballad but taken from existing traditions of varying age.

The narrative of the ballad is, in its early versions, well-polished and in the seven-stress metre which is common enough in folksong, but relatively rare in orally transmitted ballads. It gives rise to lines of comparative

complexity, such as this one from (ii), st.2:

'I'm walking here alane', she says, 'amang my father's
trees'

Scottish texts, particularly those grouped by Child as (ii), have a sprinkling of rather anomalous 'ballad commonplaces': for example, the lady saying that she is walking in her father's land is a defensive remark made by many ballad ladies about to be abducted or wooed (e.g. 'Tam Lin', Child 39; 'Proud Lady Margaret', Child 47). Her warning that the supper ball will be rung and she'll be 'missed awa' is found in the revenant ballads, such as 'Sweet William's Ghost' (77B st.8) where the dead lover tells Margaret:

The salms of Heaven will be sung,
And ere now I'll be misst away.

Descriptions of the Captain's 'milk-white steed' and the lady's 'middle jimp' (ii, st.6) are also stock phrases.

The original setting of the ballad is military, and detailed: the Captain promises the lady 'drums and trumpets always at your command' and takes her to his quartering house in Edinburgh, where she is inspected by his landlady. These details were eroded as the ballad spread, until the narrative, where one exists at all, is a timeless one of a lady walking the lanes, or the woods, and meeting a gentleman who wishes to carry her off.

The eighteenth century was a time of enthusiastic ballad production, when writers of broadsides and garland texts tried self-consciously to compose along the lines of such models as 'Sir Patrick Spens'. There was a vogue for abduction ballads and for fairy ballads, such as 'Tam Lin' (Child 39),

which was reworked from older material at this time, and 'The Wee Wee Man' (Child 38). The latter makes an interesting parallel with 'Captain Wedderburn', for it too first appeared among the manuscripts of David Herd, and is based on a fourteenth century poem, but with no indication of oral transmission in the centuries in between. Authors were evidently searching for suitable archaic material, and Herd himself had a strong antiquarian interest, which led him to refurbish some texts, such as his versions of 'Lammikin' (Child 93).⁽⁷⁴⁾ His text of 'Captain Wedderburn', while less literary in style than the texts (ii), has some incongruous touches which might perhaps be his own, for example in stanza 4:

And so, my bonny lady - I do not know your name -
But my name's Captain Wetherburn, and I'm a man of fame...

There is some historical support for the names used in these early versions: the Laird of Roslin was indeed called Sinclair (although the Sinclairs were not still at Roslin in the eighteenth century; the detail is only found in Herd and may be a learned addition). There were real marital links between the Wedderburns and the Sinclairs of Roslin, and the first Earl of Roslin (c.1700) was Alexander Wedderburn. Grissel was a common name in both (and many other) families, but a definite historical source cannot be given. The misreading 'Bristoll' for 'Rosslyn' in Herd's copy is puzzling, but may be a misprint which exchanged the positions of the two vowels and led to the conclusion that the name should be 'Bristoll'.

However literary its beginnings, the ballad passed effortlessly into the oral tradition and became, according to Motherwell, one of the most popular of ballads in Scotland, particularly in the North East. Willa Muir describes the performance of the ballad, which she identifies as one of Greig's texts⁽⁷⁵⁾, at the beginning of the century, by a ploughman in the North East who had asked her, 'Wad ye like to hear an auld song?'. She remarks upon the fact that , although it is not one of the 'great' ballads, it has 'immediately recognisable Ballad characteristics', such as launching straight into the story, and the lack of comment on the action. The performance was in a flat and impersonal tone, not much above the level of a speaking voice.

The ballad preserved a steady tradition throughout the nineteenth century and was still very much in evidence at the beginning of the twentieth, when Greig and Duncan made their collections. In the thirties, Carpenter found fifteen texts in North East Scotland of a very high quality. By the fifties, however, the collections made for the School of Scottish Studies found only two texts, one of these a fragment. The other, from Willie Mathieson, who had sung the ballad to Carpenter (xxvii), preserves the eighteenth century text almost intact, omitting only the journey to Edinburgh and the praise of the landlady.

The ballad flourished also in Ireland, following the printing of a broadside version in Cork (iii), in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The broadside text shows certain major variations from the Scottish text which mark all the Irish versions: firstly, the Captain is no longer a

high-ranking servant of the King (or Queen), but a game-keeper, Mr. Woodburn - his name later changes to a variety of different names, some perhaps even referring to real people - while the lady remains 'a nobleman's fair daughter'. This of course changes the dramatic situation: the journey to Edinburgh is omitted, leaving only two stanzas - the first and the last - of narrative. The riddles remain more or less the same, except that the 'greener than the grass' question is replaced by 'What is rounder than a ring', and the 'best bird' question is introduced. The answer to the 'first tree' question changes from 'cedar' to 'heath'. The conclusion also differs from Scottish texts: instead of the 'little did she think' stanza, a more generalised stanza describes the marriage and comments that 'because she was so clever', the lady enthralls the heart of her husband. This is not entirely logical, as it is the man who has had to exercise his wit in answering her questions, and later versions try to correct this by reversing the genders (L²).

The Irish Folklore Commission found many texts in the twentieth century and the ballad is still in circulation today. There is little variation among Irish texts except for opening lines, where there is a move towards the common 'As I roved out' formula, sometimes causing problems in successive lines as the characters of gamekeeper, girl and observer are liable to be confused. There are also various ingenious corruptions, such as the interpretation of the cherry riddle in (xlv): 'The Kerry land is flat and low, it really has no stone'. The 'roll me from the wall' refrain is found in Ireland also with another song, which uses the

refrain as its title, and which describes the courtship of a young girl by an old man. (76)

There is also a cante~~f~~able version of the ballad in Ireland, 'King Connor's Daughter' (77). Here, the social positions of girl and suitor are further polarised: she is the King's daughter, who has set the riddles as a marriage task, with the usual condition that suitors who give incorrect answers lose their heads. He is Jack, the travelling woman's son, who spends his time conversing with wandering scholars. The riddles are given in two batches: the first three (Ib,a,c) are set one day and answered in the usual way. The questioning is then adjourned until the next morning, when Jack must bring her water to wash in that never fell as rain, or flowed through earth or stone, and a mantle to dry herself on that was never woven or spun. In the morning he collects dew and shows her the sun, as in the independent riddle:

She washed her hands in water
Which neither fell nor run;
She dried her hands on a towel
Which was neither woven nor spun.

(Dew - the sun) (78)

The final two riddles are a horn that has won a hundred battles, and the usual unborn priest riddle: the answer to the former is a bull's horn. Jack marries the princess and becomes King.

Texts from America seem to be all of the Irish type, and there are two specific illustrations of an Irish text crossing the Atlantic: the variant (xii), which was sung by a native of Country Down living in Massachusetts, and (lxxii)

which was learned from Ann Burke, who emigrated to the United States in the 1920's. It is notable that two of the American singers of the ballad also sang riddle song texts: Dennis Smith (xxxviii) sang the 'Riddle Song' (xxii) and Charles Muchler (xxxvi) sang 'Perry Merry Dictum' (xiii). It is only in America that the three traditions exist side by side.

Most American texts do not show any great variety, and several preserve only the riddle sequences. There is, however, a small group of variants which diverge dramatically from the normal text: three of these seem to be related (xvi, xvii, lxiii), from Newfoundland and the Labrador coast. They are of a markedly nautical nature, the Captain being now a deep sea captain; the bird without a bone has become a fish. All three texts show influence of 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' (Child 1), in that the seducer is evaded, despite the fact that this makes no dramatic sense in one of the texts. In (xvi) there is no narrative introduction and so the riddles are apparently set by the seducer: the answerer concludes:

So I'll not comply with you to lie
Down by the cold stone wall

In (xvii), it is 'one of fair Scotland's daughters' who is setting the riddles, but after answering all but the last, that of the priest unborn, the captain gives up:

But the priest unborn I cannot call,
So I'll leave this stuccoed wall.

In (lxiii), the captain answers all the riddles, but the girl recognises him as the Devil, and cries:

'You fly from me, Devil', she says, 'right through that old stone wall'.

The singer of this text, Martin Hocko, actually gave the song the title, 'The Devil and the Blessed Virgin Mary', an explicitness not found in any texts of Child 1, where the girl is never identified. The text is corrupt in places, but dramatically powerful and quite unlike the light-hearted 'Captain Wedderburn' texts. The man lays hands on the girl, making the confrontation more dramatic, and the 'cold stone wall' has overtones of the graveyard.

The other 'nautical' text, (xlvi), is of a very different character, and seems not to be related to any other. The first three long stanzas are a narrative describing 'Captain Washburn', a 'shrewd and hardy lad', who had sailed to Africa and 'many a foreign strand', but who at last decides to settle in his native country and find a wife. His choice is 'a worthy dame but hard to court they say' and sets the riddles 'quite scornfully'. Another extra stanza is inserted after the giving of the riddles (I) which is purely padding and includes phrases such as 'as brave as brave could be'; it describes the Captain preparing to answer the riddles.

Among the tunes, there are three main groups which are probably related to each other (A, B, C). 'A' tunes are all Scottish; the oldest of them is the Harris tune, which has an unusual inflected seventh (e.g. bar 7) not found in any other tune in the group. The tune can be seen at its simplest in the hexatonic Duncan version (ix), where the distinctive phrase, bars 7-8, stands out clearly as the centre of the melody; it is used also to begin the third line

of text (bars (9-10)). This phrase occurs in the same form in most 'A' tunes: in the Harris and the Christie tunes (ii) it is less obvious, but the contour remains the same.

A similar motif, perhaps suggested by the same one, occurs in most 'B' tunes, but in a less prominent position, usually in the second full bar. 'B' tunes are mostly American, probably of Irish origin, since Petrie's tune (Bronson 46.23) is included in the group. Tunes marked 'BB' are substantially the same, but rise to the dominant at the end of the first and second lines of text. The most ornamental of the 'B' group is William Gilkie's tune (lvi), but this may be because of detailed notation, such as the mordents.

Group C tunes are in effect 'B' tunes without the above motif: all them sink to the tonic at the end of the first textual line; their range is generally smaller than 'A' or 'B' tunes.

The two 'D' tunes are both from the same period in Aberdeenshire (x,viii) and distinct from any of the others; Keith noted that the air was also used for other songs in the region (see Bronson 46.10). The tune is an attractive one and has been used by 'Steeleye Span' for their recording of the ballad.

Group 'E' is also strongly represented in Aberdeenshire, but is also found in two American versions. It is often hexatonic or in a Dorian/Aeolian mode, and is probably related to the 'major' 'C' group, as the tune contours are very similar.

Of the remaining tunes, only one pair (F) can be regarded as being related to each other, and none of them

can be said to have any certain relationship with any of the larger groups. Some can be recognised as belonging also to other songs, such as (xliii), which the singer heard from 'Red' MacDonald in Michigan, and which bears a strong resemblance to the Irish rebel song tune, 'Kevin Barry'.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX (CHILD 46)

1. David Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad, p.23.
2. Richard Leighton Greene, The Early English Carols (1977) pp.306-7.
3. Rossell Hope Robbins, Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, p.xxvi.
4. Greene, loc.cit.
See also the play 'Wisdom' (Digby 133), probably from Bury Monastery (ed. Baker, Murphy & Hall, EETS 283, 1982), pp.lxviii ff., for 'Language characteristics suggestive of East Anglia': includes the spelling 'ony' for 'any', as in Sloane 2593.
5. Fowler, op.cit., p.41.
6. Maud Karpeles, ed., Cecil Sharp's Collection of English Folk Songs, II No.247B.
7. Numbers are from Thomas Wright's edition (See App.E)
8. Greene, op.cit., p.438
9. Iona & Peter Opie, The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, No.402.
10. Robbins, op.cit., No.47.
11. Ibid., No.21.
12. Ibid., No.46.
13. Opie, op.cit., No.381.
14. J. Barre Toelken, 'Riddles Wisely Expounded', Western Folklore XXV (1966) No.1, pp.1-16.
15. Trinity College Camb. MS 599 fol.205^a, 'The Discryving of a fayre lady'.
16. Vivian de Sola Pinto & Warren Roberts, eds., The Complete Poems of D. H. Lawrence (Heinemann, London 1964) pp.36-7.
17. Eugene B. Cantelupe & Richard Griffith, 'The Gifts of the Shepherds in the Wakefield "Secunda Pastorum": an Iconographical Interpretation', Medieval Studies XXVIII (1966) pp.328-35.
18. Peter Happé, ed., English Mystery Plays (Penguin, Harmondsworth 1975): 'The Nativity' (Ludus Coventriae), pp.230-43; 'Second Shepherds' Play' (Wakefield), pp. 265-94.

19. See Mary McCabe, 'A Critical Study of Some Traditional Religious Ballads' (Durham University M.A. Thesis 1980) Chapter 4.
20. See Peter Happé, op.cit., p.671.
A similar group, but without the ball, is seen in Quentyn Massys' painting, 'The Holy Kindred' (1509), the centre of the St. Anne altarpiece in Brussels Museum, where the infant Jesus holds a bird and is offered cherries. Reproduced in Max J. Friedlander, From Van Eyck to Bruegel (Phaidon, London 1956), Pl.167.
21. R. Morris, ed., Legends of the Holy Rood (EETS 46, 1871) pp.131-48, 11.7-12.
22. W. H. French & C. B. Hale, Middle English Metrical Romances (Prentice Hall, New York 1930), pp.887ff.
23. Leonard Roberts, Sang Branch Settlers; Folksongs and Tales of a Kentucky Mountain Family, p.168, st.2.
24. J. B. Toelken, 'Some Poetic Functions of Folklore in the English and Scottish Traditional Ballads' (Oregon University Ph.D Thesis 1964).
25. Cursor Mundi, ed. R. Morris, (E.E.T.S. London 1874-93) Vol. I line 21372.
26. R. Morris, ed., Legends of the Holy Rood, 1.24
27. De Pascha, printed in Cyprian, Opera (ed. Hartel) 3.3.305ff. Reference from E. Greenhill, 'The Child in the Tree', Traditio X (1954) pp.350-71.
28. Gregory, Moralium, 19.1. Reference from E. Greenhill, loc. cit.
29. T. A. Rompelman, ed. Der Wartburgkrieg (Amsterdam 1939) pp.207-8. See also Chapter 3, p.62f. on the thorn tree.
30. Beryl Rowland, Birds with Human Souls (University of Tennessee Press, 1978) p.43.
31. Ibid. p.43.
32. See Willa Muir, Living with Ballads, p.15.
33. Ibid., p.24.
34. Greene, op.cit., No.149.
35. See for example, Broadwood & Maitland, English County Songs, pp.154-9.
36. See p.187below.
37. See Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages, pp.286ff.

38. John MacQueen & Tom Scott, eds., The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse (Clarendon, Oxford 1966) No.86.
39. Toelken, 'Some Poetic Functions of Folklore in the English and Scottish Traditional Ballads'.
40. Opie, op. cit. p.388.
41. Archer Taylor, English Riddles from Oral Tradition, No.1143-No.1151.
42. E.g. in Olive Dame Campbell & Cecil J Sharp, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, No.92A (from N. Carolina).
43. James Reeves, The Everlasting Circle (Heinemann, London 1960) pp.118-9.
44. Charles Read Baskervill, The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama (University of Chicago Press, 1929) p.20.
45. For an inventory of the Edinburgh University MS, see J. P. Cutts, Musica Disciplina XIII (1959) pp.169-94. The Bodleian MS was copied by Edward Lowe; see Sotheby's Catalogue, 30 June 1972.
46. J. A. Fuller Maitland & W. Barclay Squire, eds., The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, (1899; reprint, Dover Publications, New York 1963) II p.446.
47. Hammond MS D575 p.353.
48. Cecil Sharp, Folk Songs of England II (Novello, London 1908) pp.1-5.
49. JFSS III No.11 (1907) pp.114-15; Bronson, Traditional Tunes, p.377.
50. Cecil Sharp, Folk Songs of England II (Version from Norfolk), pp.40-41.
51. E.g. Richard Wossidlo, Mecklenburgische Volksüberlieferungen, Bd.I: 'Rätsel' (Wismar 1897) No.170. See also F. Tupper, 'The Comparative Study of Riddles', MLN XVIII (1903) p.2, for the possible origin of the Ten Birds Riddle as a Latin literary 'enigma'.
52. Lutz Röhrich, 'Rätsellied', in Handbuch des Volkslieds I, pp.210-11.
53. Trougesmundlied, in Altdeutsche Wälder, (ed. Grimm brothers, Neudruck Darmstadt 1966) pp.8-30.
54. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarium sive originum (ed. Lindsay, 1911) II, xii 7, 61.
55. M. C. Seymour, ed., On the Properties of Things: A Critical Text (Clarendon, Oxford 1975) I p.616.

56. Röhrich, op.cit.
57. G. Neckel, ed., Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius
Particularly relevant riddle sequences are found
in Vafþrúðnismál (pp.44-55) and Alvíssmál (pp.124-9)
58. Hervararsaga ok Heiðreks, ed. Christopher Tolkien
(The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise).
59. Gáturíma, in V. U. Hammershaimb, Faeröiske Kvaeder
II pp.26-31.
60. Christopher Tolkien, op.cit., pp.80-81. The riddles
are peculiar to the H-text.
61. Völuspá, ed. Sigurður Nordal, transl. B. S. Benedikz
and J. S. McKinnell, p.36.
62. Carleton Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century,
No. 81: 'dew' has here the meaning of 'seed'.
The folkloric associations of dew, found in such songs
as 'The foggy, foggy dew' and 'Dabbling in the dew
makes the milkmaids fair', may be loosely related to
the religious symbolism. Although the precise
connotations of the word in these songs is not clear,
there is a general association with sex and fertility.
63. Gwyn Jones, History of the Vikings, pp.425-30.
64. Mary McCabe, op.cit., Chapter 7.
65. E. O. G. Turville-Petre, Myth and Religion of the
North: The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia, p.43.
66. C. Grant Loomis, 'Sir Cleges and Unseasonable Growth
in Hagiology', Modern Language Notes LIII (1938)
pp.591-94.
67. Richard M. Wilson, The Lost Literature of Medieval
England, p.169.
68. Archer Taylor, op.cit., Nos.1212a, b.
69. Ibid., No. 11212a: E. Parsons, 'Folklore from Aiken,
S. Carolina', JAF 34 (1921), pp. 24-37.
70. Toelken, 'Some Poetic Functions of Folklore...'
71. Notes & Queries, 3rd Series IX (1866) p.86.
72. Archer Taylor, op.cit., No. 667.
73. See Alwyn and Brinley Rees, Celtic Heritage: Ancient
Tradition in Ireland and Wales, p.237.

74. See David Fowler, op.cit., p.275.
75. Willa Muir, op.cit., p.37.
76. Tom Munnelly, Tapes 352/A/2; 272/1. (University College, Dublin).
77. E.g. 'King Connor's Daughter', IFC Vol. 670, pp.185-98 from Mr. Jack Keane, aged 70, Brosna, Co. Kerry.
78. Taylor, op.cit., p.463 (Southern USA).

CHAPTER SEVEN: 'PROUD LADY MARGARET' (CHILD 47)

Although Child places this ballad relatively early in his collection, between 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' and 'Young Andrew', a Percy Folio piece, and although its content has links with Child 46, historically and stylistically it belongs with the other Scottish compositions of the eighteenth century, among 'Lord Lovel' (Child 75), 'The Wife of Usher's Well' (79), 'Sweet William's Ghost' (77) and the other 'revenant ballads'.⁽¹⁾

These pieces reflect one of the most productive phases in the development of the ballad, when the form was popular in the widest sense, among antiquarians and poets as well as among the ordinary people who sang them. It was at this time that many of the stanzas, phrases and motifs now known as 'ballad commonplaces' became established, such as the motif of the love-animated plants on the graves of lovers, the rose growing round the briar, which first appears in print, it seems, in the late seventeenth century broadside of 'Fair Margaret and Sweet William' (Child 74), and was used thereafter by the Scottish balladists at almost any opportunity, for example in 'Earl Brand' (7), 'Fair Janet' (64), 'Lord Thomas and Fair Annet' (73), 'Lord Lovel' (75) and 'The Lass of Roch Royal' (76).

There has been a tendency among ballad critics to dismiss these ballads as hybrids at best, and at worst as forgeries, overlaid as they often are with the marks of over-enthusiastic editors or collectors. Matthew Hodgart, for example, comments on the 'birk hats' motif in 'The Wife of Usher's Well' (79):

The folklore of this moving poem need not be taken too seriously. It may be yet another Scots creation of the eighteenth century.(2)

The pure-bred folk ballad in English, however, untouched by print or by 'literary' interference, is rare; ancient specimens of the same are rarer still. The most revealing judgement on the authenticity, or the potential authenticity, of a ballad, must surely be its acceptance into the oral tradition, by singers who perhaps took their folklore more seriously, even in the eighteenth century, than the editors who embellished it, and who might not have required a footnote to explain the significance of hats of birch. (Child himself did not understand, as the balladist would have understood, that the sons in the ballad must return to lift their mother's curse on nature.⁽³⁾) The Scottish Romantic ballads in Child's collection were nearly all popular enough to be still sung through the nineteenth century, and many of them into the twentieth. Moreover, the distinctions between 'literary' and 'folk' material are more blurred in Scotland than in England, and not only because of a few individual collectors like Scott and Peter Buchan, whose long experience of the traditions they published may be said to have earned them the right to introduce a few variations of their own. These men were not isolated cases, but a part of a long line of bookish folk-poets and folk-based art-poets, including Robert Burns and Mrs. Brown of Falkland, who was the daughter of a professor and wrote poetry, as well as being one of the most important sources of orally transmitted folksongs and ballads. In more recent times, Hamish Henderson writes of

many such examples of the interaction of the two cultural strands, discovered in the Lowlands in the last thirty years and recorded in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh. Willie Mathieson of Aberdeenshire, for example, a farm worker, carefully transcribed songs heard from other workers, and from children, and also wrote verses of his own; he was familiar with the published works of Gavin Greig, yet his singing is unquestionably a part of an oral, living tradition.⁽⁴⁾ The Scottish folk traditions have always been taken more seriously than their counterparts in England, and in the eighteenth century in Scotland, it was still possible to be a professional minstrel, either as a town piper, an office that survived the Reformation, or as a wandering 'Jockie'; these were the last survivors of the medieval Joculatores.⁽⁵⁾ Such professionals were no doubt responsible for some of the composition, as well as the preservation and transmission, of the Romantic ballads.

These ballads, then have a right to be included among the company of their more venerable fore-runners. The Scottish oral tradition is usually its own best judge and censor, and generally disposes rapidly of superfluous detail and indecorous style, such as are found in some eighteenth and early nineteenth century texts. The texts of 'Proud Lady Margaret' show a remarkable development from a wordy, sometimes over-complicated narrative, to the rhythmic, starkly compressed form of the last known version, which was collected from Bell Robertson in 1914 (viii); with all its Romantic corners knocked off, the ballad has assumed the same form and style,

if not quite the dramatic potency, as the more celebrated 'traditional' pieces like 'The Twa Sisters' (Child 10) and 'The Cruel Mother' (20).

Only seven complete texts survive, of which only one (iii) has a tune; in addition to these are two tunes, one with a single stanza of text, the other printed with a text after Scott's (vii;ix). Historically, the texts span about a century and a half; geographically, they are confined to an unusually small area in the north-east of Scotland,⁽⁶⁾ although the origin of Mr. Hamilton's text, from Edinburgh (i) cannot be definitely known, since Edinburgh housed immigrants from all parts of Scotland. There is also some doubt that all Buchan's texts were from the North; in a letter to William Walker, 22nd July 1895, Child wrote:

Buchan's northern ballads are clearly not all northern; his blind beggar picked up things where he found them, and my friend Davidson, an Old Deer man, was inclined to use strong language of Buchan for pretending that his ballads were (all) of the North.⁽⁷⁾

However, all the other texts of Child 47 can be located in the Eastern lowlands north of the Tay, and there seems therefore to be less reason to doubt Buchan in this instance than in others. *Dunfermline* is mentioned in two texts (iv; vi) as the brother's burial place; it is possible that this detail was borrowed from 'Sir Patrick Spens' (Child 58), but the town is appropriate in both ballads as a royal seat and a burial place for many Scottish kings and nobles.⁽⁸⁾

The earliest date that can be specifically put to the ballad is 1803, the date of publication of Scott's Minstrelsy, but the age of informants puts the date back another generation. Mr. Hamilton, Scott's informant, got his text from

his mother; Mrs. Harris, the source for (iii), learned the ballad from a nurse in the last years of the eighteenth century. Laing's text (vi) was 'from the recitation of old people'.

There are a number of obscurities in all the texts, which, for a group confined to so small a geographical area, show a remarkable amount of variation in content. (See Appendix F). By far the clearest is the Glenbuchat version (ii), which is not yet in print; though not perfect, this text is a sophisticated and largely coherent treatment of the theme, and it sheds much light on the more confused Child texts. Closest to the Glenbuchat version is the Harris text (iii), and these two would seem to stem from a common source. Of the other texts, the two Buchan versions form another pair (iv; v) but are not identical. The Scott text is fairly close to these (i) and the Laing text (vi) shares some basic elements with them but has been much embellished.

A. The Description of the Lady.

The visual image of Lady Margaret, or Janet as she is in the Buchan versions, is crucial to the ballad, which relies for its impact on the juxtaposition of proud beauty and ugly death. All the complete texts but one (viii) have reference to her physical appearance; the most explicit is the Laing text (vi). Here we are given a neat, three-stanza introduction to 'Fair Margret', a luxury rarely found in an orally transmitted text. She is described as young, proud, and of 'high degree', no less than the King's cousin; she spends all her

money on 'the gay cleedin' that comes frae yont the sea' and all her time on self-adornment; thus the opening scene where she is found combing her yellow hair, one of the famous 'ballad commonplaces', may also be regarded in this case as psychological realism.

We are given a second picture of Margret as her brother describes her, coming in at the kirk door with gold plaits in her hair and gold pins in her sleeve. This picture, a lady in gold at church, is found, in various forms, in texts (ii, iii, iv and v): in the Glenbuchat text (ii) she wears not only gold but also diamonds and rubies, with which she distracts the other worshippers, an accusation also made in (v).

Margaret/Janet is pictured first in (i, iii, iv and v) as looking over her castle wall, a favourite position for ballad ladies and possibly an inheritance from the popular medieval tradition of the castle as an image of virtue, or of man, which is assailed by the vices, headed by the Devil himself.⁽⁹⁾ In this case, the symbolism is relevant, for the lady is being tempted as well as tried; this is most clear in the Glenbuchat text. It may be significant that in this text the lady is not safely behind the castle wall but is wandering alone and at night in the grounds, which the knight obviously thinks improper, and which she defends defiantly:

O I'm come hither in my sport
An' sportin does me good (st. 3)

This may itself be another commonplace, found also in 'Tam Lin' (Child 39) and derived possibly from the medieval

pastourelle tradition, which is found in English lyrics such as 'The Fair Maid of Ribblesdale' (from Harley MS. 2253):

Mosti ryden by Rybblesdale,
 Wilde wymmen forte wale (choose)
 and welde which ich wolde (possess)
 Founde were the feyrest on
 þat ever wes mad of blod and bon...(10)

Even closer to the ballad, and from the same manuscript, is 'The Meeting in the Wood', which opens with a similar encounter:

In a fryht as y con fare fremede (wood; unfamiliar)
 y founde a wel feyr fenge to fere...(11) (meet)

The girl answers at first aggressively:

Heo me bed go my gates lest hire grenede (angered)
 ne kepte heo non henying here. (insults)

B. The Description of the Knight.

Here, there is less agreement between the texts, as the knight is the centre of the ballad's most serious confusion, the dual identity of brother-lover. In visual terms, there are two separate characterisations of the knight in the texts: in (i, iii, iv and v) he is in the costume of a tradesman's son: his boots are too wide, his horn is worn too low, his hat is too big, and in the case of (iii), his steed is 'winder sma'', although this is contradicted later on when he turns his 'hie horse head'. This last betrays the influence of the second possible characterisation, found only in the Glenbuchat text (ii), where the knight is addressed throughout as 'gallant' or 'gentle', and whose milk-white steed is so conventionally large that the lady remarks sarcastically:

There's few o you that's gentle knights
 For as high a horse as ye ride. (st.4)

This may also be a figurative expression meaning that the knight is offensively overbearing in his manner; 'on his high horse'. However, there is no indication that she seriously doubts his nobility, and there is no mention of strange clothing. Why, then, does he appear in the Harris text with a small horse, and apparently in disguise as a tailor's son? Wimberly has suggested that the small horse may reflect a folk belief that ghosts are of less than human stature⁽¹²⁾, but there are no other traces in the ballads of such a belief, and it seems more likely that, if the line means anything at all, it is just another indication of low rank.

It seems possible that the knight's disguise, which has little dramatic relevance, arises from a misunderstanding of the taunting dialogue that appears in the Glenbuchat text. Here, it is the knight's behaviour, not his appearance, which belies his rank, as the lady's immodesty belies hers. Their mutual taunting on this theme is a part of the game which the knight plays to lure his sister into consenting to lie with him, so making her guilt all the greater when the truth is revealed. The lady's complaints that, in accosting her rudely, he has not acted like a gentle knight may have been taken by more literal minds to indicate that he is actually in disguise; and once such an interpretation had been made, the knight would very readily slip into the stereotype of the returned lover (as for example in Child 17, and the John Riley ballads), who has more reason for disguise and who is also testing a lady. It is one of the most intriguing traits

of ballad transmission that a character, plot or even a whole ballad may slip into another convention and change its nature, by some association of ideas. It is not impossible that the whole of the mock-wooing episode in the Glenbuchat text is the product of such a transformation; a bona fide disguised lover may have become confused with a revenant brother whose original purpose had been less complicated. As a whole, however, the ballad works so well that the welding of brother and lover into the mysterious character of the knight from Archerdale must surely be more than an accident.

Revenant brothers, though rare in English and Scottish balladry, have venerable ancestors; Greek and Slavonic traditions provide parallels which Peter Dronke believes stem from a tradition current in 'the world of late antiquity',⁽¹³⁾ In the 'Lenore' ballads of Greek popular tradition, a dead brother carries his sister home to their mother (who dies of shock), and this usually involves a macabre journey on horseback, like the one in the 1689 broadside composition, 'The Suffolk Miracle' (Child 272). Closer to home are the ballads in which a brother is recognised too late to prevent incest or murder, 'Babylon' (Child 14) and 'The Bonny Hind' (50); it seems probable that these themes provided the inspiration for the character of William in Child 47, coupled with the thriving tradition of the revenant lover. (Child 74, 77, 78, 255 and the parody 295).

C - G. The Opening Dialogue

In this, the Glenbuchat text is again more sophisticated and developed than the others, and the preliminary dialogue,

in which the lady and the knight question each other on their breeding, leads naturally into the questions proper. The less sophisticated versions, however, have the bonus of a grim and possibly unintentional irony, as the knight declares that he will be the lady's lover or die, to which (in i, v and viii) she replies carelessly that many have died for her already. The Buchan text (iv) becomes very verbose at this point as the knight goes through a series of conventional wooing gestures: he asks for pity; he will put smiths in her smithy, tailors in her bower, cooks in her kitchen, and corn in her land. This last is a borrowing from conventional ballad stock and similar stanzas are found in contemporary texts of 'Lord Thomas and Fair Annet' (Child 73C, H). The lady is unmoved by this verbosity and proceeds without comment to her riddles.

H. The Questions.

Here, the texts fall into three categories: those which have a riddling sequence, along the lines of Child 46; those which have apparently straightforward questions about Archerdale; and those which have no questions at all (vi, viii).

The Glenbuchat and the Harris texts (ii, iii) form the second of these categories, and the Harris version is the only one of the Child texts to make sense of the passage. In the Glenbuchat text, instead of a formal exchange of irrelevant riddles, the questions are a game of evasion in which the knight keeps leaping onto (and presumably down from) his milk-white steed, while the lady asks him questions in order to detain him. These have the appearance of being

the first questions that come into her head: 'Where were you born; how were you brought up; what do the ladies wear': but the answers are on a different level entirely (see Chapter 8). Since the knight is really the lady's brother, he clearly cannot answer her questions truthfully without revealing his identity too soon, unless the two children were brought up separately. He produces instead an imaginary, otherworldly story of being born in a greenwood 'at the foot of a greenwood tree' (st.7), and being brought up in Archerdale in a strict Christian discipline:

We learned how to live on Earth
 To keep us free frae sin
 An when we come to Heaven's yates
 The way we may get in.(st.10)

When questioned about his meat and drink in Archerdale, the knight replies in a typically emphatic, almost ritualistic style:

O black, black was our bread lady,
 An brown, brown was our ale
 An red, red was the wine lady
 We drank at Archerdale.(st.13)

In a similar style, the lady is told that the Archerdale ladies wear gay green clothing and milk-white cowls. Thus, the overall picture of Archerdale is a scene of traditional ballad images and colours, but overlaid with Christian virtues that make it specifically a 'good' greenwood. The ballad language works symbolically to indicate a world that is far removed from the lady's worldly 'garden green', both because it is romantic and because it is virtuous, as she is not. It indicates that the knight is on a different plane from his

sister, even if we are to assume that the story is based on truth and the children were separated, and even before it is revealed that he is dead. (Archerdale does not seem to exist in reality; the nearest name is Archiestown, between Inverness and Aberdeen).

While he is answering the lady's questions, the knight continues his game by repeatedly making as if to go, in an excellent use of the conventional repeated stanza:

Now lady by your leave he said
 An a your craft ye ken
 An he mounted on his milk white steed
 Afore the lady's een. (sts. 8, 11, 14, 16)

Finally, this forces her into accepting his original offer and begging him to stay, revealing the motive for the questions:

For if I talk awile to you
 We'll baith ly on ae sheet. (st.7)

At this, he immediately reveals his identity in a stanza which shows the force of the simplicity of ballad language at its best:

O no, O no ye lady fair
 O no, it canna be
 For I'm your brother Lord William
 Come frae the dead for thee. (st.18)

Thus the question sequence is dramatically linked both to the initial dialogue and to the unfolding of the plot.

The same is true of the questions in the Harris text (iii), though the scale here is more modest. The questions are still asked as a delaying tactic, but their concern is not so much Archerdale itself but the 'wondrous lied' (talk)

that the knight has learned there. The lady seems to be testing the knight's knowledge of the class to which he claims to belong, as all three questions are concerned with the trappings of courtly life. This motive is suggested also in the Buchan text (iv), where the questions are introduced as follows:

If ye be a courteous knight
 As I trust not ye be,
 Ye'll answer some o the sma' questions
 That I will ask at thee. (st.12)

Courtly questions are asked also in the first category of questions sequences, the texts with riddles (i, iv, v), but except in (i), where they were supplied later by Scott's informant, only the answers remain, an indication of the confusion which surrounds these passages. There are two possibilities explaining the confusion. The first is that the Harris text is an ingenious reworking of a straightforward description of life at Archerdale, into a riddle framework, although the questions are still not riddles proper. This would explain the fact that the answers to the questions turn up more frequently than the questions themselves. The other possibility is that the original text had a series of questions in which the knight's claim to noble birth was tested, and that the Glenbuchat^t text is an independent readjustment of the ballad. With such little evidence, it is virtually impossible to make a choice between these two possibilities, but the artistic superiority of the Glenbuchat text, where the questions make such good dramatic sense, tends to favour the first possibility. Furthermore, it seems likely that the riddles or questions concerned with drink - the

'berry-brown ale in a birken speal' and 'wine in the horn green' - are imported from a tradition of drinking-songs, for they have parallels in 'John Barleycorn', the ceremonial drinking-song which has been in print since the seventeenth century. In a version used in the 'Haxey Hood' ceremony in Lincolnshire, the ninth stanza runs as follows:

You can put red wine into a glass,
Put brandy into a can,
You can put Sir John in a nut-brown jug
And he'll make the merriest man.(14)

This borrowing, as well as adding to the confusion surrounding this part of the ballad texts, might easily have suggested the questions found in the Harris text: 'What gaes in a speal? What in a horn green?'.

In either case, the additional questions in this category, some of which are clearly borrowed from Child 46, wrench the ballad into a new shape, for the riddles become a courtship match. One stanza in particular from text (iv) seems to have been transplanted from 'Captain Wedderburn':

Mony's the questions I've askd at thee,
And ye've answered them a'
Ye are mine, and I am thine,
Amo' the sheets sae sma.(st.18)

This contradicts the motive given earlier of testing the knight's rank. The rhetorical questions of the fish and the pennies, found in (i, iv and v), may have originated in a separate folksong, and their inclusion in the ballad was perhaps influenced by the 'impossible task' questions that occur in some versions of the English revenant ballad, 'The Unquiet Grave' (Child 78):

Go fetch me a nut from dungeon keep,
 And water from a stone,
 And white milk from a maiden's breast
 That babe bare never none. (15)

These lines are spoken by the dead lover, who is disturbed by the tears of his mistress; they are answered with the formulaic conclusion, 'Go dig me a grave...' Logically, they have no more place here than the rhetorical questions in Child 47, but they have a metaphorical poignancy, linking the barrenness of the grave with the emptiness of the lovers' future.

Another revenant song, which uses the similar rhetorical device of adynata to express the hopelessness of the lovers' situation, was recorded from a singer in Birmingham in 1953. The dead lover has crossed the 'burning Thames' to reach his mistress; at dawn he must leave her. The song finishes with the stanza:

'Then it's Willie dear, and handsome Willie,
 Whenever shall I see you again?'
 'When the fish they fly, love, and the sea runs dry, love,
 And the rocks they melt by the heat of the sun' (16)

The riddle of the 'seemliest sight' found in (iv and v), the two Buchan texts, seems out of place, and was probably the result of pastoral improvisation to fill the stanza.

I. The Inheritance.

All the complete texts except the Glenbuchat and Harris (ii; iii) have a section in which the lady declares the property to which she is heiress, but the section is usually confused, the problems being mainly in arithmetic, which is

hard to follow at the speed at which a ballad is recited or sung. In the Scott text (i), Margaret lays claim to twelve castles in all, nine from her father and three from her mother. She claims to be the only heir. Her brother, however, contradicts this with the familiar formula:

'O hald your tongue, Lady Margaret', he said,
 For loud I hear you lie;
 Your father was lord of nine castles,
 Your mother was lady of three,
 Your father was lord of nine castles,
 But ye fa heir to but three' (st.14)

Unless the lady is illegitimate, which seems an unlikely complication, this suggests that she has among her other faults the crime of cheating her brother of his inheritance, but since he is already dead, this makes no sense.

Text (iv) makes more sense of the passage: the lady says she is heir to all twelve castles except that she has a brother 'far ayont the sea'. This is his cue for revealing his identity, and the castles are thus used as a recognition token, as the sisters in 'Fair Annie' (Child 62) are made to realise their kinship by the formal declaration of Annie's parentage.

There is an added complication in the Scott text, however, for after laying her claim to the castles, Margaret tells her suitor that he will be able to plough and sow around them, and that the meadows will be mown on the 15th May. As he contradicts his sister's claim, William turns this offer into a curse, by reversing the words:

And round about a' thae castles
 You may baith plow and saw
 But on the fifteenth day of May
 The meadows will not maw. (st.15)

The symmetry of this is suspiciously neat; it reveals an author conscious of the ballad tendency to repeat stanzas with slight variations, especially in dialogue. However, such repetitions are usually less laboured, and work with simpler material, as in the exchange between another brother and sister in 'Babylon' (Child 14A):

'It's whether ye will be a rank robber's wife,
Or will ye die by my wee pen-knife?'
'It's I'll not be a rank robber's wife,
But I'll rather die by your wee pen-knife' (sts. 4-5)

It may be that the brother's curse in the Scott text was an original stanza, which generated the sister's inverse promise: but the stanzas are not well integrated with the rest of the ballad. Another trace of well-informed self-consciousness is found in the same text in the repetition of the stock formula in which Margaret is accused of lying:

'O hold your tongue, Lady Margaret', he said,
'Again I hear you lie...' (st.18)

These traits suggest that the processes of development, by which a ballad takes on the distinctive, well-used style of the genre, may in this case have been artificially hastened on their way; however, there is no need to attribute this to Scott himself, who no doubt could have made a better job of tidying up the loose ends of the text, had he wished so to do.

K. The Grave and the Ghost.

In texts (i, iv, v and viii), the lady shows a wish to follow her brother, once his identity is revealed, to the grave, and in this she is following the tradition of the

revenant lover ballad 'Sweet William's Ghost' (Child 77), in which the lady (also Margaret in most versions) follows the corpse and asks if there is room in the grave for her, a stanza that has been adopted into 'Proud Lady Margaret' in Bell Robertson's version (viii). The tradition is found in Scandinavian sources also; it is rooted in the idea that the dead are still in their graves, or barrows, to be called on, rather than transcendental spirits. Taken literally, the idea can produce some very gruesome pieces, such as the Danish ballad 'Aage og Else',⁽¹⁷⁾ in which the revenant lover brings his coffin with him when he visits his betrothed and describes his grave to her, and the vivid details of the corruption of the flesh given in Child 77 (F sts.5-6). This physical approach to death, and life after death, can be contrasted with another dialogue between the living and the dead, the father and daughter in the fourteenth century poem Pearl. Although the child is not a revenant in the sense that the ballad characters are, because she is seen in a vision, the conversation has some similarities with the dialogue of 'Proud Lady Margaret'. The child's father says that he will join her, but they are separated by a stream which he cannot cross, and he has to be told that this is because he is not worthy:

'þy corse in clot mot calder keue'⁽¹⁸⁾

Because of original sin, man must go through death to attain union with his dead beloved. The message in 'Proud Lady Margaret' is slightly different; in (i), Margaret cannot go with her brother because she is unclean, but in (iv) and (v)

there is another reason: the living cannot enter a grave. Thus the two contrasting views of death are both given. In (viii), only the second reason is given.

The mixing of these two concepts calls into question the nature of the ghost; is he a spirit, or an animated corpse? Wimberly uses evidence which suggests the latter, in this and other ballads, to argue that the revenant ballads are concerned with primitive, non-literary ghosts, who relate to 'a period of thought when mankind had not yet grasped the idea of the separation of the soul and body, or, it is very possible, had not yet conceived the idea of the soul'.⁽¹⁹⁾ David Fowler, on the other hand, finds evidence in the same texts that the revenant narrative is derived from medieval romance, where ghosts are ethereal and conform to Christian doctrine on the matter.⁽²⁰⁾ The earliest British revenant ballad, 'Fair Margaret and Sweet William' (Child 74) supports Fowler's argument: the ghost is seen in a dream, like King Ceyx in the Ceyx and Alcyone story in Chaucer's Book of the Duchess. She glides, and is described as a spirit (A) or ghost (B, C); she makes no mention of graves or worms. In Child 77, however, the case is not so clear. Although Ramsay's text (A) has the ghost vanish in a cloud of mist (which Child points out as a modern addition), he is in all other respects and in all other versions corporeal: his mouth is cold and smells of clay. His lady strikes him on the breast to return his troth; and he gives a physical description of the coffin and the grave. He is nevertheless still described as a spirit as well as a ghost.

However, the existence of such corporeal ghosts in the ballads need not contradict Fowler's argument for a medieval connection. There was a considerable vogue for confrontations between the living and the dead in late medieval poetry, which used the macabre to enforce the memento mori theme, as in the 'Mirror for Young Ladies at their toilet' (Harley MS.116):

Maist thou now be glade, with all thi fresshe aray,
 One me to loke that wyll dystene thi face.
 Rew on thy-self and all thi synne vprace! (21)

The descriptions of death in such pieces were most commonly applied to women, in contrast to their earthly finery, and could be just as gruesome as the ballad descriptions, as for example in the fifteenth century poem printed from MS. Bodley 789 by Rosemary Woolf, where the corruption of a lady's body is given in vivid detail on the theme of:

Mi bodi þat sumtyme was so gay,
 Now lieþ and rotieþ in þe ground (22)

In this tradition, for dramatic purposes, the corpse must be animated to the extent of being able to speak; and this would naturally lead to the idea that the spirit had re-inhabited the body. Thus, despite theological teaching on the subject, literature could produce a 'ghost' which was both Wimberly's 'primitive' animated corpse and a transcended spirit which had returned to warn the living against pride.

This is, in effect, the nature of the ghost in 'Proud Lady Margaret'. In (i), he appears to be an ordinary living man, and it is only the description of the grave, in the final stanza, that reveals his ghostly nature. In (iv and v) his appearance and exit are supernatural, but his grave is

described in physical detail, so that he is both ethereal and a grave-dweller. In (vi) he enters like a mortal, but gives himself away by wearing a white scarf, presumably a literary vestige of the shroud that William brings with him in Child 77 (C). The Harris text is the least explicit, and the brother's identity is only revealed when his sister remarks with gruesome naivety:⁽²³⁾

'Ye are as like my ae brither
As ever I did see;
But he's been buried in yon kirkyard
It's mair than years is three' (st.10)

The brother in the Glenbuchat text, apart from the hints given in his replies to his sister's questions, is treated as a mortal until he makes his dramatic revelation (st.18). His statement that he has 'come frae the dead for thee' at first suggests that he has come to fetch her from life, as Clark Sanders promises Margret in Child 77 (B st.10):

'Gine ever the dead come for the quick,
Be sure, Margret, I'll come again for thee'.

However, it turns out that she has time to repent before her death and he has come to warn her of the consequences if she does not leave her proud ways. In the last two stanzas, he becomes the conventional walking dead, having to return when 'the cocks hae crawn in merry Midlert' and waving his 'lilly han'; but he makes it clear that it is Heaven to which he must return, and not the grave, of which there is no mention. In Bell Robertson's text, on the other hand (viii), there is no mention of Heaven but only of graves.

Thus, the most that can be said in general terms about the nature of the revenant in this ballad is that the

individual responsible for each text has employed the concept that seemed to them the most dramatically effective. In the eighteenth century, no balladist can come into Wimberly's category of primitive thinkers, but the concept of a material revenant is too powerful and effective to die out, and the texts show that, as in the late medieval tradition of the macabre, it can combine well with the more literary and Christian concepts of the transcended spirit.

L - M. The Knight admonishes his sister for pride.

The Scott text (i) stands apart in this: William has come to humble his sister's heart that has 'gard sae mony die'. This is presumably a reference to the riddle test which this text alone treats unambiguously as a courtship ritual. More usual (ii, iii, iv, vi) is the more powerful complaint that he cannot rest in his grave (or, in (ii), in Heaven) because of her sinful pride.

It is unusual for a revenant to be concerned with the sins of others, unless that sin be their own murder, as it is in 'The Cruel Mother' (Child 20). More common motives in the ballads are to quieten the grief of the loved one, which disturbs the dead (e.g. Child 78, 49), or to retrieve a plighted troth (Child 77). Lady Margaret in Child 74 appears to announce her death, and the sons in Child 79 come back to lift their mother's curse. Outside the ballad tradition, however, there are precedents for the brother's admonition. Medieval exempla, epitaph poems and romances often feature revenants from Hell or Purgatory, who appear in the form of devils or corpses to warn the living of their

sufferings.⁽²⁴⁾ Child cites French popular songs with the same theme in his headnote to No.47. Of particular interest in this case is the fourteenth century Scottish alliterative romance, 'The Awntyrs off Arthure', in which Guinevere's mother appears to her daughter in the form of Lucifer, to warn her of the damnation which she herself suffers. There is a full description of the torments, and the lady asks her mother what it is that grieves God most. The answer is:

Pride with þe appurtenance, as prophetez han tolde
Bifore þe peple apert in her preching.⁽²⁵⁾

There is also a juxtaposition of worldly beauty and the grimness of Hell:

I was radder of rode þen rose in þe ron,
My ler as þe lelé lonched so light.
Now am I a graceless gost and grisly I gron;
With Lucyfer in a lake loȝ am I light.⁽²⁶⁾

This contrast is close to the memento mori theme which is the mainstay of the plot of 'Proud Lady Margaret'.

The ballad form is well adapted for bold juxtapositions, because of its regularity and simplicity; the two halves of the stanza answer each other in a pattern often reinforced by the tune, in the forms ABBA (as in the Harris tune) or ABAB (as in Mrs. Gordon's tune). The juxtaposition of the traditional ballad image of the court lady, decked with gold and jewels in her yellow hair, and the equally traditional, relentless cruelty of death, was common in the Scottish ballads of this date; the most influential was probably Child 58, 'Sir Patrick Spens', with such stanzas as:

O lang, lang may the ladies stand,
 Wi thair gold kems in their hair,
 Waiting for thair ain deir lords,
 For they'll se tham na mair. (A st.10)

The revenant theme lends itself particularly well to gruesome contrasts in this pattern: the most extreme are to be found in texts of 'Sweet William's Ghost' (Child 77). For example, when the lady asks her lover if he has brought her any 'precious things', he replies:

I have not brought you any scarlets sae red,
 No, no, nor the silks so fine;
 But I have brought you my winding-sheet
 Oer many's the rock and hill (C st.5)

Here, as with many other ballad techniques, the emphasis is on the visual, with the vivid picture found also in the fifteenth century illustrations of the Dance of Death (for example, the painted screen in Hexham Abbey) where the skeleton stands by the side of the richly-dressed king or nobleman; and in the popular theme of The Three Living and the Three Dead, which was brought to England and Scotland from the Continent, and in which the living, engaged in some sport or pleasure, are suddenly confronted by the dead who stand in their path, and who take the form of skeletons or corpses. (27)

There are two potential contrasts in 'Proud Lady Margaret': between the picture of Margaret in her finery and the picture of her brother in his grave; and between her cheerfulness at the beginning of the story and her sorrow at the end; both contrasts work well in visual terms. In the Buchan text (iv), however, the visual technique is interspersed with verbose, abstract admonitions, as in the cumbersome stanza 30:

'You're straight and tall, handsome withall
 But your pride owergoes your wit,
 But if ye do not your ways refrain,
 In Pirie's chair ye'll sit'

The only other known occurrence of the term 'Pirie's chair', or, 'the lowest seat o hell', as it is conveniently glossed in the following stanza, is in a boys' game described by Professor Cappen.⁽²⁸⁾ One boy stands with his back to a wall, while a second bends towards him, his head in the first boy's stomach, thus forming a 'chair'. A third boy sits on this, holding up a number of fingers, which number must be guessed by the second boy. The penalty for a wrong answer is given in a doggerel exchange as 'Pirie's Chair', 'Pirie' or 'Hell'. Sir W. D. Geddes suggested a derivation of the word from the French 'le pire'⁽²⁹⁾, but there is no evidence of the word elsewhere. A more likely derivation is from the legend of Pirithous, which would be known by schoolboys from Virgil, Homer, Horace or Euripides. Pirithous is punished by Pluto for attempting to carry off Proserpine, by being confined in chains and tormented in Hades.⁽³⁰⁾ 'Pirie', from 'Pirithous', reminiscent of 'Ninny's tomb' in A Midsummer Night's Dream, is a plausible abbreviation; and a piece of schoolboy classicism, incorporated into a traditional game and subsequently adopted for the embellishment of a ballad, is very much in the tradition of the dual culture of Lowland Scotland, discussed above. However, it is telling that the balladist feels it necessary to expand the term as 'the lowest seat o hell' in the next stanza; like the ballad techniques which were too carefully woven into the Scott text (i), the term is used self-consciously. It did not survive into any of the

later known versions.

The Glenbuchat text (ii) is also more verbose than the others at this point, as the brother tells his sister to repent while there is still time to 'seek frae Christ a boon'. The stern moral tone of the ballad has been pointed out as exceptional, since ballads are supposed to be impersonal, carrying no moral comment. This is not to say that the ballads are amoral; although their narrators and their protagonists are not prone to sermonising, they can express a powerful sense of values, without which they lose their dramatic force. The values which often come to the fore are the loyalties and tabus that seem the most deeply engrained in the human psyche: loyalty to the family, fear of incest, sexual jealousy and sexual desire are the most common motives for action, the action often leading either to marriage or to death. Unlike the medieval tradition of exemplum and allegory, which separate moral and action, the ballad tradition treats them as one, and sometimes with greater success. 'Child Waters' (Child 63), for example, where Burd Ellen, pregnant and dressed as a little footpage, runs barefoot behind her lover's horse, has more resonance and poignancy than its exemplum counterpart, the story of Patient Griselda, where the moral is carefully underlined.

Where 'Proud Lady Margaret' differs most from the majority of ballads, and from 'Child Waters', is in the choice of moral, and in the prolonged treatment of it in some versions. Pride is rarely regarded as sinful in the ballads; the one other notable instance is in 'Sweet William's Ghost' (77F st.6) which seems, as Child points out, to have borrowed considerably

from 'Proud Lady Margaret'. In other ballads, pride is sometimes held up as a virtue, as in 'Fair Annie' (62), where there is no disapproval expressed of Annie dressed in her finery to outshine her rival at her wedding. Ballads are more usually concerned with palpable crimes, acts of the flesh, than with sins, acts of the spirit.

Tunes:

The three tunes that survive with the ballad are, as Bronson says, unrelated. Unfortunately, Bell Robertson never sang her ballads, and so there is no indication as to whether her text had a musical tradition of its own. Bronson suggests that the Harris tune is from an eighteenth century hymn, and this is quite possible, since the two were often interchangeable, as a minister of Wick, William Geddes, remarked in 1683:

It is alleged by some, and that not without some colour of reason, that many of our Ayres and Tunes are made by good Angels, but the letter or lines of our songs by devils. (31)

The tune from Christie seems to have been sung with a text derived from Buchan's, according to Christie's note, and the third tune, from Mrs. Gordon, is with a fragment which is close to the Buchan text (iv). This may have been learned from a published collection rather than from an oral source.

Conclusions.

The variety found within the limited scope of 'Proud Lady Margaret' indicates how much a ballad can alter without

the stabilising influence of a broadside or chapbook text. The variety must also be attributable to the inherent confusion of the plot, with its intertwining of the conventions of revenant lover, brother, and riddle courtship. It required a sophisticated psychological treatment to accommodate the brother and lover duality, and this it found in Glenbuchat. It is tempting to lay this at the door of the minister, especially since the heavy Christian moralising is most pronounced in this text. However, in the Glenbuchat collection as a whole, there seems to be no evidence of reworking by a single hand; style varies considerably from a highly developed 'oral' style to the broadside manner. There is no evidence to suggest substantial Christian overlay, and no attempt to expurgate such obviously pagan elements as the drinking of the blood of the slain in 'Yarrow' (Vol.IV). In general, the texts are strong, imaginative and intelligent, with some gaps, but usually coherent, indicating a healthy tradition rather than a cunning editor.

Nevertheless, good ballads do not make themselves, and each of the seven texts of Child 47 show marks of careful composition, whether in the intelligent manipulation of the plot (in the Harris text), or the 'literary' overworkings that now seem so incongruous in the Buchan texts.⁽³²⁾ There is no need to accuse any of the editors or collectors of fraud; as always, the actual originator of the ballad is unknown, always one step away from the evidence, but the rapidity with which the ballad adapted its shape shows that there were several people who took an active interest and an active part in the development of balladry. These people

recreated the texts, not in the oral-formulaic style which David Buchan claimed for Mrs. Brown of Falkland⁽³³⁾, but deliberately, consciously, and quite possibly with pen in hand. The Glenbuchat and the Harris texts seem to represent a different strand of tradition from the others, mainly because their treatment of the questions, though not identical, is more coherently worked into the plot. The other strand, with the riddle sequence and the inheritance claim, includes the rest of the Child texts and fragment (vii). Which of these two traditions came first, it is now impossible to say, but it seems in general more likely that a coherent text was broken down into a confused medley, than vice versa. The dates are too close to be of much help here.

The last judgement of the ballad must be its last recorded version, the Bell Robertson text (viii) of 1914, by which time it had reached a balanced, manageable form of six stanzas. The introduction, the entry of the ghost and his exit, have all been pared away, and what remains is a dialogue in which each stanza from the lady is answered, with hypnotic regularity, by an echoing stanza from the brother. The menace that makes the Glenbuchat text so powerful is preserved here; the juxtapositions of worldly wealth and happiness, and the horror of the grave, remain to reinforce the admonition against pride, which occurs in the very centre of the ballad. The story of the revenant brother was evidently strong enough to survive the century, to emerge as worn down and polished as the old 'classic' ballads. It is only unfortunate that no records survive of what was happening to it during that time.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN (CHILD 47).

1. See David Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad, pp.183-206.
2. Matthew Hodgart, The Faber Book of Ballads, p.251.
3. Child, headnote to No.79, II p.238.
4. Hamish Henderson, 'The Ballad, the Folk & the Oral Tradition', in E. J. Cowan, The People's Past, pp.106ff.
5. E. J. Cowan, 'Calvinism and the Survival of Folk', ibid., p.35.
6. See below, and Appendix F.
7. Letters on Scottish Ballads from Professor F. J. Child to W. W., Aberdeen, p.24
8. See J. MacQueen, Robert Henryson, A Study of the Major Narrative Poems (Oxford, 1967), pp.16-17.
9. Many examples of the medieval tradition of the castle are given by M. W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (Michigan State Univ. Press, 1952). A particularly relevant example is the heroine in the Digby play Mary Magdalen (E.E.T.S. 283, 1982, pp.37-42) who from her castle fights the seven deadly sins who assail it, especially Lechery and Pride.
10. G. L. Brook, The Harley Lyrics: the Middle English Lyrics of MS Harley 2253 (Manchester Univ. Press 1964) No.7 pp.27-9.
11. Ibid., No.8 pp.39-40.
12. L. C. Wimberly, Folklore in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads p.244.
13. Peter Dronke, 'Learned Lyric and Popular Ballad', Studi Medievali, XVII (1976), 1-40.
14. Recorded by Peter Kennedy & Seamus Ennis, Topic, 'Songs of Ceremony', The Folksongs of Britain IX.
15. L. Broadwood & J. A. F. Maitland, English County Songs, p.35, st.4.
16. Cited in Dronke, op.cit.
17. Described in Child, headnote to No.77, II p.227.
18. E. V. Gordon, ed., Pearl (Clarendon, Oxford 1974), 1.320, p.12.

19. L. C. Wimberly, Folklore in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads, p.228.
20. Fowler, A Literary History, p.184.
21. Carleton Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, No.152, p.241.
22. Rosemary Woolf, The English Lyric in the Middle Ages, pp.317-18. The poem is from a MS. of private devotional pieces.
23. The same effect is sought more self-consciously by Wordsworth in the lines from 'The Thorn':

Is like an infant's grave in size,
As like as like can be:
But never, never anywhere,
An infant's grave was half so fair.

Poetical Works, ed. T. Hutchinson, revd. E. de Selincourt, (O.U.P. 1975) p.157.
24. E.g. No.LXVII in Sidney Herrtage, The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum: 'How a woman, who was damned, appeared to her son'. See also Woolf, The English Religious Lyric, pp.309ff.
25. Ralph Hanna III, The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn (Manchester Univ. Press 1974), p.75 (Douce MS. 11.239-40).
26. Ibid., p.71 (11.161-164)
27. Woolf, op. cit. pp.344-6
28. Child, glossary, V p.365.
29. Ibid.
30. E.g. Horace, Odes, III4.
31. Cowan, The People's Past, p.42
32. The controversy over Peter Buchan's editorial practice is discussed in D. Buchan, The Ballad and the Folk, Chap.16, and also in W. Walker, Peter Buchan and other Papers on Scottish and English Ballads and Songs (Aberdeen 1915). The latter describes Child 47 as one of the texts in the Harvard MS. most freely cut and altered, the alterations being in different hands, but mostly in those of Alexander Laing and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe.
33. D. Buchan, The Ballad and the Folk.

CHAPTER EIGHT: 'DO THE RIDDLE BALLADS CONTAIN RIDDLES?'

From the above examination of the six ballads in question, it will be apparent that the 'Riddle Ballads' contain a wide variety of riddling; so much so, that the word 'riddle', though a convenient description, should now be examined more closely. This chapter seeks to analyse the 'riddling' element in each ballad, to define what is meant by 'riddling', and to decide which of the ballads can accurately be described as 'Riddle Ballads'.

The ballad questions can be divided into two main categories: those which expect an answer, and those which do not. The first category contains all the questions in 'Riddles Wisely Expounded', 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship', and 'The False Knight Upon the Road', and most of the questions in 'Proud Lady Margaret'. The second category contains all the 'impossible tasks' set in 'The Elfin Knight', the three questions in 'King John and the Bishop', and two of the questions in 'Proud Lady Margaret' (discounting the stanza added by Scott and probably of his own composition).

Within these two broad categories, the questions can be divided as follows:

CATEGORY A

1. Comparative questions
2. Superlative questions
3. Simple questions
4. Paradoxes
5. Flyting questions

CATEGORY B

1. Impossible tasks
2. Impossible questions

These categories will be examined in turn.

CATEGORY A: Questions with answers.

1. Comparative questions.
 - (a) On the simplest level, two items are compared in terms of their physical attributes, for example, 'What is whiter than milk? - Snow.'

Such questions as these reinforce and examine the codes of relationships by which we group our impressions of the 'real' world. This particular question refers to a set of 'white things', and the actual decision that snow is whiter than milk is less important than the establishing of a relationship between the two items. The question is closely related to the metaphorical expressions, 'milk-white' and 'snow-white', both of which are common in popular literature: B. J. Whiting has found the description 'milk-white' applied to twenty-four different items in the Child ballads, one of which occurs in the B text of 'Proud Lady Margaret'.⁽¹⁾

Several other questions in this category are similarly related to common metaphors, for example, 'What is softer than silk? - Down'; 'What is greener than the wood? - Grass'. These questions can be said to be metalingual; they examine commonplaces of language, and they are concerned specifically with the vocabulary of 'poetic' language,

with metaphor and simile. Such questions are found independently outside the ballads, or in groups, for example in the folk riddle of the blackberry:

Green as grass, and grass it hain't
 White as milk, and milk it hain't
 Red as blood, and blood it hain't
 What is that?

(2)

- (b) A second level is added if one of the items is not a physical phenomenon and therefore belongs to a different frame of reference, for example, 'What is higher than a tree? - Heaven'.

Here, the poetic function of the metaphor begins to operate: the unknown is being assimilated in terms of the known. We want to think of Heaven as a place, because that makes it appear accessible; or we may believe it is an actual place; but it is not a place in the normal sense of the word. We therefore push the term as far as it will go in a normal set of 'high places', and then beyond: 'Heaven is higher than a tree'. As with the comparison of snow and milk, absolute values are unimportant; it does not matter that we might be able to think of something higher than a tree that is still not Heaven; the values are determined by the context, and 'tree' becomes, for the moment, the highest possible physical object.

Frederick Tupper, comparing the riddle to the mythological personification, suggests that both arise 'out of the desire to invest everyday things with the garb of the unusual and marvelous'⁽³⁾, but the process works both ways, and can compare the marvellous to the everyday

in order to make it comprehensible. What is important is the connection made between the two.

A special case in this group is the question from 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo': 'What is better than the bread? - God's flesh'. Here, the metaphor is one which is embodied in the Christian ritual of the Mass, where God's flesh becomes the Bread, and vice versa. This is an indication that the formulation of these questions, which weigh abstract concepts against natural phenomena, is more than a rhetorical exercise. Between the bread and the Flesh there is a mystical transformation, a leap between two apparently unconnected subjects, which pass through a 'sacred state between being and non-being'⁽⁴⁾; that is, the bread is both bread and not-bread, just as Heaven is both a place and a non-place. Freed momentarily from the confining powers of the word, the concept has a special energy and resonance.

When this transformational leap is emphasised, the energy and resonance can infuse a whole poem or passage in literature with their vitality. Emphasis can occur in several ways. Virginia Woolf, in the poetic prose of her novel, The Waves, uses metaphor as a narrative structure, presenting a series of images which have no logical connection with each other, or with the characters in the novel. An example of such a series is: an axe felling a tree; a woman calling to her lover from a window in Venice; a string orchestra; an olive grove.⁽⁵⁾ Here, we are made especially conscious of the transformational leaps between the images, because we are not accustomed to their being

used so freely in prose, because the leaps are particularly wild ones, and because the novelist herself is very much aware of this process and of its mysterious quality. She has Rhoda ask:

'Like' and 'like' and 'like' - but what is the thing that lies beneath the semblance of the thing? (6)

Once more, as with the milk and the snow, the tree and Heaven, it is not the physical or natural relationships and values which are important, but the structural relationships in which they are arranged by the author. The axe may have no relevance to the woman or to the olive trees outside the passage, but within it the likenesses are apparent: the axe splitting the tree is like the death of a man, and the axe makes a noise; the noise is like the cry of an opera heroine to her lover; the cry becomes music in the opera and is orchestrated; the orchestra's music is like the ripple of leaves in olive trees. This use of imagery gives the novel its enigmatic, 'poetic' quality; it resonates more than normal prose because, in leaping from one image to another, riddle-like, it 'creates spaces' in between. (7)

Emphasis of the transformational leap of metaphor need not be self-conscious, as it is in *The Waves*; another example is found in the nursery rhyme, 'There was a man of double deed', of which the first full record is in Gammer Gurton's Garland of 1784, and which may have arisen from the older proverb, 'A man of words and not of deeds is like a garden full of weeds'. (8)

There was a man of double deed
 Sowed his garden full of seed.
 When the seed began to grow,
 Twas like a garden full of snow;
 When the snow began to melt,
 Twas like a ship without a belt;
 When the ship began to sail,
 Twas like a bird without a tail;
 When the bird began to fly,
 Twas like an eagle in the sky;
 When the sky began to roar,
 Twas like a lion at the door;
 When the door began to crack,
 Twas like a stick across my back;
 When my back began to smart,
 Twas like a penknife in my heart;
 When my heart began to bleed,
 Twas death and death and death indeed.

The metaphors are treated here as literal reality; each image leads off from the one before with the same unnerving leap, coming to life as if a picture were to begin to move. This draws attention to the transforming qualities of the image; the poem as a result, though corrupt and largely nonsensical, has an unusual and disturbing energy. We need only proceed one step further, into dramatic terms, and we are with the shape-changing transformations of 'The Twa Magicians' (Child 44) and its like, where the transformations have a dramatic context but still, like metaphors, express a relationship:

She turned hersell into a hare
 To rin upon yon hill
 And he became a gude grey-hound
 And boldly did he fill

Then she became a gay grey mare
 And stood in yonder slack,
 And he became a gilt saddle,
 And sat upon her back.

(sts. 10-11).

Shape-changing is a magical process; but the magic lies

in the kinetic force of the leap from one transformation to the next; it is the energy that vitalises The Waves and the children's rhyme; it is the essential poetic energy of the metaphor. The metaphorical questions of the ballads, particularly when they are set out in a ritualistic format, as they are in the medieval 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo', invoke the same sort of magic and release the same sort of energy.

However, not all the questions of this type in the ballads have the same poetic force. Weak examples are to be found particularly in the nineteenth century text (vi) of 'Riddles Wisely Expounded', such as 'Revenge is keener than the axe', 'Truth is brigher than the light', and also in 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo', in the case of 'Thought is swifter than the wind'. These seem to be didactic inventions imitating the pattern of the more resonant images, and they are less effective because they appear to be simplistic and mechanical where the others are deeply thought out and even mystical. The question 'What is worse than woman was? - the Devil' is different again, for it is satirical and a part of the original 'flyting' situation between Devil and maid; the maid retorts that her opponent is worse than she is, and she also, by naming him, asserts power over him. Though a satirical question, it is supported by theology in the story of the Fall of Man: Eve was worse than Adam, but tempted by the Devil.

This group of comparative questions, then, though homogenous in surface structure, covers a wide variety

of though processes. One question is linked specifically to religious ritual. Several are simplistic inventions with a didactic purpose. One of these is tailored to fit a specific narrative situation. The remainder, on which these are modelled, are successful poetic metaphors, which link the abstract with the concrete and familiar in an attempt to understand and explain the former. The process releases an energy which may be regarded as poetic or mystic, according to context and to personal response. The very act of making a metaphor has been, and still is, regarded by some as a mystical act, for it reinforces physical likenesses that can be perceived in the natural world and which might indicate a scheme of creation. This was a common way of thinking for the Elizabethans; it is also expressed by Edith Sitwell, who was particularly aware in her poetry of what she regarded as natural likenesses:

Seeing the immense design of the world, on image
of wonder mirrored by another image of wonder -
the pattern of fern and of feather by the frost
on the window-pane, the six rays of the snowflake
mirrored in the rock-crystal's six-rayed eternity -
seeing the pattern on the scaly legs of birds
mirrored in the pattern of knot-grass, I asked myself,
were those shapes moulded by blindness? Are not
these the 'correspondences', to quote a phrase of
Swedenborg, 'whereby we may speak with angels?' (9)

Thus, the making of metaphor involves both recognition and active participation in the divine act of creation; the image-maker perceives the natural scheme of correspondences, and, in making new ones, carries on the creative act which was responsible for that scheme.

2. Superlative questions.

(a) These are concerned with 'first things', e.g. 'What bird sings first? - The cock'; 'What flower springs first? - The primrose'.

Although these questions, which occur together in a group, are answered by facts which generally correspond to natural history, they have a mythological air about them, as if they were taken from some creation story. There are possible links with the Old Norse creation myths (see Chapter 6), but there is no firm evidence to support a direct line of descent, and it is also possible that the questions were rather products of the type of thinking which produces myth.⁽¹⁰⁾ First things naturally have a special interest, and a knowledge of origins is an indication of special powers, as is displayed by Óðinn in Vafþrúðnismál and Grímnismál. In the hymns of the RigVeda, the ritualistic questions concerning the origins of the world are thought to be survivals of 'riddles' asked at ceremonial festivals of sacrifice;⁽¹¹⁾ they form a part of the knowledge which is also sacred power. To know the order of things, as with Swedenborg's 'correspondences', is to participate in the divine knowledge which created that order. The ballad questions are all concerned with basic categories of natural phenomena: birds, flowers and trees; except for the question of where the dew falls, which has several answers and has evidently confused many singers, for the question is often garbled; this question provides the firmest piece of evidence that the questions may be derived from Old Norse myth (see

Chapter 6). All the questions refer to the beginning of a new year, or of a new day, as in Eleanor Farjeon's hymn:

Morning has broken, like the first morning;
Blackbird has spoken, like the first bird.⁽¹²⁾

The hymn has, significantly, been thought most appropriate for the use of children, often the last guardians of mythical thought.

(b) Other questions are concerned with 'best things', e.g.

'What bird sings best? - The thrush'.

There are fewer questions in this category, and all occur in texts of 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' or 'Proud Lady Margaret'. Unlike the 'first things' category, they do not fall into a group, and it seems likely that they were introduced as an extension of the more prevalent group.

In 'Captain Wedderburn' texts, the questions appear to have been introduced in Ireland in the early nineteenth century.

However, there are parallels, again in Old Norse sources, for lists of 'best' things as a demonstration of esoteric knowledge, in *Grímnismál*, where Óðinn, in the guise of

Grímnir, declares that Yggdrasil is the best tree, Skið-blaðnir the best ship, Óðinn the best god, and so on.⁽¹³⁾

Closer to home, and of more uncertain significance, is the Sans Day Carol⁽¹⁴⁾, which asserts that 'the first tree in the greenwood it was the holly'; 'first' in this case would seem to mean the most important. The riddle of the best bird is found also in German tradition, amongst a series of bird riddles⁽¹⁵⁾, but the answer is not any of those found in ballad texts, and none of the other 'best' questions

are found with it in German.

Two questions found in the two Buchan texts of 'Proud Lady Margaret' (Child 47B,C), are fanciful improvisations which do not mix well with the others: 'What's the finest thing a king or queen can wale? - Yellow gold'; 'What's the seemliest thing you'll see on a May morning? - A milk-white lace in a young maid's dress'.

3. Simple questions.

Some of these have developed from the previous group, e.g. 'What falls on trees? - Dew'. Otherwise, this category consists of the questions put by Lady Margaret (Child 47) to her brother as she asks him about 'Archerdale'.

(a) In the Glenbuchat text, the questions are used as a delaying tactic and are fairly mundane: what kind of learning did the knight have; what was his meat and drink; what did the ladies wear. The answers have the appearance at least of being less mundane: they learned to keep themselves from sin in order to gain Heaven; and the remainder of the questions are answered by the ritualistic list of colours which is characteristic of the eighteenth century 'ballad style'. Black was the bread; brown was the ale; red was the wine; green is their clothing; milk-white is their cowl. It is a technique which may have developed out of the need for brevity; the bold use of colour makes for a good descriptive shorthand, and gives to many ballads a characteristic vibrancy, the most common colours being red, gold, yellow, brown, green, grey, black and white.⁽¹⁶⁾ The inverted form of the sentences ('Black, black was the bread...')

adds a solemnity which is really more important than the colours themselves, although they may have symbolic qualities: the green and white of the ladies' dress, for instance, gives them an other-worldly quality, since these are the colours associated with the supernatural. The solemn, ritualistic form of the knight's answers shows that he is on another plane from his sister with her worldly inquiries; despite the apparent straightforwardness of the dialogue, we are again concerned with two levels of meaning; this time, however, the two levels are deliberately kept apart. Lady Margaret fails to understand her brother; she is unaware of his identity, and this emphasises the fact that her union with him, which she seeks, is impossible.

(b) The other three texts of 'Proud Lady Margaret' which contain questions (Child B,C,D) have what appear to be garbled versions of the Glenbuchat dialogue. Two have no questions at all, only answers, and these take a form borrowed from the drinking-song: 'There's ale into the birken scale', etc. The third, the Harris text, shows an ingenious attempt to make the fragments into more respectable riddles: e.g. 'What gaes in a speal?', but this distorts their sense, and was perhaps responsible for the intrusion of more irrelevant questions such as are found in the Buchan texts.

4. Paradoxes.

These are found only in versions of 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' and its relations the 'Riddle Song' and 'Perry Merry Dictum': e.g. 'A cherry without a stone - Cherry-blossom'.

These are the most complex in structure of the ballad questions, and the only ones which can be called true riddles according to most definitions, such as that of Georges and Dundes:

A folk riddle is a traditional verbal expression which contains one or more descriptive elements, a pair of which may be in opposition; the referent of the elements is to be guessed.(17)

Mystical religions and philosophies often employ paradoxes to express something which is inexpressible in the normal terms of opposites, the terms of either/or. Christianity, for example, praises a God who is both one and three, and takes as its central figure a man born of a virgin mother, who is himself both man and God, who dies and yet is alive. Tertullian put it clearly:

And the Son of God is dead, which is worthy of belief because it is absurd. And when buried he rose again, which is certain, because it is impossible.(18)

A popular expression of the Christian paradoxes in English is found, among other similar pieces, in the medieval lyric, 'A God and yet a Man', which, having stated the central paradoxes of the Incarnation, advises:

Gods truth itselfe doth teach it,
Mans witt senckis too farr under
By reasons power to reach it.
Beleeve and leave to wonder.(19)

According to C.G.Jung, the paradoxical union of opposites was a central concern of alchemy, and the arcane substance, the lapis philosopharium, was described in paradoxical terms:

This stone therefore is no stone, that thing is cheap and costly, dark, hidden and known to everyone, having one name and many names.(20)

The personification of one of these names, Mercurius, is described by Jung as the paradox par excellence, uniting fire and water, metal and liquid, earth and Heaven. An adaptation of the more ancient figure Hermes, Mercurius is the messenger of the gods, the revealer of divine secrets.

In Christianity and alchemy, then, paradoxes cluster around numinous figures, indicating their supernatural potency and volatility. Jung sees this way of thinking as a vital human function, and one which has been impaired by the modern age and its emphasis on consecutive logic:

Things have gone rapidly downhill since the Age of Enlightenment, for once this petty reasoning mind, which cannot endure paradoxes, is awakened, no sermon on earth can keep it down...
The man who is stricken in this way cannot estimate the extent of his spiritual loss, because he has never experienced the sacred images as his inmost possession and has never realised their kinship with his own psychic structure. (21)

Thus, according to Jung, paradoxes are vital to man because man's nature is itself paradoxical: it is a union of the individual and the universal, the unique and the infinite. Our attempts to resolve the paradox of the self, to be both a part of the infinite and an autonomous individual, are central to our psychology and reflected in our religions and our poetry.

Jung was not the first to voice this view. The paradoxical union of the individual and the universal was an important tenet of Romantic aesthetics, for example in the theories of Coleridge, whose main source on this was Schelling. Coleridge distinguishes between 'essence' and 'existence': 'essence' is the ideal form, the natura naturans,

which is 'within the thing, that which is active through form and figure, and discourses to us in symbols'. 'Existence' is the material object, the natura naturata, which is consciously apprehended through the senses. The role of art is to recognise the essence, and to portray it; this necessarily uses the existence as a medium of portrayal, and thus the two are united afresh. That the artist can thus master the paradox is a demonstration of 'a bond between nature in the highest sense and the soul of man'.⁽²²⁾ The role of the paradox, then, is akin to that of the metaphor; by recreating nature in linguistic form, the artist asserts his place in the universal order as both creator and created. The paradox has the additional role of expressing man's own nature and at the same time recognising the affinity of that nature with the poetic form he creates.

Coleridge wrote that the 'essence' speaks to us in symbols; this also was taken up and expanded a century later by Jung, whose writings on symbolism were perhaps his most important contribution to an understanding of literature. There are, he says, two types of thinking: one is directed by the senses and has been developed by language and by education to a high degree of objective rationality. The second type is 'undirected thinking', the play of images, which belongs to the instinctive, unconscious part of the mind. To this latter type belong the symbols of the imagination. Symbols are related to real phenomena which can be apprehended by the senses; but they have somehow acquired a psychic nature and are therefore ultimately unknowable, since the mind cannot know its own substance. They act as

messengers between the conscious and the unconscious mind; for example, a certain sight or smell can trigger off immediate memories of the past which would otherwise remain forgotten. This is a vital function, for the conscious and the unconscious should be integrated for the sake of mental health; their separation leads to neuroses.⁽²³⁾

This function of the symbol, that of uniting the conscious and the unconscious levels of the mind, makes it a close relative of the paradox, which unites the individual and the universal. Both paradox and symbol are frequently used in religious language and in poetic language; both are a means of expanding thought beyond normal 'rationality', and at the same time of expanding the 'meaning' of a linguistic sign. It can be no coincidence that the paradoxical riddles of Child 46 are often dealing with subjects which have already acquired symbolic force: the cherry, the briar, the ring, the bird. (See Chapter 6, pp. 166 ff.) The subjects may release different meanings in different contexts, for symbols never have absolute meanings; placed in the sequence in which they are found in the Sloane MS. Riddle Song, they release a religious set of meanings centred on the Passion of Christ; a parallel set of symbols is the sequence of gifts at the end of the Wakefield Second Shepherds' Play. Placed in the courtship framework of the ballad, they carry sexual meanings.⁽²⁴⁾ Sexual subjects are well suited to the use of paradox and symbol, partly because the taboos which prevent open discussion have created a well-developed tradition of double-entendre, partly because they are concerned with the union of opposites, of male and female.

Mercurius, the combination of opposing elements, is also the fructifier of the philosophical tree.⁽²⁵⁾ Fertility, the result of the union of opposites, is the physical counterpart of the poetic and mystic force which is released by the formulation of a paradox. This is not only a classical idea: Skírnismál embodies a sky-earth fertility myth in which the enemy opposites, god and giant, are brought together by threat of a curse.⁽²⁶⁾ While it is unlikely that the medieval composer of the 'Riddle Song', or the broadside composer of 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship', were consciously aware of the significance of combining the paradox and the symbol in a sexual association, it seems likely that it is that powerful combination which has kept the song and the ballad alive and popular to the present day.

5. Flytings.

These are the questions and answers, and the exchanges of ill-wishes, that pass between the False Knight and the small child on the road. E.g. 'What's that on your back? - My bundles and my books'.

Some of the exchanges, like the one above, are ostensibly straightforward, becoming aggressive only in the context of the flyting tradition to which the song belongs. Like most of the questions in Category A, however, the dialogue plays with linguistic rules and codes, using verbal manoeuvres as a direct substitute for physical combat. For example, by adding a saving clause, the child can alter the meaning of a sentence begun by his opponent, and thus defuse its malignant power :

'I wish you were in yon tree' - 'A good ladder under me.'

When the Knight asks how many of the sheep are his, the linguistic rules are strained further:

'How many of them are mine?' - 'All them that have blue tails.'

Here, the artificiality of language is exposed and exploited: 'sheep' does not necessarily represent the actual animal; it is only a sign, which can be transformed - into a blue-tailed sheep - and the Knight is thus cheated of his share of real sheep.

Once again, then, the normal assumptions about the meaning of language are questioned and opened out. And once again, there is a ritual in the background: Bertha S. Phillpotts discussing the Helgi lays, describes the flyting as a ceremonial exchange that was a part of the fertility drama found in many cultures, involving the battle between the old and the new year.⁽²⁷⁾ Examples of this are given by Enid Welsford in her study of The Fool⁽²⁸⁾ and by Frazer in The Golden Bough⁽²⁹⁾ (see Chapter 4).

CATEGORY B: Questions without answers.

1. Impossible tasks.

Syntactically, these are not questions but commands, e.g.

'Tell her to make me a cambric shirt without any seam or needlework'. All occur in 'The Elfin Knight'. Most of the tasks are paradoxical, for they are all based on the idea of performing something which cannot be performed. (See Chapter 3). Like the paradoxical questions of Category A, they often have subjects which already have a symbolic resonance: the

seamless shirt, denoting virginity and death (like the robe of Christ); the ploughed land, denoting virility and life. (See Chapter 3). J. B. Toelken has suggested that the maiden's tasks in 'The Elfin Knight' present the listener with a set of death symbols, while the man's tasks present a set of fertility symbols,⁽³⁰⁾ but this relies on a detailed knowledge of traditional symbolism and it seems unlikely that the majority of singers or audiences would interpret the ballad in this way. The ballad has been given the title, 'Love's Impossibility', which, though more reasonable than Child's title, expresses only a part of the significance of the tasks: although the confrontation of impossible tasks may well be interpreted as a sign that the union of the two characters is impossible, if the symbols are read as sexual metaphors, the tasks become possible, and the paradox is resolved in a fertile combination of opposing elements.

However, symbols cannot be reduced to a simple code of translation, and one at least of the tasks has further resonances. The acre of land that is to be 'between the sea and the sea strand' takes us back to the 'sacred state between being and non-being', which is described by Alwyn and Brinley Rees as the symbolic line between two opposites, along which they impinge upon each other, and which appears in folklore and mythology as:

the dangerous bridges that lead to the citadels of the Other World, the narrow bridge, the razor-edge bridge, or the see-saw bridge which can only be negotiated by leaping onto its middle. It is the space between the blades that rise from the threshold and those that depend from the lintel of the door to the giant's castle, it is the middle course between Scylla and Charybdis. (31)

On the same principle, special powers are attributed to the boundaries between the old year and the new, between night and day, when spirits are released into the world.

2. Impossible questions.

(a) Three of these occur in 'King John and the Bishop', with little variation: the King asks (i) how much he is worth; (ii) how long he would take to travel round the world; (iii) what he is thinking. Structurally, these are a mixed group. They come into the category of 'impossible questions' because they are posed by the King as such, but the shepherd does of course provide replies. In the case of the second question, to which the answer is 'a day, if one travels with the sun', it is only the dramatic context which puts it in this category, for the answer only requires the juggling with implied sets (travellers, journeys round the earth) which is the standard method of answering a metaphorical or a paradoxical riddle. In the case of the first and third riddles, however, no amount of juggling of this sort can produce a reasonable reply. For (i), the shepherd exercises a greater degree of creativity than is normally required of riddle-solvers: rather than find the second half of a figure, he creates a new figure that is relevant to the subject. In effect, he invents a new riddle, 'Why is the King worth twenty-nine pence?' to which the answer is, 'Because he is worth one penny less than Christ, who was sold for thirty'. Here there are two figurative levels: firstly, the King is explicitly compared with Christ, perhaps suggesting that he

is over-reaching his status and trying to assume the role of divinity: secondly, the 'one penny' is used figuratively to stand for an unspecifiable amount, the distance between man and God. In this sense, the shepherd evades a rationally impossible question by making it a symbolic question, and this is again a standard practice of riddle-solving. The third question, which is no riddle, requires a different sort of evasion. It recalls the last question that Óðinn asks Vafþrúðnir in the Eddic Vafþrúðnismál, 'What did Óðinn say in his son's ear before he stepped into the bale-fire?'⁽³²⁾ In the case of the Eddic poem, there is no answer and Óðinn thus defeats his opponent, revealing his identity and letting the giant know that he has given away his secrets to his competitor and thus lost his power. This is the classic ending to Norse riddle contests and is found also in Heiðreks saga and Grímnismál. A similar revelation of identity accompanies the answer in the ballad. As with his first answer, the shepherd caps the riddle with another, this time the ultimate riddle, 'Who am I?'. The question is the check-mate of the riddle contest; for a player to have manoeuvred himself into such a position means that he has already won.

(b) The questions in 'Proud Lady Margaret' which are included in this category of impossible questions are found only in Scott's text (Child 47A, st.10):

'O hey, how many small pennies
 'Make thrice three thousand pound?
 'Or hey, how many salt fishes
 'Swim a' the salt sea round?'

The fact that the first question can actually be calculated is irrelevant, for the figure is used as an image of a vast and inconceivable sum; the double alliteration helps to indicate that this is a poetic device and not an exercise in mental arithmetic. Both the questions are rhetorical in the fullest sense; a similar, but inverse, example is the floating folksong stanza:

A man of the fforrist demanded of mee
 How maney strebeares gro on the se
 I answard him as I though(t) best
 How maney hearinges wear in the fforrist. (33)

The questions are a variation on the many forms of adynata found in popular and 'art' literature. (34) They express the futility of man's attempts to fully understand and to catalogue his surroundings; more importantly, they imitate the form of riddles which have answers, and they therefore set off the beginnings of the imaginative searching and juggling which are necessary to arrive at a solution. The resonance thus released is the more poignant for the absence of an answer; it prolongs the enigmatic quality indefinitely.

In his book Rethinking Symbolism, (35) Dan Sperber has put forward a hypothesis for the symbolic process which can be usefully applied to riddles and their related forms. The hypothesis is, briefly, that the symbolic mechanism comes into operation whenever the mind is presented with a new representation which fails to fulfil all the conditions required for it to be assimilated rationally. For example, categories may be confused, as in the assertion, 'the child is an angel', or motivation may be lacking, as in the discovery

that the Dorze tribe put butter on their heads in certain rites. When this happens, the representation is mentally put into quotation marks and the focal point switches to the unfulfilled condition itself. The symbolic mechanism now tries to establish a relevance for the new representation, relating it to information already assimilated in the active or passive memory. The symbolic mechanism, by definition, does not decode information, but organises it so that it has relevance to the experience of the individual and to the culture. This applies to all forms of incoming perceptions, whether verbal or not. A smell, a sound, a picture, an action, are all treated in the same way by the symbolic process. The process is, incidentally, very much like the method prescribed by Sigmund Freud for the analysis and interpretation of dreams: the analyst searches amongst the childhood and more recent memories of the patient for evidence which will establish the relevance of the dream symbols.⁽³⁶⁾ Two main points emerge from Sperber's hypothesis: firstly, symbols do not 'mean' in the strict semiological sense; that is, they cannot be analysed or paraphrased in the way that a sign can. Secondly, it is misleading to focus attention on a symbol itself, except in a given cultural framework where there are traditional associations, for anything can become a symbol. It is more productive to examine the symbolic process itself, how and why a representation has been treated symbolically.

The 'true' riddle (according to the definition of Georges and Dundes, above p.248) presents an obvious case of the unfulfilled condition which would bring the symbolic process into operation; once the solution is found, the searching process ends. The answer is often less significant than the

processes initiated by the riddle; this is particularly true of the large class of riddles which suggest sexual interpretations and then give a completely different and innocent 'answer'.⁽³⁷⁾ The poser of the riddle thus has some control over the areas which will be incorporated in the search for an answer, although the control cannot be absolute, since no individual can know another individual's store of information. Control can be exercised by calling upon existing symbolic structures widely known in the culture; in the case of the sexual innuendo riddles, this is the celebrated lingua franca of folk cultures. The context of a riddle also exercises control; if it is asked in a ceremony of initiation, the areas searched will be different from the areas activated by a riddle in a courtship ritual, even if the riddle is identical. These qualities of the riddle can apply also to the symbol; what differentiates the two is that the riddle always asks a question, even if the grammatical form is not the interrogative; and in asking a question, it is a deliberate activation of the symbolic process. Thus, by following Sperber's example of looking at the process rather than at the phenomenon, and looking at the riddling process rather than at the riddle, a tentative definition can be produced: a riddle is a question which deliberately activates the symbolic process.

This avoids the problems described by Georges and Dundes, which arise when a definition is based on a description of the superficial structure of a riddle. Such definitions are usually too narrow, and exclude many items which are intuitively and widely classed as riddles: for example, Robert

Petsch defined the true riddle (die wirklichen Volkrätzel) as one containing the five elements:

- (i) introductory frame element
- (ii) denominative kernel element
- (iii) descriptive kernel element
- (iv) block element
- (v) concluding frame element

(38)

As Georges and Dundes point out, few riddles contain all five of these elements. Their own definition, however, is still restricted to the 'true riddle', the type found, for example, in Archer Taylor's collection of English Riddles from Oral Tradition. It excludes several of the Old Norse dialogues, such as Vafþrúðnismál and Alvíssmál, which are often described as riddling dialogues; it excludes the Vedic 'riddles'; it excludes the many popular conundrums which have been included in riddle collections since the times of the Demaundes Joyous, such as the perennial 'How deep is the ocean? - A stone's throw'. The intuitive thinking which has traditionally grouped these far-flung items together and called them riddles is surely valid; it has recognised a similarity of mental process and disregarded a great diversity of superficial form. A definition based on the activation of the symbolic function would include all these, without being indiscriminately vague: it would exclude, for example, the wisdom dialogues and catechisms which operate on a single level and involve no searching for relevant details in order to justify an unfulfilled condition, only a searching of encyclopaedic information which is already encoded.

According to such a definition, it will be seen that certain categories of the ballad questions cannot be termed riddles. The flyting dialogue of 'The False Knight Upon the

Road' involves no symbolic process, except in the boy's retort that the Knight may have all the sheep with blue tails, and even here, the semiological processes may still deduce that this means 'no sheep' without resort to the symbolic function.

The simple comparative questions (1a) are also excluded, since they deal only in existing categories of thought and have no symbolic dimension, although in the context of 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' they do pave the way for the metaphorical comparative questions (1b) which do have this dimension.

The simple questions of group (3) are similarly non-riddling; none of them activates a symbolic process, although their answers may incorporate symbolic representations. This is true of the answers of the knight in the Glenbuchat text of 'Proud Lady Margaret', where a ritualistic style places unusual emphasis on the colours, suggesting that their significance is greater than normal:

O black, black was our bread, lady
 An' brown, brown was our ale
 An' red, red was the wine, lady
 We drank at Archerdale...
 (st. 13)

However, there is no activation of this symbolic force in the questions themselves; the lady is merely using them as a delaying tactic and is unaware of the spiritual difference between the knight and herself which the symbolism indicates. The dialogue is therefore not a riddle dialogue.

In Category A, this leaves us with the metaphorical comparatives (1b), the superlatives, and the paradoxes. The paradoxes fit easily into the definition of riddling: an

unfulfilled condition is the main point of emphasis and the process is almost spelled out in the case of the 'Riddle Song':

(a) 'I gave my love a cherry without a stone'...

(b) 'How can there be a cherry without a stone'...

(c) 'A cherry when it's blooming it has no stone'...

During the search which must follow statement (b), the associations with the subject which are not going to be formulated in the statement (c) may be released and examined. In this case, a fifteenth century audience might think of pictures of the Holy Family where Mary touches a bunch of cherries, or of the cherries which are given to the infant Christ as birth gifts in the Wakefield Second Shepherds' play; these associations may have lingered in later centuries, supported by the tradition of the 'Cherry Tree Carol' (Child 54). To J. B. Toelken's audience of modern Americans, the cherry may have become associated with virginity, as it is in the Dictionary of American Slang for 1960.⁽³⁹⁾ The two are of course not mutually exclusive; it seems likely that the first is an extension of the second, both being based on the blood-like colour of the fruit and a general association of fertility with fruit. The loss of blood, betokening the loss of virginity becomes in the religious association the loss of Christ's blood, the Passion, and this is illustrated by the fourteenth century 'Disputation between the Virgin and the Cross', where the cross is likened to a press that has squeezed out the 'wine' of Mary's 'fruit'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The unfulfilled condition of the riddle, the 'without a stone' clause, encourages these associations: denying the cherry fertility, it reinforces the idea of virginity, which is indeed the clue

to the 'answer', for the identification flower/virginity is widespread and common to both medieval and modern thinking, arising perhaps from the identification of the Virgin with the Tree of Jesse, of which she is the flower and Christ the fruit.

The grouping of images may reinforce, or even initiate, a symbolic response. In the case of the 'Riddle Song', the group 'cherry - bird - briar - leman' in the Sloane text, may have pointed towards the tradition of the nature lyric in which the poet praises his lady by describing a scene of natural beauty, as in the fourteenth century piece:

Bryd one brere, brid, brid one brere,
Kynd is come of loue, loue to craue.
(41)

Religious and secular lyrics shared thematic matters to such an extent that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them, and so Marian associations would follow easily from such a secular group of images for a medieval audience accustomed to such pieces. Similarly, the identification of one sexual association in the American groupings, 'cherry - bird - ring - baby', or 'cherry - bird - blanket - book' may set off a chain of similar associations; alternatively, vague or faint associations which would be disregarded in isolation are reinforced by the presence of other faint associations in the same field.

This may be what happens in the case of the superlative questions in group (2), which are of all the ballad questions the most difficult to account for. Viewed in isolation, each question could be answered without reference to the symbolic function, from encoded sources of encyclopaedic

information on the subject of natural history. The context, however, suggests that there is more to them than an examination of general knowledge, or even (in the case of the 'best' things group, 2b) a consultation of a value judgement. The most common combination occurs in Irish texts of 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship':

- (a) What bird sings best?
- (b) What tree buds first?
- (c) What first falls on them?

In Scottish texts, (a) occurs as 'What bird sings first?' The group occurs after a group of metaphorical comparative questions borrowed from 'Riddles Wisely Expounded'. Three factors thus combine to pass the questions beyond the simple level of information: firstly, the grouping of three questions together which are all concerned with superlative qualities gives them emphasis, just as the colours in 'Proud Lady Margaret' gain an emphasis from their grouping. Secondly, the reason for this emphasis is not clear, and the narrative context gives no clue as to why the girl should be particularly concerned with first or best things. This creates an unfulfilled condition and leaves explanation to the symbolic function. Thirdly, the presence of metaphorical questions immediately beforehand encourages a symbolic interpretation. This time, however, there is no resolution of symbolic responses in the riddle answer, as with the paradox riddles. Answers to (a) and (b) vary: e.g. thrush, nightingale (best bird); cock, lark, 'roe' (first bird); heath, cedar, palm, oak (first tree). It may be that the questions have reference to a group of images from a myth or tale now lost, or that

they once belonged to a collection of similar questions like Vafþrúðnismál, which contains many questions concerning the origins of the world. It may be that they are derived from medieval tradition, where religious statements were sometimes made by birds, as in Dunbar's poem, 'The Merle and the Nichtingail'⁽⁴²⁾. The trees also may recall Christian symbolism, especially the Biblical palm and cedar. To modern ears, however, the symbolism may link the questions with stories of creation; it can be no more specific, and it operates independently of the conceptual mechanism which produces reasonable answers from encyclopaedic stores of information. Thus, the deliberateness which must characterise the riddling process comes in this case from the text and not from the transmitter of the text; the transmitter may treat the questions as straightforward ones, and produce answers accordingly, but the form and context of the questions still command a symbolic response.

In Category A, this leaves only the metaphorical comparative questions, which are more easily included in the riddle definition. The unfulfilled conditional clause is created by the apparent impossibility of finding an answer within the conceptual group of a set: the question is, in effect, 'What is higher than the highest?'; 'What is greener than the greenest?'. The failure of the conceptual mechanism to provide an answer activates the symbolic process to suggest a related image, and it is evident from the various answers to some questions that certain images are more stereotyped than others. Answers to the question,

'What is higher than a tree?' are always either 'Heaven' or 'Sky', but there is no consensus on the answer to 'What is greener than the grass?'. The absence of a stereotyped response makes the symbolic function work harder in its searching activities, and the answers are correspondingly more resonant for the audience, or at least for the modern audience, where originality is considered a virtue. If the pairing of a question and an answer is not familiar, or if the reason for the pairing is not obvious, for example, in the pairing, 'Death is greener than the grass', then the symbolic process is activated in the mind of the listener also.⁽⁴³⁾ This effect is particularly common in the oral tradition, where texts are handed down and reproduced, often with a misrepresentation of a word or a phrase, or an incomplete understanding of the meaning. If the context of the misrepresentation is favourable, for example if there are other, more obviously symbolic representations present in the text, any word or phrase, however distant from the original, may become a symbol. Such a case occurs in the broadside, 'The Old Abbot and King Olfrey', a rendering of the King John story, where the word 'principality' has become 'Princely Pallaty', a phrase which is, in context, quite expressive:

In olde times past there was a king, we read,
 Was bountiful in each degree,
 That gave rewards to each Subject's need,
 So orderly as it might be,
 And képt his Princely Pallaty, in every kingly quality,
 Maintaining hospitality.

(44)

Category B questions and tasks can also be regarded as riddles, with one exception. Group B2, the impossible

questions, all present obvious cases of the unfulfilled condition, and the workings of the symbolic function in seeking to resolve this condition have already been described.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The exception is the final question of the King, 'What am I thinking?', for the answer is not symbolic, but depends on a specific situation and is rationally correct for that situation only. A symbol is non-rational and therefore can not be wrong.

Group B1, the impossible tasks, operate as do the paradoxes in Group A⁴. Although, this time, the question is not spelled out as is in the 'Riddle Song', a question is implicit, 'What is it?'. This is perhaps the most common question posed by riddles, although it is not the only one.

Thus, if the definition, 'a riddle is a question which deliberately activates the symbolic function' is accepted, only four of the six Child 'Riddle Ballads' can be said to contain riddling elements in a substantial proportion of their texts, and in these, not all of the questions are riddles, and not all the riddles are in explicit question form. Child 3, 'The False Knight Upon the Road', contains no riddle elements; Child 47, 'Proud Lady Margaret', contains them only in the Scott text.

Moreover, there are other ballads in the Child corpus which contain riddling elements, although none of them have the riddle as a crucial dramatic factor, as do Child Nos. 1, 2, 45 and 46. Several versions of Child 78, 'The Unquiet Grave', contain the riddling stanza:

Go fetch me a nut from dungeon deep
And water from a stone,
And white milk from a maiden's breast
That never child had none.

The lines are spoken by the revenant lover, who has been disturbed by the tears of his mistress on his grave. They are in reply to her request for 'one kiss, one kiss of your lily-white lips', an indication that her request is impossible. Like the questions in Scott's text of Child 47, they are not supposed to be answered; they do, however, set up a symbolic pattern of fertility and barrenness which is an appropriate answer to the maiden's request.

There is also a romantic riddle sequence in the Scott text of Child 90, 'Jellon Grame', which Child chose not to print as a part of the text proper (Child Ab; II p.308); the lines are, he says, 'not simply modernised, but modern'. They are certainly out of character for a man who has killed the lady in question himself: the dialogue is between him and his motherless son:

What's paler than the prymrose wan?
 What's redder than the rose?
 What's fairer than the lilie flower
 On this wee know that grows?'

The answers are, respectively, the mother when she begged for mercy; her blood; her appearance in general. The lines are evidently a fanciful improvisation on the model of the riddles of Child 1.

Other riddling elements are to be found in the various examples of adynata in 'Lizie Wan' (Child 51), 'The Trooper and the Maid' (299) and 'Jamie Douglas' (204). For example, the Trooper tells the Maid that he will marry her

When fishes fly, and seas gang dry (299A 10)

An example which may suggest a possible answer, as well as

the general message of despair, is the reply of the murdering brother to his mother's request as to when he will return:

'When the sun and the mune meet on yon hill,
And I hope that'll ne'er be'.

(Child 51B 17)

This could appear to happen in an eclipse, an occurrence which inspires fear and has been taken to signify the end of the world, the Day of Judgement, so that the departing brother would have particular cause to 'hope that'll ne'er be'. (46)

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1. B. J. Whiting, 'Proverbial Material in the Popular Ballad', Journal of American Folklore, 47 (1934), 22-44.
2. From Bige Couch: printed in Leonard Roberts, Sang Branch Settlers, p. 259. See also Archer Taylor, English Riddles from Oral Tradition, Riddles Nos. 1384-93.
3. Frederick Tupper, The Riddles of the Exeter Book, Introduction, p.xiv.
4. Alwyn and Brinley Rees, Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales, p.346.
5. Virginia Woolf, The Waves (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975), p.139.
6. Ibid., p.139.
7. Andrew Welsh, Roots of Lyric, p. 32, speaks of 'a naming that creates a space rather than reduces it'.
8. Iona and Peter Opie, The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, p.286.
9. Edith Sitwell, 'Some Notes on my own Poetry', in her Collected Poems (Macmillan, London 1957), p.xix.
10. For other ideas on the relationship between riddle and myth, see Chapter 9, p.283.
11. Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens: a study of the play element in culture, p.128.
12. Songs of Praise (O.U.P., London 1931), No. 30.
13. Grímnismál, in Gustav Neckel, ed., Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius, I pp.57-68.
14. The Oxford Book of Carols, No. 35.
15. A. F. Butsch, Strassburger Räthselsbuch (K. J. Trübner, Strassburg 1876).
16. See for example the use of colour in 'Tam Lin' (Child 39): green kirtle, yellow hair, grey knight, black, brown and white horses, grey eyes.

17. Robert A. Georges and Alan Dundes, 'Towards a Structural Definition of the Riddle', JAF 76 (1963) 111-118.
18. Carl Gustav Jung, Collected Works, XII p.15, quoting Tertullian, 'Liber adversus Judaeos' (ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1844-64, Vol. II).
19. Bodleian MS Rawlinson B332, flyleaf (late 15th century); in Carleton Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, p.120.
20. Jung, Collected Works, XIV p.43, quoting the Turba Philosopharum, Sermo XIII (ed. Julius Ruska, Berlin 1931), p.122.
21. Ibid., XII p.16.
22. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'On Poesy and Art', in Biographia Literaria (Oxford, Clarendon 1907) II p.257.
23. Jung, Man and his Symbols, Chapter 1, gives a concise explanation of Jung's ideas on symbol.
24. See Chapter 6, pp. 164 ff. See also J. B. Toelken, 'Some Poetic Functions of Folklore in the English and Scottish Traditional Ballads' (Oregon University, Ph. D. thesis, 1964).
25. Jung, Collected Works, XIII pp.213-214.
26. Skírnismál, in G. Neckel, Edda, pp.69-77. (I)
27. Bertha S. Philpotts, The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama, p.144.
28. Enid Welsford, The Fool: his social and literary history, p.66.
29. Sir J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, I p.279.
30. J. B. Toelken, op.cit.
31. A. and B. Rees, Celtic Heritage, p.345.
32. Vafþrúðnismál, in G. Neckel, Edda, I p.55.

'hvat maelti Óðinn, áðr á bál stigi,
 siálfr í eyra syni?'
33. Text is from Bodleian MS Top. gen. c.51, fol. 3; printed in Notes & Queries XXIII (No.1), 1976, 539-40.

34. Child lists many international examples: see Child I p.437.
35. Dan Sperber, Rethinking Symbolism, translated by Alice Morton. (Cambridge University Press, 1975).
36. Sigmund Freud, 'The Interpretation of Dreams', in his Complete Psychological Works (Hogarth Press, London 1953) Vol. IV.
37. For example, the Shetland riddle:

'In he goes, cauld, raw, soople, oot he comes,
haet, boiled, stivvened - Cooking sheep's
puddings'.

Calum I. Maclean and Stewart F. Sanderson, A
Collection of Riddles from Shetland, No. 216.
38. Cited in Georges and Dundes, op.cit. One of the few English riddles which fits this definition is No. 1063 from Archer Taylor's English Riddles from Oral Tradition:

My father gave me a seed to sow
The seed was black and the ground was white;
Riddle me that and I'll give you a pint.

(Writing a letter)

 - (i) 'My father gave me...'
 - (ii) seed
 - (iii) to sow; black
 - (iv) the ground was white (suggesting something unnatural)
 - (v) 'Riddle me that and I'll give you a pint'.
39. Cited in J. B. Toelken, op.cit.
40. F. J. Furnivall, Minor poems of the Vernon MS II, E.E.T.S. 117 (1901) p.612.
41. King's College Cambridge MS Muniment Roll 2 W 32^V. R. H. Robbins, Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, 147.
42. James Kinsley, ed., The Poems of William Dunbar, No. 16, p.60.
43. As in the whole of this chapter, this applies specifically to riddles in a literary context, rather than a social one. Social riddling is discussed in Chapter 9.
44. J. W. Ebsworth, ed., Roxburghe Ballads VI p.753.

45. See pages 257 ff.
46. The picture of the sun and moon on either side of the cross, signifying the eclipse supposed to have occurred at the Crucifixion, is a common Christian motif. One of the earliest examples is the Lindisfarne Stone, which was set up by the monks after the attack on the monastery in 793. On the reverse side of the stone is the cross, the sun and the moon picture, with two figures praying beneath and the hands of God at either side. An illustration of both sides of the stone is shown in Eric Oxenstierna, The Norsemen, p.52. In this context the picture may be taken to signify the Last Judgement.

CHAPTER NINE: THE RIDDLE AND THE BALLAD

Having decided that a large proportion of the questions found in the English Riddle Ballads can indeed be regarded as riddles, it is worth examining the ways in which the two genres, ballad and riddle, combine. Archer Taylor has suggested that the ballad is not a suitable form for containing riddles, because they arrest the narrative flow: the Riddle Ballads, he says, are 'survivals which do not accord very well with post-medieval ballad style that suits best matter of a historical, anecdotal or sentimental color'.⁽¹⁾ Taylor accounts for the existence of the riddle ballad genre by suggesting that riddles were drawn into the ballad tradition when it was in its medieval heyday and at its most eclectic, in the same way as the novel today draws into itself a great variety of material. However, not all the English Riddle Ballads can be shown to have originated, as ballads, during the medieval period. 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' shows the broadside trade making use of an existing riddle rhyme or song to suit the ballad form. 'The Elfin Knight' may have originated in the medieval era, but there is no evidence of the ballad before the seventeenth century. 'Proud Lady Margaret', in the North Eastern Scottish tradition, acquired riddles in the eighteenth century despite the fact that they do not make complete sense in terms of the ballad narrative. The minstrel ballad, 'King John and the Bishop', is a special case, since narrative and riddles were already linked together in the folk tale tradition. Thus the fifteenth century text 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo', the

apparent prototype of 'Riddles Wisely Expounded', is the only text which demonstrates medieval origin, and since there is no evidence to suggest that this was sung, it is not a ballad in the full sense.

However, there is clearly truth in Taylor's criticism that the riddles tend to interrupt the narrative flow of their ballads. In several cases they have ousted the narrative altogether, and the ballad becomes either a dialogue, as in American versions of Child 1, 'The Devil's Nine Questions', or a simple sequence of riddles with no explanation, as in a recent version of 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship' (lxix). This need not be to the detriment of the ballad; after all, some of the greatest British ballads are in simple dialogue form. In the case of Child 2, the riddles have generated a new song, 'An Acre of Land', which is a flight of enthusiastic imagination based on the riddle tasks of the original ballad. A less extreme example of disruption is the broadside text of 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'. The three separate riddle sections in the fullest versions of this broadside make the ballad bulky and the dramatic impetus of the initial encounter is lost. Many subsequent singers preferred the riddles to the narrative, and many details of the meeting between the pair, and their journey to Edinburgh, were quickly dropped; the riddles, too, being in a regular sequence, were more easily remembered. The result, in most texts, is a double or triple sequence of riddles, in what is plainly a courtship framework, but with only a rough sketch of a narrative situation. Fewer riddles, and more narrative detail, might

have made a better balanced whole; but in terms of popular appeal, to judge from the steady flow of texts, the ballad did not suffer. In the case of 'King John and the Bishop', the riddles are the focal point of the narrative and thus do not disrupt it; their repetition serves to shape the structure of the ballad. The riddles in 'Proud Lady Margaret' are in several cases incomplete or corrupt, and in these cases are extremely disruptive as the sense of the ballad becomes unclear. In the Glenbuchat text, however, and in a lesser degree in the Harris text, they are well blended into the narrative and only add to the colour and overall rhythm of the ballad.

Thus, the riddle can accord well with the ballad form provided that the riddle sequence is neither too long nor too disjointed from the main functions of the narrative. Indeed the riddle is so portable that it frequently combines with other genres, to such an extent that F. Panzer stated that the form does not exist separately in the oral tradition, but only in combination with other forms, such as folk tale, folksong and rhyme.⁽²⁾ This confusion is resolved if the riddle is regarded as a structure of thought processes, rather than a linguistic form, as suggested in the previous chapter. If the riddle is regarded in this way, it is useful to look at other cultural and literary contexts in which riddles frequently occur, before examining the Riddle Ballad as a historical phenomenon.

Cultural Contexts of Riddling

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of work carried out by anthropologists on the nature and functions of riddling in various modern cultures all over the world; Africa in particular has provided much material for studies of this kind.⁽³⁾ Although studies have not been exhaustive, there seems reason to believe that riddling exists at some stage in nearly all cultures⁽⁴⁾, although in societies where literacy is highly developed, the riddle loses most of its important cultural functions and becomes a minor form of entertainment, as a German poet indicated:

The riddle, charade, and all of that ilk,
Are but the bacon and beans of small brains.⁽⁵⁾

From the anthropological studies, certain functions emerge which occur so frequently in different societies that they may be said to be common associations of the riddle. In his study of Filipino riddles⁽⁶⁾, drawing on his own Filipino material and on other research from Asia, Africa and India, Donn Hart has summarised some of these associations. His four main categories are as follows:

(i) In rituals associated with death.

Riddles are told at wakes in many different cultures, and in some African and Asian societies, riddling is forbidden except in the presence of a corpse. Alan Dundes has suggested a structuralist explanation: Freud, he says, argues that the death tabu originated in the oppositional relationship between 'conscious grief and unconscious satisfaction' which is a common

reaction to death. Riddles, which can unite opposites and so resolve them, may therefore 'function as a structural model intended to reconcile symbolically the mutually exclusive polarities of death'.⁽⁷⁾

(ii) In rituals of courtship and marriage.

Literary examples of the use of riddles in this context are more common than their sociological counterparts, and it is a dangerous assumption that a literary phenomenon indicates a lost sociological one. However, there is evidence of riddles being used in wooing ceremonies in the Filipines and in Burma, and Frazer cites other examples.⁽⁸⁾ Closer to home, there is evidence of German marriage ceremonies in which riddles could be asked in a variety of forms and functions: in some cases, a jester might go from table to table, asking riddles; in others, permission to dance with the bride was given only after answering riddles, or the bride's father might ask the bridegroom and his company questions on the morning of the marriage. A Flax workers' custom of a mock-wedding contains a riddle dialogue between bride's mother and suitor until the bride's mother is defeated and hands over the bride.⁽⁹⁾

Alan Dundes has again supplied a theory of structural opposites: two related terms are united in the riddle as in marriage.

(iii) In seasons of harvest.

Some societies restrict riddling to harvest time; others

forbid the telling of riddles in the seasons of planting and hoeing, such as the Venda people of the North Transvaal, studied by John Blacking.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, Blacking suggests a practical reason for this: during the harvest season, food is plentiful and, once the crops are in, there is leisure time for entertainments such as the telling of tales and riddles. In the harsher seasons of preparing the ground and planting, there is no time or energy to spare for such activities.

(iv) For educational purposes.

Hart notes that, in the Philippines, the educational value of riddling is minimal, since riddle and answer are learned by rote as a single unit and used more as a sign of status than of intelligence. Elsewhere, however, there are examples of riddling being used in a variety of educational purposes, ranging from initiation rites, in the East African Chaga tribe, where education is an important factor, though not the only one, to informal exchanges between parents and children in pre-war Scotland.⁽¹¹⁾ Riddles can teach rules of social conduct; they can provide the basis for a culture's world view, by establishing which are the most important relationships between phenomena; they can teach a specific philosophical doctrine, as in the school of the Zen Koan.⁽¹²⁾ Children are often the most important section of the community for the riddle tradition, and this is not just when increasing sophistication has devalued the riddle to the level of an insignificant children's game. The memories of

Charles F. Potter from his American childhood indicate that it is not only African and Asian cultures that take their riddling seriously:

I have sat by the stove of a winter's night and given the answers to the riddles my father and mother alternatively asked me as they went through the catechism their parents had taught them. It was part of my education, and much more interesting than the lessons in grammar school. It was much more mind-stretching, for the answer to each new riddle was not given me until I had tried long and hard and turned the given situation every which way seeking the solution.(13)

These four categories are not the only associations in which riddling is found. Thomas Burns, summarising the functions of riddling, adds two further common categories:(14)

(v) In greeting formulae.

In these cases, riddles are used as a device to establish recognition by alluding to common knowledge, rather like a 'password'. This may be regarded as an extension of the educational and initiatory usage of riddle, knowledge being an indication of specific status.(15)

(vi) In leisure-time riddling sessions and contests.

This is a very broad category, and other categories merge into it: for example, riddling at wakes may be regarded as a way of passing the night, rather than an expression of a cultural response to death. Each culture has its own rules governing the riddle contest, which may be between individuals or teams. The winner of the contest may be awarded a prize⁽¹⁶⁾, and according to traditions of the Marshall Islands, certain plots of land were originally won in riddle contests.(17)

Sessions may continue for several days⁽¹⁸⁾ and riddles may be interspersed with songs and jokes.⁽¹⁹⁾ In some types of contest, riddles are bartered: in the Venda contest of Thai dza u rengelana, for example,⁽²⁰⁾ an answer to an unsolved riddle is 'bought' by posing another, and Blacking observes that this structure is a reflection of the Venda method of arranging a marriage, although the Venda themselves were not conscious of the parallel. The idea of exchange is strongly brought out in the riddle contests of the Mbeere, a Bantu people in Kenya.⁽²¹⁾ In a series of constant formulaic terms, the two participants barter riddle answers for hypothetical goats, so that the reply to an incorrect answer is 'Bring goats', to which the second party responds, 'Take goats'. Jack and Phyllis Glazier, who made the study, point out resemblances between this and the ceremonies of marriage and rites of passage.

Although these are the most common associations of riddles, they are not the only ones. An isolated example of riddling used as an important part of a healing ceremony, in the American Indian Huron tribe, is recorded by the Jesuit Hieronymus Lalemat, from the seventeenth century.⁽²²⁾ In modern America, the institution of the 'Turtles', described as a charitable drinking club, uses sexual double-entendre riddles as a mock initiation rite, and as a pretext for men to approach women in 'an attempt to broach the subject of sex without any verbal foreplay'.⁽²³⁾ Here, as in many other instances, riddling is used to bypass a tabu by formalising

an exchange. Many riddles are also tabu in content, and it has been suggested that this is because riddles, like tabuS, cross categories and mix what is not normally mixed.⁽²⁴⁾

Literary Contexts of Riddling

Some of the literary contexts in which riddling is found reflect the social functions described above, notably the association of riddles with courtship and marriage, although, as has been pointed out, the literary examples outnumber the records of actual occurrences.⁽²⁵⁾

Riddling in this context usually occurs in one of two narrative settings: either a woman must answer riddles, or perform tasks, in order to win a husband, or a man must answer them to win a wife. In the case of the former, the stories are often associated with, and may derive from, stories of the so-called 'Clever Lass', who saves her father from the ruling of a King or Emperor by her ingenuity in answering riddles or performing tasks. In the marriage stories, this leads to her marrying the King or Emperor. The tasks set in both types of story are often of the 'neither one nor the other' variety: the girl is asked, for example, to come neither driving nor walking, neither dressed nor naked, neither out of the road nor in it, and carrying a gift which is no gift; to answer this, she dresses herself in a fishing net, puts a goat in a rut in a road and walks with one foot on the animal's back and one on the road, carrying two wasps between two plates.⁽²⁶⁾ Some of the ballad riddles are similar to these, such as the priest who is both born and not born, in

Child 46, and the acre of land which is between the sea and the sea strand, both in the water and out of it, in Child 2.

Alwyn and Brinley Rees, discussing the Celtic forms of these marriage riddles in the stories of Finn and Gráinne and Gráinne and Diarmid, suggest that the state of being neither one thing nor the other has two functions. In the case of Gráinne and Diarmid, Diarmid charges Gráinne to come to him neither by day nor by night, neither clothed nor unclothed, neither on foot nor on horseback, neither in company nor without company. She answers these demands by appearing in garments of mountain-down, riding a he-goat at dusk and thus, since she has slipped between the boundaries of doing and not-doing, Diarmid is absolved from the guilt of seducing her; moreover, she has proved her love to be transcendent of 'the ordinary oppositions of contingent existence'. In this transcendent quality, the characters enter the world of mythology in which paradoxes and apparent impossibilities abound; the Reeses point out that many of the Celtic mythical tales, which have Indo-European backgrounds, might have been formulated in answer to paradoxical riddles⁽²⁷⁾, while Lévi-Strauss's view of myth is that 'mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions towards their resolution'.⁽²⁸⁾ Marriages are especially significant in this mythological world because they unite opposites, male and female, sky and earth. They sometimes take place in locations which have the particular quality of being intersections between two worlds: the wooing of Kuhlwhc and Olwen, for example, begins at the

house where his mother's sister lives with a giant.⁽²⁹⁾

The riddling dialogue, or the setting of riddling tasks, reflects this mythological understanding of marriage as the union of opposites; it sets up an opposition, resolves it, and in doing so the opposing parties are as André Jolles put it in his discussion of the riddle as a 'Simple Form'⁽³⁰⁾, made equals. This is seen clearly in the Yiddish riddle-song which is similar to 'The Elfin Knight', 'Lead a Bear out of the Woods',⁽³¹⁾ where the male and female characters both set tasks, of equal impossibility, and then agree to marry because they have proved equal cleverness.

There seem to be no direct literary parallels for the use of riddles at death ceremonies, although in literary contexts the dead sometimes set riddles, as in Child 78, 'The Unquiet Grave', and there are many tales of riddles answered in order to escape death, from Oedipus to King John's Bishop. This 'neck-riddle', which is best known in folk tale form, often involves an escape from judgement, as well as, or instead of, from death, and there appear to be no factual precedents for this use of the riddle dialogue. It is presumably an imaginative development from the concept of the riddle contest, where there is a similar pattern of restraint, by setting a riddle, and release, by solving it, although less is at stake.

Literary equivalents for the educational use of riddles can be seen in the fourteenth century Trougesmundslied and in the Old Norse Vafþrúðnismál, in both of which a stranger is tested on his wisdom and knowledge. These also contain

elements of the greeting-formula use of riddling, for the stranger in Trougemundslíed identifies himself through his riddles, as Óðinn does in his last one, and the hosts' questions are in rigid formulae.

Apart from the neck-riddle, the most widespread literary contribution to the riddle tradition is to make one of the protagonists supernatural. The earliest example of this is the Sphinx, who was followed in later times by the Old Norse gods and the dwarf Alvíss, and later still, by devils and ghosts. Like the neck-riddle, this is an imaginative extension of the riddle-contest to its extremities and in place of the threat of judgement and execution, the threat of abduction to the otherworld is often the pretext for the riddle dialogue.

Thus, there are several different functions of riddling, both sociological and literary; the distinction between the two need not be drawn too sharply, partly because of overlapping functions, such as the marriage riddles, and partly because literary uses can merge into sociological ones, for example in the case of ritual drama. Disregarding 'art' forms of literature, both literary and sociological riddles are performed in some way, and so they both have sociological contexts. In both, the riddle is used for an imaginative and psychological purpose, whether it is, as Dundes suggests in the case of the death riddles, to resolve an important opposition, or, as in the leisure-time riddle- and tale-telling, to entertain and to play.

Many of the functions are concerned with the establishing of a relationship between two parties, and thus achieving

a sense of relative identity; this is particularly obvious in the cases of the greeting, the initiation, and the courtship riddles. Social patterns of status are also determined by riddle contests and by informal riddle sessions. There is, however, a strong element of play in these functions, which do not seek to establish fixed relationships, but to question and juggle with established assumptions and positions. The question of identity is emphasised more firmly in the literary riddle contexts: Óðinn, for example, is always in disguise in his riddling dialogues, and his last riddle discloses his identity. The Devil is likewise often in disguise, and in Child 3, his identity is only made apparent at the end of the ballad. The revenant brother in Child 47 is unrecognised by his sister. The shepherd in Child 45 is in disguise as the Bishop to answer his riddles for him. This playing with different identities has some similarities to the shape-changing transformations of some of the Old Norse contexts, and the ballad of 'The Twa Magicians' (Child 44), where the transformations are the expression of the evasions and pursuits of a wooing ritual.

In their various ways, then, the dramatic contexts of the riddles in the Riddle Ballads are quite in keeping with the sociological and literary contexts of other riddles. There remains the question of how well the riddle combines with the ballad form as a poetic form.

The Riddle Ballad as a Poetic Form

The riddle ballad was not the first combination of the riddle with a narrative or even with a strophic narrative,

although it was possibly the first instance of such a combination being sung. The only detailed account of the historical background of the form is in the article, 'Rätsellied' by Lutz Röhrich, who examines Scandinavian, German, English and American riddle songs and riddle ballads.⁽³²⁾ Although, as he makes clear, there is no direct, continuous line of descent, certain forms, functions and subjects in this material indicate fairly close relationships between the Eddic riddle dialogues, medieval riddle songs, and the modern riddle ballad and song.

A major text examined by Röhrich in this context is the strophic poem Trougesmundslied⁽³³⁾, which evidently has folk liaisons and was widely circulated; it may have been recited to music, or sung, but there is no specific evidence for this. The earliest record of the poem, now destroyed by fire, was dated at c.1400 and transcribed by Jakob Grimm. The dramatic situation of the poem is similar to that of the Gátturíma; a host questions a foreign stranger who has travelled in seventy-two countries and therefore can be considered wise. The riddles are grouped in four-riddle stanzas with the answers given in the following stanza, a form which is obviously close to the four-line ballad stanza. The questions themselves are concerned mostly with natural lore, and include parts of the ten bird riddle. The comparative riddles, 'as green as clover' and 'as white as snow' appear in the last stanza as part of a compound riddle for a magpie; these questions, and others like them, appear in riddle songs and ballads, in English and in German, to the present day.

The forms and functions of riddle songs in Germany, as Röhrich shows, are more varied than those of their English counterparts. The strongest traditional setting for the riddles is one of courtship, as in the widely known ballad, 'Mädchen, ich will dir was zu raten aufgeben' ⁽³⁴⁾, a modern song, which is in dramatic terms close to the English broadside of Child 1. Courtship riddles also appear in a different context in the tradition of the Kranzsingen ⁽³⁵⁾, for which there is manuscript evidence from the fifteenth century, and indirect evidence, in the form of church bans, from the fourteenth. Kranzsingen ceremonies were a part of trade Guild traditions, and consisted of round dances and songs performed by the journeymen, the best of whom was presented with a wreath (Kranz) by a girl, sometimes after the setting and answering of riddles or impossible tasks. In the sequences which survive, the symbolism of the wreath is shown to be sexual:

Hübscher junger Knab!
 Auf meines Vaters Giebel
 Sitzen der Vögelein sieben
 Wess (von was) die Vögelein leben
 könnt ihr mir das sagen
 so sollt ihr mein Kränzlein von hinnen tragen. ⁽³⁶⁾

These songs, which are older than any evidence of the courtship riddle ballad, may well have been its ancestors. The songs themselves may have evolved out of the actual use of riddles in wedding ceremonies, for which there is considerable evidence.

Another Guild tradition which preserved riddles was the trade greeting (Handwerksgruss) exchanged between a new journeyman and an elder; this tradition continued into the eighteenth century as a formalised exchange of questions and

answers, which were not only concerned with the personal background and training of the newcomer, but also included popular riddles. A Smiths' greeting of 1745 contains a sequence of comparative riddles such as the ubiquitous questions, 'what is greener than clover; what is whiter than snow?'. The tradition is thus linked both in content and in dramatic function with Trougemundslied.

Finally, there is the modern type of German riddle song in which a girl redeems her lover from the army by a riddle dialogue with his captain. This seems to have been composed in the mid-nineteenth century, but the riddles themselves are traditional and overlap with those of the older song texts. Throughout the history of the riddle song, as both Archer Taylor and Lutz Röhrich point out, the corpus of riddles used is remarkably small and constant.

This, then, is the tradition of which the riddle ballad forms a part, not as a chance yoking together of two separate popular forms, but as a logical development of a form of riddle poem which has roots in the Eddic poetry. The frequent grouping of riddles in pairs or in groups of four, which are sometimes linked by rhyme or by subject matter, would make their assimilation into the ballad form easy, and would help singers to remember the words. Although there are riddle ballads and songs in Russian, Wendish, Czech, Hungarian, Greek and Gaelic, the form is apparently strongest in the Germanic traditions and seems most likely to have first come to prominence in the Germanic cultures. (37)

There is certainly some truth in Archer Taylor's judgement of the riddle ballad as an awkward hybrid. None of

the English Riddle Ballads have the great dramatic qualities of 'Lord Randal' (Child 12), where the narrative flow is superbly controlled, rather than interrupted, by the dialogue; none of them have the brutal strength of 'Lamkin' (Child 93), or the visual fascination of 'Tam Lin' (Child 39). However, because of the riddle's quality of activating the symbolic processes and touching, perhaps, areas of the unconscious, the riddles strike a note which accords well with a particular quality in many ballads which Willa Muir has described as belonging to 'the archaic world of feeling'.⁽³⁸⁾ By its nature, this quality is difficult to define, or to analyse, but Willa Muir describes a dream-like world in which images from the unconscious, animals, birds and even inanimate objects, are on an equal level with human beings. The anonymity of many of the ballad characters, or their stereotyped names, adds to the sense of bare essential humanity which is a part of this quality. It is not found, by any means, in every ballad, but it seems to belong to those which have been worn down with repeated transmission until only the most powerful and meaningful elements remain, and also to some of those which have been created in skilful imitation of the older ballads. The distinctive quality of these ballads may owe something to the fact that, while the emotions and the actions are very immediate and often brutal, the characters themselves are seen from a distance, as faceless stereotypes, as the nobility, sometimes as supernatural beings. The strong visual effects of ballad style, with bright colours and swift movements, may also contribute to the dream-like quality.

The riddles, with their effects of symbolism, have already one foot in this subconscious world, and are readily assimilated into the domain of elfin knights, king's daughters, mysterious strangers and meetings in the greenwood; they can also impart a sense of this mystery into ballads which otherwise would lack it, such as Child 46, which without riddles would be a mundane comedy. Arthur Koestler suggested that 'the essence of discovery is the unlikely marriage of previously unrelated things... and the ultimate match-maker is the Unconscious.'⁽³⁹⁾ The riddle ballad united two disparate, though not entirely unconnected, forms. Though it remains a limited genre, limited both geographically and artistically, there are discoveries to be made within its boundaries; in poetical terms, and above all in popular terms, it was not a bad marriage.

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

1. Archer Taylor, 'The English Riddle Ballads', in Studies in Language and Literature in honour of Margaret Schlauch, pp.445-451.
2. F. Panzer, cited in Charles T. Scott, 'Some Approaches to the Study of the Riddle', in Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later, p.115.
3. A concise summary of recent work can be found in the special issue of JAF, 'Riddles and Riddling', Vol.89 (1976), edited by Elli Kongäs Maranda.
4. See Taylor, 'American Indian Riddles', JAF 57 (1944) pp.1-15. The source should perhaps be treated with caution.
5. Quoted anonymously in Sabine Baring-Gould, Strange Survivals, p.236.
6. Donn Hart, Riddles in Filipino Folklore: an anthropological analysis (Syracuse University Press, 1964).
7. Alan Dundes, 'Summoning Deity through Ritual Fasting', in The American Imago, Fall 1963, p.217; quoted in Hart, op.cit., p.49.
8. Sir J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, 3rd edition, Part IV, 'The Scapegoat', pp.121-122.
9. Lutz Röhrich, 'Rätsellied', pp.225-226.
10. John Blacking, 'The Social Value of Venda Riddles', in Africa Studies XX (1961) p.2.
11. Kenneth Goldstein, 'Riddling Traditions in North Eastern Scotland', JAF 76 (1963) pp.330-360.
12. Charles Zug, 'The Non-Rational Riddle: the Zen Koan', JAF 80 (1967) pp.81-88.
13. Cited in the entry 'Riddle', in M. Leach, ed., Funk and Wagnall Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend (New English Library, London 1949), p.939.
14. Thomas Burns, 'Riddling: Occasion to Act', JAF 89 (1976) pp.139-165.
15. See John C. Messenger, 'Anang Proverb-Riddles', JAF 73 (1960), 225-235; Donald C. Simmons, 'Cultural Functions of the Efik Tone Riddle', JAF 71 (1958) 123-138.
16. E.g. see Isabel G. Carter, 'Mountain White Riddles', JAF 47 (1934) pp.76-80.

17. William H. Davenport, 'Fourteen Marshallese Riddles', JAF 65 (1952) pp.265-266.
18. Brian du Toit, 'Riddling Traditions in an isolated South African Community' JAF 79 (1966) pp.471-475.
19. Hart, op.cit., p.47.
20. Blacking, op.cit., pp.3-4.
21. Jack & Phyllis Gorfain Glazier, 'Ambiguity and exchange: the double dimension of Mbeere riddles', JAF 89 (1976) pp.189-238.
22. Taylor, 'American Indian Riddles', JAF 57 (1944), pp.1-15.
23. Richard Bauman, 'The Turtles: an American Riddling Institution', Western Folklore 29 (1970) 21-25.
24. Elli Kõngas Maranda, 'Riddles and Riddling: An Introduction', JAF 89 (1976) p.131.
25. See Child's headnote to 'The Elfin Knight', where cites examples from many different countries. (Child 2).
26. Child Ip.9, 'Der Burghuter und seine kluge Tochter'.
27. Alwyn & Brinley Rees, Celtic Heritage, p.291; p.235.
28. Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The Structural Study of Myth', in Structural Anthropology, p.224.
29. Rees, op.cit., pp.265-266.
30. André Jolles, Einfache Formen, 'Rätsel', p.134.
31. Ruth Rabin, 'Nineteenth Century Yiddish Folksongs', JAF 65 (1952) pp.227-254 (C).
32. Lutz Röhrich, op.cit.
33. Ludwig Uhland (ed.), Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder, 1844; Röhrich & Rolf W. Brednich, Deutsche Volkslieder (Dusseldorf 1967), II no.70.
34. Röhrich, op.cit., pp.217-218.
35. Ibid., p.224.
36. 'Pretty little boy!
Upon my father's gable
Sit seven little birds,
If you can tell me
What the little birds live on
You shall take away my wreath.'
(loc.cit.)

37. Moreover, nearly all these areas were subject to Germanic influences.
38. Willa Muir, Living with Ballads, p.53.
39. Arthur Koestler, The Act of Creation, cited in Alan McGlashan, The Savage and Beautiful Country, p.130. (Chatto & Windus, London 1966).

APPENDICES

EXPLANATION OF THE APPENDICES

The Appendices are divided into three parts:

(i) The Key to the Description of the Texts

In this section the text of each variant of the ballad is broken down into its component parts, and the variants listed together according to the general structure of the ballad; for example, the announcement which opens Child 45, 'King John and the Bishop' occurs in four different forms, listed as A, A¹, A² and A³. The components are in some cases direct quotations, in others summarising statements; the purpose of the sub-divisions is in each case to demonstrate the important differences between the variant texts.

(ii) The Description of the Texts

In this second section the variants for the ballad are listed chronologically, with details - where available - of the source of the text, the location of the source and a bibliographical reference. (Full bibliographical details are in most cases given in the Bibliography.) The description itself is in the alphabetical code laid out in the 'Key to Description of Texts'. A few variants which are undated are listed at the end of the section. If no tune is indicated in the description, the variant was recorded without a tune.

(iii) The Tunes

The tunes for each ballad, where available, are listed in the third section of each Appendix. They are in most cases divided into groups, based on similarity of contour, cadence and motif. More specific explanations of the groupings are given in the relevant chapter. Following the precedent of Bronson's collection of the Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads, most of the tunes have been transposed into a common key, for ease of comparison.

UNEXAMINED REFERENCES

I have been unable to examine the following references to texts, which are taken mainly from Coffin's The British Traditional Ballad in North America, with R. de V. Renwick's supplement of 1977.

CHILD 1

Chase, Richard, Songs for All Time, pp.11, 52.

Jones, B., Folklore in Michigan, p.5.

CHILD 2

Austin, Jane G., Dr. Le Baron and his Daughter, p.314.

Henry, Folksongs from the Southern Highlands, p.31.

Jones, B., Folklore in Michigan, p.5.

'Love Letter and Answer' (broadside in Harris collection, Brown University), Hunts & Shaw, Boston.

Musick, Folklore of Kirksville, p.1.

Pound, Nebraska Syllabus, p.10.

PTFS X 137.

Shoemaker, Mountain Minstrelsy of Pennsylvania, p.134.

'Love's Impossibility', Songs for the Million, c.1844.

Worthington, Nine Rare Traditional Ballads of Virginia, p.1.

CHILD 3

American Songster (Cozzens, New York).

Charley Fox's Minstrel's Companion (Turner & Fisher, Philadelphia)

The Only True Mother Goose Melodies (Monroe and Francis, Boston, 1833)

Pound, American Ballads and Songs, p.48.

CHILD 45

Smith and Rufty, American Anthology of Old World Ballads, p.8.

CHILD 46

Chase, Richard, Songs Sung in the Southern Appalachians, (London 1934), p.25.

Crane, Walter, Baby's Bouquet, 1879 (reference from Opie, Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes)

Kincaid, Bradley, Favourite Mountain Ballads and Old Time Songs (Chicago 1928) p.15.

Kollo, John and Sylvia, A Treasury of Folksong (New York 1948).

Lomax, Alan, Folksongs of North America, p.27.

Macmillan's Magazine, 1862, in 'The Ashen Faggot' by Thomas Hughes (reference from Opie, op.cit.)

The Only True Mother Goose Melodies (Monroe & Francis, Boston 1833) pp.53, 82.

Sunday Times, 1946 (reference from Opie, op.cit.)

Ulster Ballads (BM 1162. k. 6), 'The Lover's Riddle'.

This reference is from Child, V p.216, who had it from Rev. J. Baring-Gould. The class-mark is now insufficient to trace the item, and attempts to locate it by other means have as yet proved unsuccessful.

INACCURATE REFERENCES

The following references were stated by the International Inter-Library Loans Service to contain no texts:

Virginia Folklore Society Bulletin VII p.4 (Child 3)

Virginia Folklore Society Bulletin X p.5 (Child 1)

APPENDIX A: CHILD 1, 'RIDDLES WISELY EXPOUNDED':
DESCRIPTION OF TEXTS.

Key to Description of Texts.

- A. Minstrel asks, 'Wol ye here a wonder thyng
 Betwyxte a mayd and þe foule fende?'
 Fiend asks maid to 'beleve on me, mayd to day'.
 If she accepts him as her leman, he will teach her all
 the wisdom of the world.
- B. A knight comes riding from the East and sees a lady's
 three daughters, the eldest going to wash, the second
 to bake, the youngest to a wedding. He sits to await
 their return and it is decided that the youngest shall
 be his wife.
- B¹. Three sisters fair and bright love one valiant knight.
- B². A lady in the North Country has three lovely daughters.
 A Knight, also of the North, of courage stout and brave,
 desires a wife. He knocks at the lady's gate one night.
- B³. A lady in the West has three daughters. A stranger
 comes to her gate and waits three days and nights.
- B⁴. A Knight knocks at a gate loud and late.
- B⁵. The Devil goes courting, sword and pistol by his side.
- B⁶. A Knight comes riding by and spies a weaver's lass.
- B⁷. A gay young cavalier rides, seeking a lady fair. He
 stops at a widow's door, sees her three daughters and
 cannot choose between them; he offers his hand to which-
 ever can answer three riddles.
- B⁸. An old man in the West has three daughters of the best.
- C. The eldest sister lets him in, pinning the door with a
 silver pin (or, makes the bed); the second makes his bed
 (or, spreads his sheet/takes off his boots); the third
 sleeps with him (or, resolves to marry him).
- C¹. The eldest daughter opens the door; the second sets him
 on the floor; the third brings a chair.
- D. In the morning, the youngest daughter asks him if he
 will marry her. He replies that he will do so if she
 can answer three questions. (Or, the Knight tells the
 youngest daughter he will marry her if she can answer

three questions).

- D¹. He says to the first daughter, answer my three questions or go with me. To the second, answer my six questions or you'll be Old Nick's. To all three, answer my nine questions or you'll all be mine.
- D². He sets the youngest daughter ten questions; if she can answer them, she will be his.
- D³. He says, if she can't answer three times three questions he ~~will tear~~ her into a thousand pieces.
- D⁴. He says, if she can't answer questions three she will be his and go with him (to Hell: she replies she will answer his questions if he will answer hers).
- D⁵. He says, she must answer nine questions, 'Or you're not God's, you're one of mine'.
- D⁶. 'If you don't answer my questions well (nine), I'll take you off and I live in Hell (I'll take you off to Hell alive)'.

The Questions

- a. What is higher than the tree(s)? - Heaven.
- b. What is deeper than the sea(s) - Hell (b¹, love).
- c. What is sharper than the thorn? - Hunger (c¹, death).
- d. What is louder than the horn? - Thunder (d¹, shame).
- e. What is earlier than the morn? (e¹, what is rader than the day?) - Sin.
- f. What is longer (broader) than the way? - Loukyng (f¹, wind; f², love).
- g. What is colder than the clay? - Death.
- h. What is heavier than the lead? - Sin (h¹, grief).
- i. What is better than the bread? - God's flesh (i¹, blessing).
- j. What is sharper (stronger) than death? - Pain.
- k. What is greener than the wood? - Grass.
- l. What is greener than the grass? - Poison (l¹, pies; l², peas; l³, the grave; l⁴, envy).
- m. What is sweeter than a nut? - Love.
- n. What is swifter than the wind? (n¹, hind) - Thought (n¹, lightning).

- o. What is richer than a King? - Jesus
- p. What is yellower than the wax? - Saffron
- q. What is softer than flax? - Silk
- r. What is whiter than milk? - Snow
- s. What is softer than silk? - Down (s^1 , Love)
- t. What is smoother than crystal glass? - Flattery
 What is brighter than the light? - Truth
 What is darker than the night? - Falsehood
 What is keener than the axe? - Revenge
 What is softer than melting wax? - Love
 What is rounder than a ring? - The world
- u. What red fruit September grows? - Apple
 What thing around the whole world goes? - Air
 What is worse than woman's way? - The Devil
 What is wicked man's repay? - Hell
- v. What is innocenter than a lamb? - a Baby
- w. What is worse than woman was? (w^1 , woman's wuss;
 w^2 , woman's will; w^3 , an ill woman's wish;
 w^4 , womankind) - The Devil/Clootie/The Fiend.

N.B. Although there is some overlapping of the riddles lettered t,u, with other riddles, they are treated as separate units because they occur as a group and in only one text.

- E. Maid tells fiend, 'Now thu fende, stil thu be,
 Nelle ich speke no more with the!'
- E^1 . As soon as the fiend is named, he flies away in
 a blazing flame/fiery flame, or, he claps his wings,
 cries aloud and flies away in a flame of fire.
- E^2 . Devil says she has answered correctly and therefore
 belongs to God and not to him.
- E^3 . Devil says she has answered well, but he'll still
 carry her off.
- F.. Knight is pleased and commends girl's wit. He
 marries her. Dedication of song to all fair maidens,
 wishing that they remain constant.
- F^1 . Knight says he will marry girl.
- F^2 . Daughters tell stranger that he has their nine

answers and they shall never be his.

- F³. Cavalier claims youngest as bride. Other two are left pondering dumbly, and are perhaps still waiting for the next cavalier. Advice to pretty maidens: 'Be neither coy nor shy,/ But always, when a lover speaks,/ Look kindly and reply.'

Description of Texts.

(Unless otherwise stated, the text has no recorded tune)

- (i) 'Inter Diabolus et Virgo'

Place: Plymouth

Date: c.1450

Source: Bodleian MS. Rawlinson D 328, fol.174.

(Miscellanea, acquired by Walter Pollard of Plymouth, 1444-5.)

F.J.Furnivall, 'Three Middle English Poems', Englische Studien, XXIII (1897) pp.444-5.

Child, Vol.V, pp.283-4.

Description: 22 couplets: no refrain.

A abcdfe¹ijklmnop E.

- (ii) 'A Noble Riddle Wisely Expounded, or The Maid's Answer to the Knight's Three Questions'/ 'A Riddle Wittily Expounded'.

Broadsides: Rawlinson 566, fol.193 (Bodleian).

Coles, Vere, Wright & Clark, London 1675

Wood, E.25, fol.15 (Bodleian), the same

Euing, No. 253, Coles, Vere & Gilbertson London 1658-64.

Pepys, III 19, No.17 (Magdalen, Camb.), Thackeray, Millet & Milbourn, c.1692.

Douce, II, fol.168b (Bodleian), white-letter, 18th century.

Printed in T.D'Urfey, Pills to Purge Melancholy, (London 1719-20); Vol.IV p.129

Child, No. 1A, a,b,c,d.

Bronson, No. 1.1

Description: 23 stanzas: B² C D f² bdclw F.

ctd..

Refrain: Lay the bent to the bonny broom
Fa la la la, fa la la la ra re.

Tune: Group A. Cf. Bronson 1.2, 'Lay the Bent to the Bonny Broom': tune from O'Keefe & Shield, The Highland Reel, 1788.

Printed also in William Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time, 1859, II p.531

A similar tune, not identical, is printed in J.C.Bruce & J.Stokoe, Northumbrian Minstrelsy, 1882, pp.76-8

(iii) 'The Three Sisters'

Place: Cornwall

Date: 1823

Source: Davies Gilbert, Some Ancient Christmas Carols, (2nd edition, 1823, London) pp.65-7: from the editor's recollection.

Child No. 1B

Bronson 1.4

Description: 10 stanzas, last one incomplete

B¹ C D dcf²b F¹.

Refrain: Jennifer gentle and rosemaree
As the dew flies over the mulberry tree

Tune: Group A.

(iv) 'The Unco' Knight's Wooing'

Place: West Scotland

Date: c.1825

Source: Motherwell's MS, p.647, from the recitation of Mrs. Storie (Mary MacQueen).

Another recording, almost identical, in Andrew Crawford's Collection, ed. E.B.Lyle (S.T.S. 1975 Vol.I pp.113-4.)

Child 1C

Description: 19 stanzas

B D² abrsf¹gll¹(Crawfurd, 1²)w (w¹).

Refrain: Sing the Cather banks, the bonny broom
(Crawf.: Sing the claret banks tae the bonny broom
And ye may beguile a young thing sune.

- (v) 'O what is higher than the trees?'

Place: W.Scotland

Date: c.1825

Source: Motherwell's MS. p.42.

Child 1D.

Description: 10 stanzas: abrs¹cdf¹glw.

Refrain: Gar lay the bent to the bonny broom
And you may beguile a fair maid soon.

- (vi) 'There was a lady in the West'

Place: Northumberland

Date: 1878

Source: From the Mitford family. M.H.Mason,
Nursery Rhymes & Country Songs, 1878, p.31

Lucy Broadwood & J.A.Fuller Maitland,
English County Songs, 1893, pp.6-7.

Bronson 1.3

Description: 18 stanzas: B³ C¹ D¹ I⁴ tdc F².

Refrain: Lay the bank with the bonny broom
Fa lang the dillo, Fa lang the dillo,
dillo, dee.

Tune: Group A

- (vii) 'The Knight'

Place: Broad Blunsdon, Wiltshire

Date: 1923

Source: Sung by Thomas Smart. Collected by
Alfred Williams, Folksongs of the Upper
Thames, 1923, p.37

Description: 9 couplets: B⁴ D³ dcrsab E¹

Refrain: Bow down, bow down, sweetheart, and a
bonny lass,/And all things shall go well.

- (viii) 'The Devil's Nine Questions'

Place: Giles County, Virginia

Date: 11th September 1922

Source: Sung by Mrs. Rill Martin, collected by
Miss Alfreda M.Peel. A.K.Davis, Traditional
Ballads of Virginia, 1929, p.59

Additional stanza supplied, 1933: A.K.Davis
More Traditional Ballads of Virginia, 1960

ctd...

Description: 10 stanzas + additional first stanza
 $D^6 \text{ rsdc}^1 \text{vw E}^2 + B^5$

Refrain: Sing ninety-nine and ninety
 And you are the weaver's bonny.

Tune: Group B. Bronson 1.5

N.B. A further additional stanza, B^6 , was supplied in 1932 by Alfreda Peel, published in A. K. Davis, More Traditional Ballads of Virginia, 1960, pp.3-7.

(ix) 'Riddles Wisely Expounded'

Place: Narrows, Virginia

Date: c.1930

Source: Mary Davis Adair, from Mrs. P. O. Ivery, also of Narrows. Carpenter MSS., Reel 6, Box IV.

Description: 10 stanzas
 $D^6 \text{ rsdcabvw E}^2$.

Refrain: Sing ninety-nine and ninety
 And you the weaver's bonny.

(x) 'The Devil's Questions'

Place: Gilmer Co., Virginia

Date: c.1924

Source: Sung by Blanche Kelley, collected by Patrick Gainer. Gainer, Folksongs from the West Virginia Hills, 1975, p.3.

Description: 5 stanzas
 $D^4 \text{ abde}$.

Refrain: O maid so peart and bonnie
 And you so peart and bonnie.

Tune: Group B.

(xi) 'The Devil's Questions'

Place: N. Carolina

Date: 1933

Source: The Ballad Book of John Jacob Niles, 1961
 Informant named as Hugh Stallcup.

Description: 12 stanzas
 $D^7 \text{ rsdc}^1 \text{abu E}^3$.

Refrain: Sing ninety-nine and ninety
 And you the weaver's bonty.

Tune: Group B.

(xii) 'The Three Riddles'

Place: Stonington, Maine

Date: August 24, 1934

Source: Sung by Florence Mixer, learned from her father, Mr. Frank S. Mixer, who learned it from his uncle.

P. Barry, BFSSNE X (1935) pp. 8 ff.

Bronson 1.7

Description: 14 stanzas
B⁷ fbdclw² F².

No refrain

Tune: unclassified

(xiii) 'The Devil's Nine Questions'

Place: Roanoke, Virginia

Date: 1936

Source: Sung by Mrs. Texas Gladden, collected by M. Ballard.

Text only in University of Virginia
Collection, 1547/26/1195.Recording of Mrs. Gladden, collected by
A. and E. Lomax, 1941, in L.C./AAFS
Album 1, rec.⁴ A1. Text of this only in
Duncan Emrich, American Folk Poetry, 1974
p. 248.

Bronson 1.6

Description: 1936: 9 stanzas: D⁵rsdc¹abvw⁴.
1941: 10 stanzas: D⁵rsabdc¹vw⁴ E².Refrain: Sing ninety-nine and ninety
And you are (I am) the weaver's bonny.

Tune: Group B.

(xiv) Fragment

Place: Vermont

Date: May 1, 1940

Source: Mrs. Anna Fiske Hough, whose mother taught
it to her from English tradition.

Collected by M. Olney.

H. H. Flanders, Ancient Ballads Traditionally
Sung in New England (henceforward referred
to as ABTSNE) 1960 I pp. 45-50.Description: 6 lines: rsw⁴.

No refrain.

(xv) Fragment

Place: Maine

Date: ? published 1947

Source: Robert P. Tristram Coffin, Lost Paradise,
1947, p.199. Sung by his cousin Laura
when he was a child.

Description: 2 lines:

'The eldest sister let him in
And barred the door with a silver pin'.

(xvi) 'There was a man lived in the West'

Place: Vermont

Date: May 12, 1955

Source: Sung by Mrs. Hattie Eldred, collected by
M. Olney.H.H. Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.45-50

Description:

B⁸ C D⁴ abcdrs1... E¹.Refrain: Bow down, bow down, your bow shall bend
to me,

So true to my love, as I love,
My love proves true to me.

Tune: unclassified

(xvii) 'The Devil's Questions'

Place: White Top Mountain, W. Virginia

Date: 1956

Source: Heard by Richard Chase, edited, from
a folk festival performance.Chase, American Folktales and Songs,
1956.

Description: 10 stanzas

D⁵ ab¹rsdch¹i¹ E².

Refrain: Sing ninety-nine and ninety
And the crow flies over the white oak
tree.

Tune: Group B

(xviii) 'The Devil's Questions'

Place: Virginia

Date: 1962

Source: Sung by Richard Chase, collected in
Virginia.Folkways Monthly I (May 1962) p.16

Description: 10 stanzas

D⁵ abrsh¹i¹dc E².

Refrain: Sing ninety-nine and ninety

You're not (I am) the weaver's bonny

Tune: Group B

(xix) 'A Riddling Song'

This is included because it is printed as Child 1,
but it seems more likely to be a version of Child
46. See Appendix E, (lxix).

Place: John O'Groats, Caithness

Date: 1969

Source: Sung by Mrs. David Gunn; collected by
Alan Bruford.School of Scottish Studies, SA 1969
48 B5.Tocher I (1971) p.23Description: 2 stanzas: 1³aw³b.

No refrain.

Tune: unclassified (see App.E, lxix)

(xx) 'Nine Questions'

Place: Lewisburg, Greenbrier Co., Virginia

Date: published 1971

Source: Sung by Margaret Moomaw Tuckwiller;
collected by Vivian Richardson.Marie Boette, Singa Hipsy Doodle, 1971,
p.37

Description: 8 stanzas

rsabdc¹nw⁴

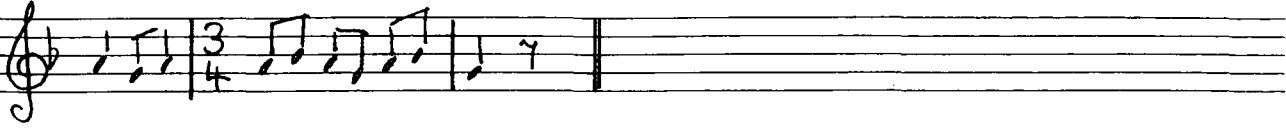
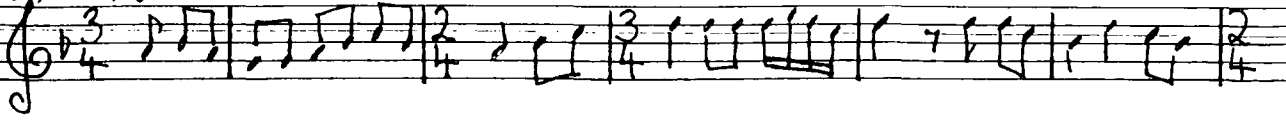
Refrain: Sing fall-de-rall-de-hall-de

For I'm the weaver's bonnie.

Tune: Group B

Riddles Wisely ExpoundedGROUP A

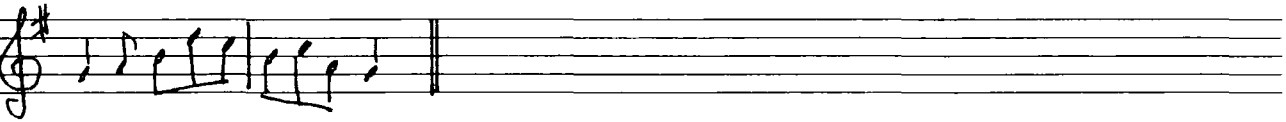
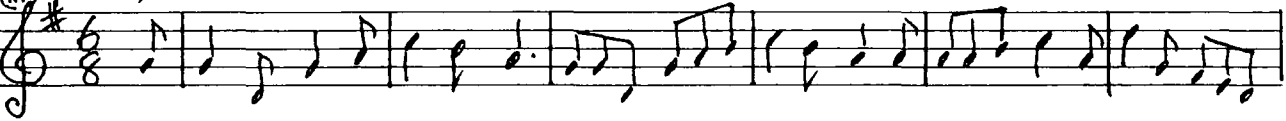
(ii) D'Urfey, 1719-20. Bronson 1.1



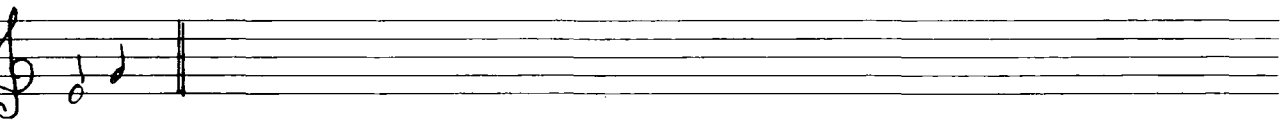
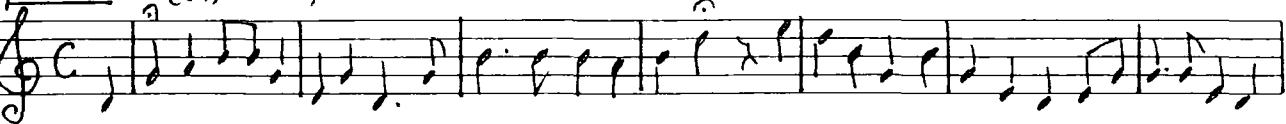
'Lay the bent to the bonny broom', O'Keefe & Shield, 1788. Bronson 1.2



(iii) Gilbert, 1823. Bronson 1.4



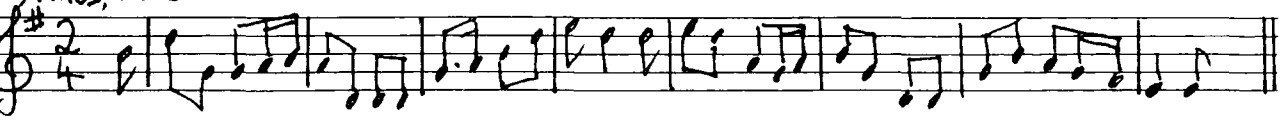
(vi) Mitford, 1878. Bronson 1.3

GROUP B (viii) Martin, 1922. Bronson 1.5

(x) Kelley, 1924.



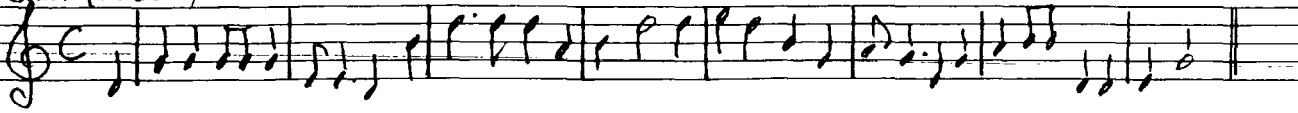
(xi) Niles, 1933



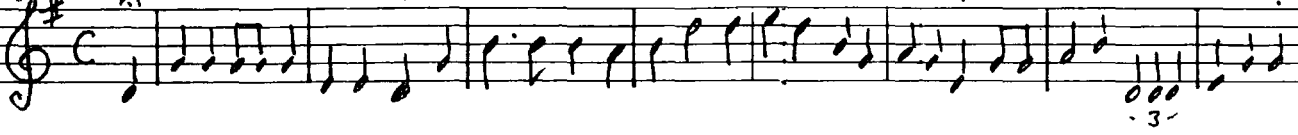
Riddles Wisely Expounded

GROUP B 42.

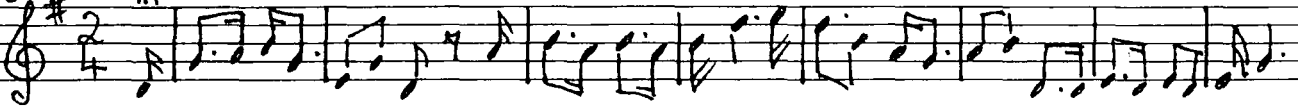
(xiii) Gladden, 1936. Bronson 1.6



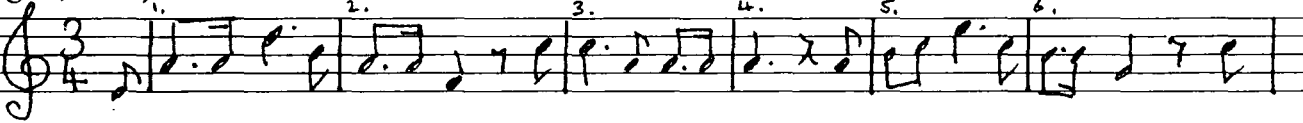
(xvii) Chase, 1956 ; (xviii) 1962



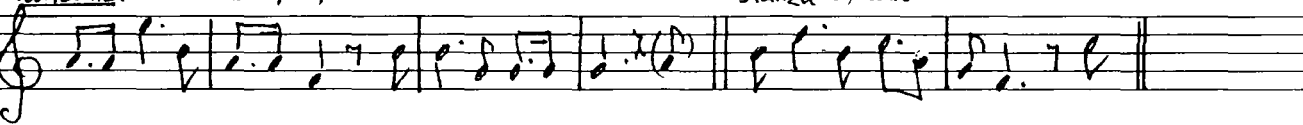
(xx) Tuckwiler, 1971.

UNCLASSIFIED TUNES

(xii) Mixer, 1934. Bronson 1.7

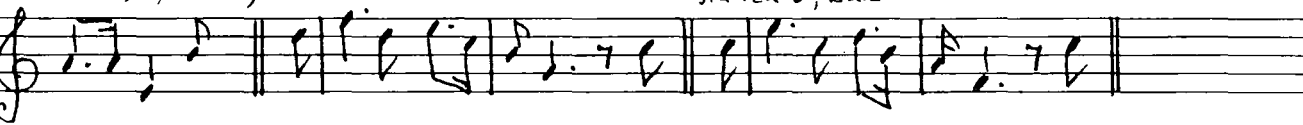
Examples of stanzaVariants: stanzas 8, 13, bars 1-4

stanza 6, bars 1-2

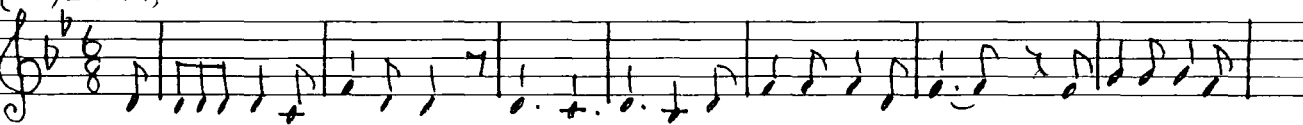


stanzas 7, 9, bar 1 ; bar 5-6

stanza 6, bars 5-6



(xvi) Elved, 1955.



APPENDIX B: CHILD 2, 'THE ELFIN KNIGHT':
DESCRIPTION OF TEXTS.

Key to Description of Texts.

- A. Elfin Knight (or three trumpeters) sits or stands on a hill, blowing his horn loud and shrill. Woman wishes the horn were in her 'kist' (chest) and the Knight in her arms; he immediately appears at her bedside. He tells her she is too young to marry; she replies that her younger sister was married yesterday. (Or, she tells him her eleven-year old sister 'to the young men's bed has made bauld' and that she herself, who is nine, would fain be his).
- A¹. On yonder hill sits a noble Knight. 'Say to the fairest damsel you sight...'
- A². Lady dwells on yonder hill, with music at her will. 'Auld, auld man' appears with blue bonnet in hand; he says she must answer three questions or go with him.
- A³. There was an old woman lived under a hill; if she isn't gone, she's living there still.
- A⁴. There was an old woman lived over the sea.
- A⁵. Devil comes to woman one night in bed.
- A⁶. Fair maid goes walking between the salt sea and the sea strand. She meets Devil, who gives her a task.
- B. As I was walking down by the seashore, I met a maid I'd never seen before, and I said, 'Will you be a true lover of mine ?'
- B¹. As I gaed up to yon hill/dell (or, Bonny Moor Hill), I met my mistress/a wee lass/a fair damsel whose name is Nell.
- B². As I roved out by the sea side, I met a little girl and gave her my hand.
- B³. As I roved out through a green bank's side, I met a fair maid who wore a green gown.
- B⁴. As I walked out in a shady grove, 'twas there I spied a fair maid.

B⁵. As I went walking one morning in May, I met a fair damsel.

B⁶. As I roved out one fine summer's morn, I met a man whose name was John.

B⁷. I saw a young lady walking in yonder green field (or, As I was walking in yonder green field); remember me to yonder young maid.

C. Are you going to London ? Give my love to a girl there.

C¹. As you go up to yonders/Yandro's town, give my respects to that young girl (or, tell the fairest girl)...

C². Where are you going ? - I'm going to Lynn (or, Do you know the way to Selin ? Give my love to the lady therein).

C³. Now you're going to Cape Ann/Earl, remember me to some young girl .

C⁴. You may go down to Rosemary Fair (or, As you go down Rosemary Lane), pick me out the finest boy/girl there.

C⁵. As you are going down (or, As I was walking up) Strawberry Lane, it's there you will meet (or, I chanced for to meet) a pretty young maid.

C⁶. Were you ever down at the tri-coloured house ? It's there you will meet a neat bonny lass.

C⁷. Did you ever travel twixt Berwick and Lyne ? It's there you will meet a handsome young dame.

C⁸. Where are you going ? - to Scarborough Fair/to Whittingham Fair. Remember me to one who lives there.

C⁹. Where are you going ? to Cadrian ? If you see that nice young man...

C¹⁰. Where are you going ? Are you going to the fair ? Tell my true love if you meet her there...

C¹¹. O don't you remember on Newcastle Hill...don't you remember a pretty young girl ?

D. Come, pretty Nelly, sit thee by me, and I will ask you questions three.

E. Carry a lady a letter from me.

- E¹. If you go up to town tonight, just hand this note to that young miss.
- F. My father left me (had) three acres (an acre) of land.
- F¹. My mother gave me an acre of land.
- F². My mother made me a cambric shirt.
- F³. My father kept a team of rats.
- G. Tasks given to the woman.
1. To make (fetch, send, buy) a cambric shirt (sark, smock, Holland/Highland shirt, spider-work shirt), without any seam or needlework (free from woman's work; with very fine needle and very coarse wool; with an eyeless needle wanting a thread).
 - 1a. To make a sark without cut or hem, shaped without knife or shears, sewed without a needle.
 - 1b. To wash three holland shirts between the sea and sea-strand.
 - 1c. To buy a yard (three yards) of broadcloth (tow-cloth, two-cloth, white cloth) and make a shirt without a seam; or, to buy three yards of silk and make a cambric shirt; or, to make it out of an old cotton sheet.
 - 1d. To stitch it along with roses so fine.
 2. To sew it with a gold ring (with every stitch a foot between).
 - 2a. To cut (sew) it with a goose quill (white thorn).
 3. To wash it in a well (a dry well, draw-well, yonders well, Yandro's well, a spring, cistern, stream or brook) where there is no water since Adam was born.
 - 3a. To wash it in yonder strand, where wood never grew and water ne'er ran.
 - 3b. To wring it out of a dry well.
 - 3c. To wash it where water never ran.
 4. To dry it on a thorn (sweet thorn, green thorn, hawthorn, buck-thorn, white thorn, whin bush), where there is no leaf (blossom; or, where the sun never shines; or, that never grew) since Adam (man) was born.

- 4a. To hang it on yonder stone that never grew moss since Adam was born (or, on yonder great rock).
 5. To bleach it on yonder green where there are no flowers or grass (or, where never a foot or a hoof did pass).
 6. To iron it on/with an old flat rock, 'one ne'er cold nor one ne'er hot'.
 - 6a. To iron it with a mill stone.
 - 6b. To iron it against the house back (Church back) without looking down or getting it black.
 - 6c. To iron it with a hot iron and plait it in one plait around (or, without letting a stitch burn).
 - 6d. To iron it with a cold flint stone, and put a gloss on it for me to be married in.
 7. To line it with elephant's fur, and iron it smooth with a chestnut burr.
- H. Woman tells man/elf/Devil that since he has set tasks for her, she will set one/some for him.
- H¹. 'Tell this young lady when she's finished her work, she can come to me and I'll give her a kiss' (or, we'll be married).
- I. 'When you go back to Yonders town, give my respects to that young man'.
- I¹. 'As I was walking in yonder green field, remember me to yonder young man' (or, 'I saw a young man a-walking in yonders green field').
- I². 'Don't you remember on Newcastle Hill....a gentle young man ?'
- I³. 'Tis now you're going to Cape Ann, remember me to yonder young man' (or, that same young man): or, 'Where are you going ? - I'm going to Cape Ann...'
- I⁴. 'So as you are going down Strawberry Lane, it's there you will meet a pretty young man'.
- I⁵. 'As you will go down Rosemary Lane, pick me out the finest boy there.
- I⁶. 'Were you ever down at the tri-coloured house ? It's there you'll meet a neat bonny lad'.

- I⁷. 'Are you going to New York/Boston ? Give my love to a young man/an old man there.
- I⁸. 'Did ye ever travel twixt Berwick and Lyne ? There ye'll meet a handsome young man'.
- I⁹. 'Do you know the way back again ? Remember me to a young man therein'.
- I¹⁰. 'Where are you going ? - I'm going to Japan - Give my respects to the same young man.'
- I¹¹. 'Where are you going ? - To Scarbro' Fair - Remember me to a lad who lives there.
- I¹². 'Are you going to the fair ? Tell my true love if you see him there'.
- J. 'If you go down to town tonight, hand this letter to that young gent.' (or, 'Carry that gent a letter from me').
- K. Tasks given to the man (In the 'Acre of Land' type text, these are said to have been performed by the singer or his father.)
1. Woman says she has an acre/rig of good ley-land/ bonnie land that lieth low by the sea strand.
 - 1a. Man is to plough (get, buy, hire, find, till, fence) her an acre of land (2, 3, 5, 10, $\frac{1}{2}$ acres), or, a farm; between the salt water and the sea sands . (or, with ne'er a bush or rock to be found)
 - 1b. To plant an acre of corn.
 2. To plough it with a sickle of leather (plough of leather).
 - 2a. To ear (till, plough) it with his horn (double ram's horn, Adam's horn, bear's horn, ox's horn, turtle's horn, hog's horn, goat's horn, Indian horn, old cow's horn, muley cow/sheep's horn, cuckold's horn, Devil tap's horn, horse horn, horse bone, hand, big thorn).
 - 2b. To plough it with two tom-cats/a team of rats(or mice)/ an old stack plod.
 3. To harrow it with a comb/small tooth comb/curry comb.
 - 3a. To harrow/tend it with a tree of black thorn (thorn,

bramble bush, bunch of briars).

- 3b. To harrow it with his big toe-nail (fingernails).
- 3c. To harrow it with a pig's horn (harrow pin, thread, harrow tine, scroll, tail of his shirt).
- 3d. He worked it down with a team of rats.
- 4. To dig (cut, thrash, plough) it with a goose quill.
- 4a. To roll it with a rolling pin (treacle tin, the heel of his shoe, sheepshank bone, team of rats).
- 5. To sow it with his corn (one grain/peck of corn, a handful of corn, without a seed, with pepper-corn, with caraway seeds, with wild oats, with a thimble, with a paper quirn, hen's gizzard, teaspoon or a little sidlip).
- 5a. To plant it with ten acres of corn, and harrow it with a muley cow's horn.
- 5b. To work it in with a team of rats.
- 6. To ripen it with one blink of sun.
- 7. To open it out with a razor blade.
- 8. To reap (mow, cut, shear) it with his knife (case-knife, pocket-knife, without a scythe)
- 8a. " " " with a strap/shaving/whang/sickle of leather (or, old stirrup leather).
- 8b. " " " with a peahen's/sea-fowl's feather (goosequill).
- 8c. " " " with a hook tooth (ram's horn, sheep's shankbone, thumb-nail, royal rush, wing of a flea, shoemaker's awl).
- 8d. " " " into a trice (on the ice).
- 9. To rake it up with a humming bird's feather (or, to hoe it with a peacock's feather).
- 10. To bind it (stook, shock, thresh it) with the tongue/sting of an adder/arrow (on the blade of a knife; in nine little shocks; with the song of another)

- 10a. To bind it with a tom-tit's feather (hummingbird's, peacock's feather),
- 10b. To bind it without strap or tether (with strappings of leather).
- 10c. To bind it 'just as his life'.
- 10d. To thatch it with midge's claws and rope it round with pismire's paws.
- 11. To barn/stack/crush/pack it in a mousehole (eggshell).
- 11a. To haul it in with a yoke/span of mice (with a team of rats; with a chicken's feather; on a shoe sole).
- 11b. To thresh/put it in yonder (yonder dry/high)barn, never built since Adam was born.
- 11c. To put it into a horn never seen since Adam was born.
- 11d. To stack it in the sea (and bring the stale home to me).
- 11e. To stack it in an old box hat.
- 12. To dry it in yon ribless kiln and grind it in yon waterless mill(or, to dry it without candle or coal and grind it without quirn or mill).
- 13. To thresh it in the sole of his shoe (in a sparrow's nest, in an egg shell, in his lufes).
- 13a. To thresh it with a hazel twig (beanstalk, cabbage stalk, pair of sticks, walking stick, wooden leg, leg of a louse, needle and thread, wimble straw, mouse's tail, little flail, cobbler's awl, knives).
- 13b. To thresh /stack it against the wall (castle/Church/house/Yondo's wall; in the corner of the house) and not let a grain fall.
- 13c. To flay it with a butterfly's wing.
- 13d. To thresh it on the sea and not get it wet.
- 13e. To thrash it in yonder barn that hangs to the sky by a thread of yarn.
- 14. To winnow/wim/dight it in his loof (nieves, lives, crown of his hat, tail of his shirt, handkerchief, wings of a fly, eggshell, little fan).
- 14a. To fan it up in an oyster shell (the skin of an egg; an eggshell never laid since Adam was born; in his luves).
- 15. To sack it between his thighs (in his gloves, in a mouse's/worm/s skin).

- 15a. To gather it up in a bottomless sack and bring it home on a butterfly's back.
- 15b. To pick it all up (shake it all out, knock it all out) with a cobbler's awl.
- 16. To carry it home just into his loof (bind it all and carry it home).
- 16a. To carry it home in a pismire rigg (walnut shell, mouse's back, bumblebee's/snail's back).
- 16b. To make a waggon/cart of stone and lime (hair and lime).
- 16c. The wren(six Jenny wrens; Robin Redbreast and the wren; Robin Redbreast; two sparrows yoked to a matchbox) will bring it home.
- 16d. To cart/pack it on a cake of ice (in a snuff- box).
- 16e. To build a ship of brick and sail home with it (dry).
- 16f. To bring it home with a team of rats.
- 16g. To cover it with a rainbow for a thack.
- 17. To take it to mill with a team of rats (with the cat; in a fieldmouse rigg).
- 17a. To take it to mill, every grain to fill one barrel (or, to raise a barrel corn from it).
- 17b. To grind it on yonder hill, where never yet stood a mill.
- 18. To measure it with a thimble/walnut shell.
- 19. To take it to market on a louse (with a team of rats; on a hedgehog's back; in a thimble; on a mouse's back).
- 19a. To sell it in a town/market where nobody lives.
- 19b. To go to market and bring me back the money.
- 20. How many ships sail in my forest? How many strawberries grow on the salt sea?
- 21. 'I made a cake for all the King's men'.

- L. 'Now you have answered these questions, I'll make you my bride'.

- M. 'When you've finished your work, come to me and you'll get your shirt/sark'.
- M¹. 'Tell the old fool, when he's finished his work, he can come to me and get his shirt'.
- M². 'Tell the young man, when he's finished his work, he can come to me for a kiss (to be married)'.

- M³. 'Tell her, when she's finished, she can come to me with the shirt'.
- N. 'I'll not quit my plaid for my life, it haps my 7 bairns and my wife'. - 'My maiden-head I'll then keep still, let the Elphin Knight do what he will'.
- O. Devil curses those 'wha learned thee; this night I ween'd ye'd gane wi' me.'
- P. The miller swore he'd have her paw (take a toll); the cat swore she would scratch his face/poll.
- P¹. The cat carried it to the mill; the miller said he'd work with a will.
- P². The rats (mouse, thower, louse, jockey, cat) broke their back (crown, rigg).
- P³. The team of rats came rattling back (with 50 guineas and an empty sack).
- P⁴. The carter brought a curly whip; the whip did pop and the waggon did stop.
- P⁵. I broke my back for want of a gill.
- P⁶. He sold the lot for 18 pence; now the old man is dead, we buried him with his team of rats and his tools by his side.
- Q. I sold it all for one pound ten: what a rare deed my father and I had.
- Q¹. My song is at an end; I hope I've offended none.

Description of Texts.

(Unless otherwise stated, the text has no recorded tune)

GROUP A: Refrain Type 'Blow, blow, blow ye winds blow'.

- (i) 'The Wind hath blown my Plaid away, or, A Discourse betwixt a young (Wo)man and the Elphin Knight'.
 Place: ? Edinburgh
 Date: c.1670
 Source: Blackletter broadside, bound in the end of a copy of Blind Harry's 'Wallace', Edinburgh 1673. (Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge)
 ctd..

(i) ctd. Child 2A.

Description: 19 stanzas + external burden.

A G^{1a} H K^{1,2a,5,16b,16c,11,13,14,15,16e}

M N.

External burden: My plaid awa, my plaid awa,
And ore the hill and far awa,
And far awa to Norrowa,
My plaid shall not be blown awa.

Internal refrain: Ba, ba, ba, lilli ba
The wind hath blown my plaid awa.

(ii) 'My plaid awa'

Place: Edinburgh

Date: 1824

Source: Partly from a blackletter copy, partly
'from the recitation of an old lady':
David Webster, A Collection of Curious Old
Ballads, Edinburgh 1824, p.3

Description: 20 stanzas + external burden as in (i).

A G^{1a} H K^{1,2a,5,3a,8,11,13,14,15,16e}

M N.

Internal refrain as in (i) above.

(iii) 'The Elfin Knight'

Place: Scotland

Date: c.1825

Source: Motherwell's MS. p.492.

Child 2E.

Description: 4 stanzas: A(fragmented) G^{1a}.

Refrain: Ba ba lilly ba
And the wind has blawn my plaid awa.

(iv) 'The Deil's Courting'

Place: Newton Green, Ayrshire, Scotland.

Date: c.1825

Source: John McWhinnie, collier, of Newton Green.
Motherwell's MS., p.103.

Child 2I

Description: 15 stanzas: A² G^{1,1a,3,4} H
K^{1,2a,3c,8a,10b,11d,16b,13,15} O.

Refrain: Hee ba and balou ba
And the wind has blown my plaid awa.

(v) 'The Elfin Knicht'

Place: Angus, Tayside

Date: 1826

Source: Recitation of M.Kinnear. G.R.Kinloch,
Ancient Scottish Ballads, London &
Edinburgh, 1827, p.145.

Child 2C.

Description: 18 stanzas:

A G^{1a,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,3c,8,11,13,14a,}
K^{15,16e} M.Refrain: Oure the hills and far awa
The could wind's blawn my plaid awa.

(vi) 'The Fairy Knight'

Place: North (?) Scotland

Date: c.1828

Source: Peter Buchan, Ballads of the North of
Scotland, II, p.296.

Child 2D

Description: 17 stanzas

A G^{1,3,4} H K^{1b,2a,5,3c,8c,16e,11,13,}
K^{15,14,12,16b,16c}, M.Refrain: Blaw, blaw, blaw winds, blaw,
And the wind has blawin my plaid awa.

(vii) ('There was a Knight')

Place: Portlethen, Aberdeenshire

Date: 1893

Source: Sent to Child by Mr.Walker, of Aberdeen,
as sung by John Walker, who learned it
from his father over 50 years before.

Child Vol.V pp.205-6.

Description: 9 stanzas:

A (frag.) K^{1a,2a,5,8c} G^{1,3,4} M
('Come in, Jock Sheep, and ye'll
get your sark')

Refrain: Blow, blow, blow the wind, blow.

(viii) 'Blow, ye winds, blow'

Place: Medfield, Massachusetts

Date: 1899

Source: 'Family Songbook compiled by Rosa Allen',
p.14, from long-standing family tradition.
Philips Barry, JAF XVIII (1905) pp.212;
49-50.

E.H.Linscott, Folksongs of Old New England,
1939, p.170-1.

Bronson 2.2

Description: 8 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4} K^{1b,4,5,8c,13d,17b} M.

Refrain: Blow, blow, blow ye winds, blow,
Blow, ye winds that arise, blow, blow.

Tune: Group Aa

(ix) 'The Laird o' Elfin'

Place: New Deer, Aberdeenshire

Date: 1908

Source: Sung by Alexander Robb, Greig MSS III p.139
and Bk.739, XXIX, p.60. G.Greig and A.Keith,
Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and
Ballad Airs, 1925, p.2 (1).
Rymour Club Miscellanea, I (1910), p.201

Bronson 2.1

Description: 13 stanzas:

A G^{1a} H K^{1,2a,5,8,10c,13,15,11d,16c} M.

Refrain: Ba-ba-ba leelie ba
And the wind blows aye my plaid awa

Tune: unclassified

(x) 'The Elfin Knight'

Place: New Pitsligo, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1910

Source: Bell Robertson. Greig, Folksong of the
North-East, Text A. (No.100)

Description: 15 stanzas:

A G^{1,3,4} H K^{1b 2a,5,4a,8a,10a,11d,14,15} M.

Refrain: Blow, blow, blow winds blow
And the wind blows aye my plaid awa.

(xi) 'The Elfin Knight'

Place: Lambhill, Inch, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1931

Source: Bell Duncan. Carpenter MSS., Reel 4, Box 2.

Description: 9 stanzas

G^{1,3,4} K^{2a,5,8,10,13a,14,15} M.

Refrain: Over the hills and far away

For the wind blows aye my plaid awa

Tune: unclassified

(xii) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Colebrook, New Hampshire

Date: 20 November 1941

Source: Mrs. Belle Richards. Collected by M. Olney.

H. H. Flanders, Ancient Ballads Traditionally
Sung in New England, I pp.73-5 (L).

Description: 7 stanzas

G^{1.3.4} H K^{1a,2,9} L.

Refrain: Blow, blow, blow ye winds O!

For the winds may blow your plaid awa

Tune: Group Aa

(xiii) 'Blow ye Winds'

Place: Haymarket, Virginia

Date: 18 June 1942

Source: Sung by Maud Ewell (learned from her grandfather, who learned it as a boy in Dumfries). Collected by Susan R. Morton, University of Virginia Library Collection 1547/20.

Description: 8 stanzas (sung as a duet)

G^{1,3,4} K^{1b,4,5,8c,13d,17b} M.

Refrain: Blow, blow, blow ye winds

Blow, blow, blow ye winds

(xiv) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Pittsburg, New Hampshire

Date: 21 April 1942

Source: Maynard Reynold (born Maine); collected M. Olney. Flanders, Ancient Ballads I p.79 (P).

Description: 7 lines + irregularly placed refrain

K^{1c,2a,8d,16d} L.

Refrain: Blow, blow, blow ye winds O

Where the wind may blow and your blood-lay-wa.

(xv) 'The Elfin Knight'

Place: Birham, Perthshire

Date: 1955

Source: Mrs. Martha Reid ('Peasie')

H. Henderson & F. Collinson, 'New Child Ballad Variants', Scottish Studies IX (1965) Pt.1, pp.7-8 (B).

Bronson Addenda 2.23.1

Description: 6 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4} K^{1a,2a,5,6,8b,10,16c} H K²⁰.

Refrain: An' it's ho, ho, the wind'll blow

Tune: unclassified

(xvi) 'The Elfin Knight'

Place: Blairgowrie, Perthshire

Date: July 1956

Source: Andra Stewart (learned from his mother)
Henderson & Collinson, op.cit., p.6.

Bronson Addenda 2.2.2

Description: 2 stanzas:

G⁴ (and for your life let one drop fall)Refrain: Blow, blow, blow the wind blow,
And the weary wind blows my plaidie awa

Tune: unclassified

(xvii) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Rocky Harbour, Newfoundland

Date: July 1959

Source: George Decker. Kenneth Peacock, Songs of the Newfoundland Outports, 1965, I p.6

Description: 9 stanzas

A³ A⁵ G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,3c,5} M.Refrain: Blow, blow, blow the winds blow
While the winds do blow my flood o' woe

Tune: Group Aa

(xviii) 'The Elfin Knight'

Place: Parson's Pond, Newfoundland

Date: 1966

Source: Mrs. Charlotte Decker, aged 89. Collected by H. Halpert and J. Widdowson, Memorial University Folklore Archive (MUNFLA) 66-24, C.261 R.

Description: 6 stanzas:

A⁵ G^{1,3} K^{1a,2a,5} M.

Refrain: Blow, blow, blow the wind blow
And the wind'll blow my plaid awa

Tune: Group Aa

(xix) 'The Elf Knight'

Place: Letham, Tayside (formerly Angus)

Date: 1975

Sources: Sung by John MacDonald, a Perthshire traveller. Collected by Linda Headlee, Tocher (School of Scottish Studies) XX pp.13809. The opening (A6) is given in prose: a second recording, with verse opening, was made by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger, Travellers' Songs from England and Scotland, 1977, pp.47-9.

Description: 9/11 stanzas:

A⁶ G^{1,3} H K^{1a,2a,3a,6,8b,10,16c} M.

Refrain: Blaw, blaw, blaw ye winds blaw,
And the dreary wind's blawed my plaidie
awa.

(Second line varies according to context, e.g.
'And the dreary winds did blaw her plaidie awa')

Tune: unclassified

(xx) 'The Elf Knight'

Place: Whiteness, Shetland

Date: 1975

Source: Sung by Mrs. Margaret Tait, learned from her mother, Mrs. Jemima Robertson, of the Westing, Unst. Collected by Alan Bruford. Tocher, XX (1975) pp.141-2.

Description: 4 stanzas:

G¹ K^{1a,3,11} M.

Refrain: Blaa, blaa, tear da wind, blaa
And da wind is blaen me plaidie awaa

Tune: unclassified

(xxi) 'The Elf Knight'

Place: Pitlochry, Perthshire

Date: 1975

Source: Sung by Alexander Reid ('Shells'),
collected by Linda Headlee. Tocher
XX (1975) pp.140-1.Description: 8 couplets, irregular placing of
refrain:G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,8b,10,16c}.Refrain: And the dreary, dreary wind blaw my
plaidie awa.

Tune: unclassified

GROUP B: Herb Refrains.

(i) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: published in London

Date: 1810

Source: Gammer Gurton's Garland, 1810, p.3.

Child 2G

Description: 8 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a} M.Refrain: Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme
And you shall be a true lover of mine.

(ii) 'The Deil's Courtship'

Place: West Scotland

Date: c.1825

Source: Motherwell's MS. p.92

Child 2H

Description: 10 stanzas:

D G^{1,3a,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,8a,11d} M.Refrain: Every rose grows merry wi thyme
And then thou wilt be a true lover of mine

(iii) 'Lord John'

Place: Scotland

Date: c.1826

Source: Kinloch's MS. I, p.75. From Mary Barr.

Child 2F.

ctd..

(iii) ctd.

Description: 12 stanzas:

C⁷ G^{1,3,4,6c} I⁸ K^{1a,5,3c,8c,16,11,12} M.

Refrain: Sober and grave grows merry in time
And syne we'll be true lovers again.
(sts.1 & 7, Ance she /he was a true love o mine)

(iv) 'Scarborough Fair'

Place: Whitby, Yorkshire

Date: c.1860

Source: Collected by Frank Kidson from 'a ballad singer'. Kidson, Traditional Tunes, 1891, pp.43;172. Bronson 2.18.

Description: 8 stanzas:

C⁸ G^{1,3,4} K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a} M.

Refrain: Savoury sage, rosemary and thyme
For once (and then) she'll/he'll be a
true love of mine.

Tune: Group Ba

(v) 'Whittingham Fair'

Place: Northumbria (N.B. Whittingham is near
Alnwick, Northumberland)

Date: 1882

Source: J.C. Bruce and J. Stokoe, Northumbrian Minstrelsy, 1882, pp.79-80.

Bronson 2.22

Description: 9 stanzas:

C⁸ G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a} M.

Refrain: Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme
For once she/he was a true love of mine

Tune: Group Ba

(vi) 'Scarbrow Fair'

Place: ? Yorkshire

Date: 1884

Source: Sent by Frank Kidson to Child. Child MSS.
XXI No.18.

Bronson 2.17

Description: 10 stanzas + a separate fragment of
4 stanzas:

C⁸ G^{1,3,4a} H¹ I¹¹ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a} M.

C⁸ K^{1a,5,8a,10a} G^{3,4}.

ctd..

(vi) ctd.

Refrain: Savoury sage rosemary and thyme
For once she was a true lover of mine

Tune: Group Ba

(vii) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Missouri

Date: 1886

Source: From Leroy Kinkade. H.M.Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folklore Society, 1940, pp.1-2.

Description: 8 stanzas:

$$G^{1,3,4} \quad K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,13b,17a}$$

Refrain: Rosemary and thyme

(viii) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Camelford, North Cornwall

Date: 1886

Source: Sent to Child by Rev.Sabine Baring-Gould,
Child IV pp.439-40. Baring-Gould, Strange
Survivals, 1892, pp.225-6; 232-3.

Description: Baring-Gould reports that this was enacted as a game-song in farmhouses. The narrative introduction (versified in Child IV; in prose in Strange Survivals) tells of a revenant lover, who appears in response to his mistress's wish that he might be with her, and then sets her questions. (In Strange Survivals, this is elaborated: the lover insists that his mistress follows him to the grave; either she pleads to be spared, which he allows, on condition that she answers riddles, or, she consents, on condition that he answers her riddles). There follows the text:

$$G^{1,3,4} \quad H^1 \quad H \quad K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a} \quad M^2.$$

Additional conclusion in Child IV:

'Now thou has answered me well', he said
'Or thou must have gone away with the dead'.

Refrain: The wind is blowing in forest and town
And the wind it shaketh the acorns down
(Child IV)

or: Whilst every grove rings with a merry
antune

O, and thou shalt be a true lover of mine.
(Strange Survivals)

(xii) 'Scarborough Fair'

Place: Whitby, Yorkshire

Date: 1891

Source: Sung by William Moat, a fisherman.
Lucy E. Broadwood & J. A. Fuller Maitland,
English County Songs, 1893, pp. 12-13.

Child V p.206: Bronson 2.20

Description: 10 stanzas:

$$\text{I}^{11} \text{K}^{1\text{a}, 2\text{a}, 5, 8\text{a}, 10\text{a}} \text{H} \text{C}^8 \text{G}^{1, 3, 4} \text{H}.$$

Refrain: None

Tune: Ba

(xiii) 'The Tasks'

Place: St. Mawgan-in-Pyder, Cornwall

Date: 1891

Source: Sung by Joseph Dyer, with extra stanza
from John Dyer. Noted by F.W.Bussell.
Baring-Gould MSS. CXXVIII (2) and (A).

Bronson 2.14

Description: 9 + 1 stanzas:

$$G^{1,3,4} H^1 H K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a} M^2.$$

Refrain: Whilst every grove rings with a merry
 antune
O and then thou shalt be a true love of
 mine.

Tune: Ba

(xiv) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Boston, Massachusetts

Date: 1894

Source: Sung by Gertrude Decrow, from family tradition. JAF VII (1894) p.228.

Child V p.284. Bronson 2.46

Description: 9 stanzas:

$$B^1 \quad G^{1,3,4} \quad H \quad K^{1a,2a,5,9,10}$$

Refrain: Let every rose grow merry in time
And then you shall be a true lover of mine

Tune: unclassified

(xv)('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Beverly, Massachusetts

Date: 1894

Source: From Mrs. Sarah Bridge Farmer, learned
from an elderly lady. JAF VII (1894) p.229
Child V p.284

Description: 9 stanzas:

C³ G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,9,10} M.

Refrain: Parsley and sage, rosemary and thyme
In token she's been a true lover of mine

(xvi) 'As you go up to yonders town'

Place: Columbia Co., Georgia

Date: 1900

Source: From Mrs. E.M.Backur, from recitation.
William Wells Newell, 'Early American
Ballads', JAF XIII (1900) pp.120-2.

Description: 10 stanzas;

C¹ G^{1,3,4} I K^{1a,5,2a,8a,10a,17a} M.

Refrain: Rosemary and thyme
And then you shall be a true lover of mine

(xvii)('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Providence, Rhode Island

Date: 1904

Source: Sung by Mrs. S.A.Flint. Phillips Barry,
JAF XVIII (1905) pp.213; 50-1.Bronson 2.26

Description: 7 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a}

Refrain: Parsley and sage, rosemary and thyme
And then you shall be a true lover of mine

Tune: Bd

(xviii)'The Six Questions'

Place: ? N.E.United States

Date: c.1904

Source: Sung by O.F.A.Conner. Barry MSS I vn.E
(IV, No.123). Bronson 2.25

Description: 8 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,8b,10} M.

Refrain: Every Rose grows merry in time
And then you can be a true lover of mine.

Tune: Bd

(xix) ('The Lover's Tasks')

Place: ? England

Date: 1904

Source: Sent by Mr. Gilbert to Cecil Sharp:
Sharp MSS219/306. Bronson 2.16Description: 6 stanzas:
G^{1,3,4} K^{1a,2a,5,15a}.Refrain: Every leaf grows many a time
And you shall be a true lover of mine

Tune: Ba

(xx) ('The Lover's Tasks')

Place: Rowbarton, Taunton, Somerset

Date: 1906

Source: Sung by William Huxtable, with tune variants
from Bessie Huxtable, Minehead, 1906.
Sharp MSS. 763/826. Sharp and C.L. Marson,
Folksongs from Somerset, 3rd Ser. 1906,
pp.26-7.
Sung on record by Clive Carey, English
Columbia rec. WA 10685 (DB 335)
Bronson 2.36Description: 6 stanzas:
G^{1,3} K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,15a}Refrain: Sing Ivy Leaf, Sweet William and Thyme
And you shall be a true lover of mine

Tune: Bb

N.B. A similar version is noted in Sharp's MS
from Robert Pope and appears to be assigned
to the Huxtable tune: Bronson believes this
may be an error as Pope belonged to Devon,
while the text is recorded from Rowbarton.Description of this text: 8 stanzas:
G^{1,3,4} K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,15a,11,15b}.

(xxi) 'The Sea-side, or, The Elfin Knight'

Place: Waterford, Ireland

Date: 1906

Source: Sung by Miss Bridget Geary, collected by
Lucy E. Broadwood. FSJ III (1907) X pp.6-38.
Bronson 2.31Description: 9 stanzas:
B² G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,13,15b} M.Refrain: Every Rose grows merry in time
And it's then you will be a true lover of mine

Tune: Be

(xxii) 'Love's Impossibility'

Place: California

Date: 1906

Source: Mrs.R.F.Herrick, learned from her father
(B.1807) JAF XIX (1906) pp.130-1.

Description: 9 stanzas:

B⁷ G^{1,3,4} I¹ K^{1a,5,2a,8a,10a} M.Refrain: Savory, sage, rosemary and thyme
And she shall be a true lover of mine.

(xxiii) 'The Lover's Tasks'

Place: Upway, Dorset

Date: 1907

Source: Mrs.Marina Russell. Hammond MSS Notebook
D VII p.45; D 760.

Description: 6 stanzas:

C¹¹ G^{1c,3c} I² K^{1a,2a,5}.Refrain: Let every circle go merry and twine
And then she shall be a true lover of mine

Tune: unclassified

(xxiv) 'The Parsley Vine'

Place: Kentucky (?)

Date: 1908

Source: J.J.Niles, Ballad Book, 1961, pp.18-19.
Sung by Carter Patterson.Description: Apparently a composite improvisation
from the herb refrain and the 'Acre of Land' (D)
type. Describes various gifts from an uncle,
including an acre of ground, and a 'linny smock'
from a lover. Possible invention of Niles.

Refrain: Where the parsley hangs upon the vine.

Tune: unclassified

(xxv) 'The Shirt of Lace'

Place: Kentucky

Date: 1908

Source: Niles, ibid., pp.18-19. Patterson's brother.Description: Another doubtful text, based on
G^{1,3,5} K¹, and beginning, 'Oh, water where there is
no well, what name will my true love tell?'

Refrain: Viny flower and rosemary tree

Tune: unclassified

(xxvi) 'Then you shall be a true lover of mine'

Place: Ireland

Date: 1909

Source: Patrick Joyce, Old Irish Folk Music and Songs, 1909, pp.59-60. Bronson 2.27

Description: 2 stanzas: K^{1a,2a,5}.

Refrain: As every plant grows merry in time
And then you shall be a true lover of mine

Tune: Bd

(xxvii) 'Every Rose is bonny in time'

Place: Coleraine, Ulster

Date: 1910

Source: Mrs.Houston JIFSS VIII (1910) p.17.
Bronson 2.28

Description: 12 stanzas:
B¹ G^{1,3,5,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,8b,10,11d} M.

Refrain: Every rose grows bonny in time
She was longing to be a sweet lover of mine

Tune: unclassified

(xxviii) 'The Elfin Knight'

Place: Aberdeen

Date: c.1910

Source: From William Walker. Greig, Folksong of the Northeast, Text C.

Description: 10 stanzas:
B¹ G^{1,3} H K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,15b,11} M.

Refrain: Saffron, sage, myrrh and thyme
And that ye'll be a true lover of mine

(xxix) 'Scarborough Fair'

Place: Stoup Brow, Yorkshire

Date: Sept. 1911

Source: R.Beadle. Carey MSS YN 109 (Notebook III p.29):Clive Carey, Ten English Folk-Songs, 1915, pp.20 ff. E.K.Wells, The Ballad Tree, 1950, p.171. Bronson 2.44

Description: 9 stanzas:
C⁸ G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a} M.

Refrain: Parcil, sed, romary and thyme
For once she was a true lover of mine

Tune: Bb

(xxx)'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: San Antonio, Texas

Date: 1913

Source: Miss Adina de Zavala, from Dublin area.
 G.L.Kittredge, 'Various Ballads', JAF XXVI
 (1913) pp.174-5.

Description: 9 stanzas:

B³ G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,13,19a} M.

Refrain: Every rose grows merry in time
 Before she could be a true lover of mine

(xxxi)'Scarborough Fair'

Place: Goathland, Yorkshire

Date: July 14, 1913

Source: Richard Hutton (65). Sharp MSS 2868.
 Bronson 2.21

Description: 2 stanzas: C⁸ G^{1,3}.

Refrain: Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme
 For once she was a true lover of mine

Tune: Ba

(xxxii)'Strawberry Lane'

Place: Maine

Date: 1914

Source: Sung by E.R.Davis, from his grandfather,
 William Henry Banks (b.1834) of Maine.
 Kittredge, JAF XXX (1917) pp.284-5.
 Bronson 2.23

Description: 7 stanzas:

C⁵ G^{1,3} ... H K^{1a,2a,5,13,18}.

Refrain: Every rose grows merry and fine
 Before you can be a true lover of mine

Tune: Bc

(xxxiii)'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Fairfax Co., Virginia

Date: 1915

Source: From an old negro woman, collected by
 Corita Sloane. A.K.Davis, More Traditional
 Ballads of Virginia, 1960, p.13 (C).

Description: 13 lines: E G^{1,3,6d} J K^{1a,5,17a}.

Refrain: And I'll be (he can be) a true lover of hers
 (mine)

(xxxiv) 'The Lover's Tasks'

Place: Beattyville , Kentucky

Date: 1917

Source: Sung by Francis Carter: Sharp MSS 3996
Bronson 2.37Description: 2 lines: K^{1a}.Refrain: Every grave grows merry by time,
And you shall be a true lover of mine

Tune: unclassified

(xxxv) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Manchester, Kentucky

Date: 1917

Source: Sung by Mrs. Cis Jones. Sharp MSS 3908/2847
Sharp & Karpeles, English Folksongs from
the Southern Appalachians, 1932, I p.1
Bronson 2.30Description: 7 stanzas:
K^{1a,2,9,5,8c,11d} G^{1,3,4}.Refrain: Sether wood, sale, rosemary and thyme
And then he'll be a true lover of mine

Tune: unclassified

(xxxvi) 'The Elfin Knight'

Place: Burnsville, N.Carolina

Date: 1918

Source: Sung by Mrs. Polly Mitchell. Sharp MSS
4661/3244. Sharp & Karpeles, op.cit., I p.2
Bronson 2.48Description: 12 stanzas:
B⁷ G^{1,3} I¹ K^{1a,2a,11a,11,13b}.Refrain: So sav'ry was said come marry in time
And she shall be a true lover of mine

Tune: unclassified

(xxxvii) 'A True Lover of Mine'

Place: Hazelton, British Columbia

Date: 1920

Source: Marius Barbeau, Arthur Lismer, Arthur
Bourinot, Come a Singing, 1947, p.33:
Edith Fulton Fowke & Richard Johnston,
Folksongs of Canada, 1954, pp.138-9:
Bronson 2.32

ctd..

(xxxvii) ctd.

Description: 7 stanzas:

K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a} H G^{1,3,4}.

Refrain: Savory sage, rosemary and thyme, etc.

Tune: Bb

(xxxviii) 'I want you to make me a cambric shirt'

Place: Iowa City

Date: Jan/Feb. 1922

Source: Sung by Mrs. John Williams, learned in 1865-1870, Penn Township, Iowa. Recorded by Mrs. Brennan, sent to Bronson: Bronson IV p.440 (Addenda 2.38.1)

Description: 4 stanzas:

G¹ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a}.

Refrain: Green grows the male thyme, etc.

Tune: Bb

(xxxix) 'True Lover of Mine'

Place: Rothies, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1931

Source: Alexander Brown, learned c.1870 at Bogbain (between Keeth and Fochabers); Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II; tune, Reel 7 Box V.

Description: 7 stanzas

B⁵ G¹ K^{2a,5,8,10} M.

Internal refrain: Where every rose sprung bonnie and
thyme,
And fain wid she be a true lover of
mine.

External refrain: True lover of mine, true lover of mine
And fain wid she be a true lover of
mine.

Tune: Bc

(xl) 'The Lovers Task'

Place: Fochabers, Aberdeenshire

Date: 1931

Source: Mrs. Watson Gray, learned 50 years earlier from William Stuart of Glenlivet. Carpenter MSS, Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II; tune Reel 7 Box V.

Description: 4 stanzas:

K^{2a,5,8,10,16a,16g}.

Refrain: Every rose blooms bonnie in thyme, etc.

(xli) 'True Lover of Mine'

Place: Scotland

Date: 1931

Source: Carpenter MSS, Reel 4, Box 2 Packet II;
'John Ross heard it at a wedding'.

Description: 3 stanzas

G^{1d,3,5} K⁵.

Refrain: Ev'ry rose blooms bonny and thyme, etc.

(xlii) 'True Lover of Mine'

Place: Kintore, Aberdeenshire, Scotland

Date: ?1931

Source: Robert Nicol. Carpenter MSS, Reel 4, Box 2,
Packet II; tune, Reel 7 Box V.

Description: 10 stanzas

B¹ G^{1,3,5,4} K^{2a,5,8,10,16e} M.Refrain: Where every rose grew bonny and fine
She longed to be a true lover of mine

Tune: Group Bc

(xliii) 'True Lover of Mine'

Place: New Deer, Aberdeenshire

Date: 1931

Source: Alexander Stephens, learned from Robert Nicol
(see xlii)

Description: as (xlii)

(xliv) 'True Lover of Mine'

Place: Stonehaven, Aberdeenshire

Date: ?1931

Source: Peter Christie, from his mother (who died in
1919 aged 93). Carpenter MSS. Reel f, Box 2,
Packet II; tune, Reel 7 Box V.

Description: 8 stanzas

G^{1,3,5,4} K^{2a,5} M.Refrain: An every rose maun smell o yon thyme
Before he can be a true lover o mine

Tune: Group Bc

(xlv) ('True Lover of Mine')

Place: Evanton, near Inverness, Scotland

Date: 1931

Source: George McDonald, Carpenter MSS Reel 4, Box 2, Packet II.

Description: 3 fragmented stanzas

G⁵ K⁸.

Refrain: As every rose grows bonny in time, etc.

(xlvi) (Elfin Knight)

Place: 14 Union Street, Camborne, Cornwall

Date: ?1931

Source: Jim Thomas MS., in Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II.

Description: 22 lines, as follows:

In the days when the Saxon Kings invaded England,
Each one taking up their sections for to rule,
Ethelred farther north, (Diddimus) here in Cornwall,
The King approached a cheeldvean (little child) and
said:

'Good morning, fair maid'

'Good morning Sir', she said.

'Can you make a shirt without a needle?

'Can you sew without a seam?

'Can you wash in a well where the water never stream?

'Can you dry in a hedge where the sun never shine?'

'Yes Kind Sir I can'.

'Can you plough with a rams horn?

'And harve with a bush thorn?

'Saw it with a pepper dreadge

'In a field without a hedge?

'Then maw it with a sheepshiers

'And bind it up in seven years?

'And mow it in a mouse's hole,

'And thrash it with a shoe sole?

'Do it all and not complain;.

'Then come to me again

'And you shall have your shirt made'.

(xlvii) (The Elfin Knight)

Place: ? Scotland

Date: ?1931

Source: Mrs. Annie Morrison. Carpenter MSS Reel 7, Box V.

Description: Refrain, with tune

Every rose grows bonnie and thyme, etc.

Tune: Group Bc

(xlvi) (The Elfin Knight)

Place: ? Scotland

Date: ?1931

Source: Mrs. T. Durward. Carpenter MSS, Reel 7 Box V.

Description: 1 stanza, repeated, with tune.

G^{1a}.

Refrain: Elka rose grows bonnie wie thyme, etc.

Tune: Group Bc

(xlix) 'O where are you going?'

Place: Rutland, Vermont

Date: 1931

Source: Sung by Cleon Perkins, from family tradition.
H. H. Flanders collection, C27, Middlebury
College, Vermont.

Description: 15 stanzas

C² G^{1c,3,4,6} H¹ I³ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,16d,11a}
K^{11b,13a,14a} M².

Refrain: Every grove goes merry in time, etc.

(1) 'True Lover of Mine'

Place: ? Scotland

Date: 1932

Source: Mary Stewart Robertson, from Mrs. Christina
Stewart Robertson, 50 years previously.
Carpenter MSS Reel 4, Box 2, Packet II.
Tune, Reel 7 Box V.

Description: 6 stanzas

G^{1,3,4} K^{2a,5,8,10}.Refrain: Come a' you young maids that's sitting by me
Let every rose grow merry in thyme

Tune: Group Bc

(li) 'Strawberry Lane'

Place: Canada

Date: 1932

Source: Elmore Vincent, Lumberjack Songs, p.19.
Bronson 2.35.

Description: 7 stanzas

C⁵ G^{1,3} H K^{1a,2a,5,13,19a}.

Refrain: Ev'ry rose grows merry and fine

Tune: unclassified

(1ii) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Roanoke, Virginia

Date: 1932-5

Source: Mrs. W.Horton, collected by Alfreda Peel.
Davis, More Traditional Ballads of
Virginia, 1960, pp.11-12 (BB)

Description: 2 separate fragments:

G^{2a,2a}A⁴ G^{1c,2a} K^{1a,4,4}Refrain: Saver a rose that grows merry in time,
etc.

(1iii) 'Go buy to me an acre of land'

Place: Back Creek, Virginia

Date: 1932-5

Source: Sung by Minter Grubb, collected by Alfreda
Peel. Davis, op.cit., pp.10-11 (AA)

Description: 6 stanzas:

K^{1a,2a,5,4,11} H G^{1,3}.

Refrain: Let every rose grow merry in time, etc.

(.1iv) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: N.Calais, Vermont

Date: Aug 24, 1933

Source: Mrs. Ella Doten. Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.61-2

Description: 7 stanzas:

C² G^{1c,2,3,4a} I³ K^{1a,2a,5} M¹.

Refrain: Every word goes merry in time, etc.

(1v) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: N.Calais, Vermont

Date: July 29, 1933

Source: Mrs. Alice Sicily. Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.62-3
(E)

Description: 2 stanzas:

C² G^{1c,2}.

Refrain: Every word goes merry in time, etc.

(lvi) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: E.Calais, Vermont

Date: Oct. 8, 1934

Source: Sung by Mrs. Myra Daniels. Flanders,
ABTSNE I pp.65-7 (G)

Description: 11 stanzas:

C³ G^{1c,2,3,4} I³ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,9,16d,11a} M¹.

Refrain: For ev'ry grove is merry in time, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(lvii) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Vermont

Date: 1934

Source: Sung by H.Luce, learned from E.A.Luce.
Flanders, A Garland of Green Mountain Song
1934, pp.58-9. Flanders, ABTSNE I (F)p.64.
Bronson 2.45

Description: 11 stanzas:

B⁴ G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,3c,11a,11,4,14} M.

Refrain: Every rose grows merry in time, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(lviii) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Dallas, Texas

Date: c.1934

Source: Sent by Miss Ruby Lawrence, remembered
from her mother's singing. H.H.Flanders
collection, Vermont.Description: 3 fragmented stanzas: C¹ G^{1,6b}.

Refrain: Rosemary and thyme, etc.

(lix) 'A True Lover of Mine'

Place: Alger, Michigan

Date: 1935

Source: Sung by Otis Evilsizer. E.E.Gardner &
G.J.Chickering, Ballads & Songs of
Southern Michigan, 1939, pp.137-8.
Bronson 2.38

Description: 9 stanzas:

B⁵ G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a} M.

Refrain: May ev'ry rose bloom merry in time, etc.

Tune: Bb

(1x) 'Rose de Marian Time'

Place: Norton, N.Carolina

Date: 1935-6

Source: Sung by Mrs. Fannie Norton. Frank C. Brown, Collection of North Carolina Folklore II 1952 p.14 (B); Richard Chase, Old Songs & Singing Games, 1931, p.18 (composite text); Winston Wilkinson MSS., 1935-6, pp.1-2, University of Virginia; Frank Brown MS 16a 12, Library of Congress. Bronson 2.41

Description: 4 stanzas: C¹ G^{1,3,4}.

Refrain: Rose de Marian time, etc.

Tune: Bb

(1xi) 'The Two Lovers'

Place: Princeton, Indiana

Date: 1936

Source: Mrs. Dora Ward. P.G.Brewster, Ballads & Songs of Indiana, 1940, pp.23-4 (A)

Description: 7 stanzas:
G^{1,3} K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,16} M¹.

Refrain: Rivers and seas are merry in time, etc.

(1xii) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Evansville, Indiana

Date: 1936

Source: Mrs. Thomas M. Bryant. Brewster, op.cit., pp.23-4 (B).

Description: 7 stanzas:
C¹ G^{1,3,4} I K^{2a,5,8a,10a}.

Refrain: Every rose grows merry in time, etc.

(1xiii) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: East St. Louis, Illinois

Date: 1936

Source: Mrs. Mary Shriver. Brewster, op.cit., pp.27-8 (E).

Description: 3 fragmented stanzas:
G¹ K^{1a,5}.

Refrain: Rose merry and time, etc.

(lxiv) 'Save Rosemary and Thyme'

Place: Newberry, Florida

Date: 1937

Source: Mrs. G.A.Griffin, Learned from her father,
of Adel, Georgia (b.1863). SFQ VIII (1944)
pp.135-6. Bronson 2.42

Description: 9 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4,6b} K^{1a,5,2a,8a,10a,13b} M.

Refrain: Save rosemary and thyme, etc.

Tune: Bb

(lxv) 'Scarborough Fair'

Place: Bellows Falls, Vermont

Date: 1938

Source: Mrs. Florence Underhill & Misses Young.
Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.57-9 (B).

Description: 15 stanzas:

C² G^{1c,2,3,4,7} I³ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,11b,14a} M².

Refrain: Ev'ry grove grows merry with time, etc.

Tune: Bc

(lxvi) 'Go and make me a Cambric Shirt'

Place: Wisconsin

Date: 1939

Source: Pearl Jacobs Borusky & Maud Jacobs. Learned
in Kentucky. Asher E. Treat, JAF LII (1939)
pp.15-16.
Bronson 2.24Refrain: Then you can be that true lover of mine
(twice)

Tune: Bc

(1xvii) 'True Lover of Mine'

Place: San José, California

Date: Dec. 1938

Source: Sung by George Graham: L.C. Archive of
American Folksong, Rec. 3812 A1.
(Sidney Robertson). Bronson 2.49

Description: 5 stanzas:

C⁹ K^{1a,5,11b} G^{1,6c}.

Refrain: Green grows the merry antine, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(1xviii) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Ohio

Date: 1939

Source: Sung by Mary E. Lux, from family tradition.
M. Eddy, Ballads and Songs from Ohio, 1939,
pp.4-5. Bronson 2.43

Description: 10 stanzas:

C¹ G¹ I K^{1a,2a,5} (and cover it all over with
one big sheet)
K^{8a,10a,13b,17a} M.

Refrain: Rose Mary in time, etc.

Tune: Bb

(1xix) 'Rosemary and Thyme'

Place: Perrysville, Ohio

Date: 1939

Source: Annie Byers: Eddy, op.cit., pp.3-4.
Bronson 2.39

Description: 11 stanzas:

C¹ K^{1a,5a,8a,10a,13b,17a} I G^{1,3} M³.

Refrain: Rosemary and thyme, etc.

Tune: Bb

(1xx) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Rutland, Vermont

Date: 1939

Source: Amy Perkins, learned from Emery T. Fisher.
Flanders & others, The New Green Mountain
Songster, 1939, pp.8-10.
Bronson 2.47

ctd..

(lxx) ctd.,

Description: 15 stanzas:

C² G^{1c,3,4,6} H¹ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,16d,11a,}
K^{13a,14a} M².

Refrain: Every globe goes merry in time, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(lxxi) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Farmington, Arkansas

Date: 1941

Source: Wiley Hembree, learned from his father in 1896. Vance Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 1946, I pp.38-9 (A).
Bronson 2.40

Description: 11 stanzas:

C¹ G^{1a,3,4} I K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,13b,17a} M.

Refrain: Roze-marrow and time, etc.

Tune: Bb

(lxxii) 'Rosemary'

Place: Spring Valley, Arkansas

Date: March 1951

Source: Sung by Mrs. Rachel Henry, learned from 'Little Sam' Johnson of Goshen, Ark., as a child. Collected by Irene Carlisle. University of Arkansas Library, Reel 97, transcribed by M.C.Parler.

Description: Irregular, 28 lines:

C¹ G^{1,3,4} I K^{1a,5,3a,17a} M.

Refrain: Rosemary went on.

(lxxiii) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: Mohill, Leitrim, Ireland

Date: 1954

Source: Sung by Thomas Moran, collected by Seamus Ennis. JFDSS Vol VIII (1956) No.1 p.26. Topic, 'The Child Ballads I' (Vol.4 of The Folksongs of Britain series).

Description: 11 stanzas:

C⁵ G(to man)^{1,3,4} K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,16c,10d}
K^{13b} M.

Refrain: Every grows merry betimes, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(lxxiv) 'Make me a Cambric Shirt'

Place: Dutton, Arkansas

Date: Dec. 14 1958

Source: Billie Lou Ratcliff 'from my grandmother's scrapbook'. University of Arkansas Library.

Description: 5 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4} K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,13b,17a}.

Refrain: Rosemary and thyme

(lxxv) 'Rosemary and Thyme'

Place: Hog Scald Holler, Arkansas

Date: April 7 1958

Source: Sung by Mrs. Allie Long Parker. M.C.Parler, An Arkansas Ballet Book, 1975

Description: 11 stanzas:

C¹ G^{1,3,4} I K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,13b,17a} M.

Refrain: Rosemary and thyme, etc.

(lxxvi) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Bellburns, Newfoundland

Date: 1959

Source: Sung by Mrs. Clara Stevens. K.Peacock, Songs of the Newfoundland Outports, 1965 Vol.I pp.7-8. Another recording of Mrs. Stevens, by H.Halpert & J.D.A.Widdowson, M.U.N.F.L.A. 66-24, C273 R., is essentially the same, with st.4 omitted and variations in tune at lines 1 and 4. (1966)

Description: 9 stanzas:

B⁶ G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,11,15b} M.

Refrain: Early rose grow merry and dine, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(lxxvii) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Park Hill, Ontario

Date: 1964

Source: Mrs. Belle Kettner. E. & C.O.Moore, Ballads and Folksongs of the Southwest, 1964, pp.9-10 (C).Description: 1 stanza: A¹

Refrain: Summer sea, a merry of time, etc.

Tune: Be

(1xxviii) 'Cambric Shirt'

Place: Moore, Oklahoma

Date: 1964

Source: Mrs. Martha Allen. Moore, Ballads and Songs of the Southwest, 1964, p.10 (D).Description: 1 stanza: C¹.

Refrain: Rosemary and thyme, etc.

Tune: Bb

(1xxix) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Tulsa, Oklahoma

Date: 1964

Source: Mrs. Susie Evans Daley. Moore, op.cit., pp.7-8 (A).

Description: 7 stanzas:

C¹ K^{1a} G¹ K^{2a,5} G³ K^{11,13} M.

Refrain: Rosemary and I, etc.

Tune: Bb

(1xxx) 'Every Rose grows merry in time'

Place: Brant Lake, New York

Date: June 1965

Source: Sara Cleveland. Collected by Sandy Paton. Bronson IV p.440 (Addenda 2.34.1)

Description: 11 stanzas:

B G^{1,3,4,6} H K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,13b,15b} M.

Refrain: Every rose grows merry in time, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(1xxxix) 'Strawberry Lane'

Place: Leitrim, Ireland

Date: ? 1972

Source: Michael Moran (son of Thomas, see 1xxiii above). Collected by Tom Munnelly. University College Dublin, Tape 3/52/13.

Description: 11 stanzas:

C⁵ G^{1,3,4} I⁴ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,13b,16c,11} M.

Refrain: Every rose grow merry betime

(1xxxii) 'Rosemary Lane'

Place: Kilmore, Wexford

Date: Dec. 12 1972

Source: Mrs. Elizabeth Jeffries, collected by Tom Munnelly; University College, Dublin Tape 98/A/5.

Another recording, collected by Mary and Nigel Hudleston and printed in Colm O'Lochlainn, More Irish Street Ballads, Dublin 1965, without Mrs. Jeffries' knowledge and altered slightly by the editor.

Description: 11 stanzas:

C⁴ G^{1,3,4} I⁵ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,10a,16a}(snail)
K^{13a}, M.

Refrain: Every rose grows merry and fine, etc.

(1xxxiii) 'The Tri-coloured House'

Place: Leitrim

Date: July 18 1973

Source: Mrs. Mary Kate McDonagh (45), a settled traveller, learned from her father.

Collected by Tom Munnelly. University College, Dublin, Tape 191/2.

Description: 9 stanzas:

C⁶ G^{1,3,4,6a} I⁶ K^{1a,5,2a,13b}.

Refrain: Where every rose grows merry and fine,
etc.

GROUP C: Nonsense Refrains.

(i) ('Now you are going to Cape Ann')

Place: Hadley, Mass.

Date: 1828

Source: Sent to Child by Rev. F.D. Huntington, Bishop of Western New York, as sung to him by his father; learned from a 'rough, roystering character' in the town.
Child 2J.

Description: 7 stanzas:

C³ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,16c,4,14a} M.

Refrain: Follomingkathellomeday, etc.

(ii)('The Cambric Shirt')

Place: Brownington, Vermont

Date: 1910

Source: From Fred Wilkinson, West Plains, Missouri,
from a manuscript collection made by his
grandmother in Vermont.Henry Belden, JAF XXIII (1910) p.430
Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.70-1 (J)

Description: 6 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4} K^{1a,2a,5,11c}.

Refrain: Fluma luma lokey sloomy, etc.

(iii)'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Knox Co., Missouri

Date: 1921

Source: From Mrs. McKay, from her husband, who
learned it from a wandering hired man,
20 years previously. Belden, Ballads and
Songs collected by the Missouri Folklore
Society, 1940, p.2

Description: 11 stanzas:

C G^{1,3,4} I⁷ K^{1a,2a,5,8a,11a,11b,16e} M¹.

Refrain: Fum a lum la castle ony, etc.

(iv)'O Where are you going ? I'm going to Lynn'

Place: Calhoun Co., West Virginia

Date: 1924

Source: Sung by Moses Ayers; collected by Patrick
Gainer. Gainer, Folksongs from the West
Virginia Hills, 1975, pp.4-5.

Description: 8 stanzas:

C² G^{1,3,4} H K^{1a,2a,5,10a,10}.

Refrain: Follow ma la cus lonelee, etc.

Tune: Cb (like Bb)

(v)'Redio-Tedio'

Place: Brewer, Maine

Date: 1929

Source: Sung by Mrs. Susie Carr Young, learned
1882 from Sybil Emery. Barry, Eckstorm &
Smith, British Ballads from Maine, 1929
pp.3-4.

Bronson 2.3

ctd..

(v) ctd.

Description: 6 stanzas:

G¹ K^{1a,2a,5,10a,10,13a,16a} M.

Refrain: Fum-lum-a-link, sup-loo-my-nee, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(vi) 'Scarborough Fair'

Place: E. Calais, Vermont

Date: 1931

Source: Sung by Ola Leonard Gray, from family tradition. Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.59-61 (C); Flanders & Brown, Vermont Folksongs & Ballads, 1931, pp.194-6. Bronson 2.6

Description: 10 stanzas:

C² G^{1c,2,3,4} I¹⁰ K^{1a,2a,5,8b,14a} M.

Refrain: Follow ma la cus lomely, etc.

Tune: Cb (like Bb)

(vii) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Manchester, Vermont

Date: Nov. 13 1932

Source: From Paul Lorette; published in the Republican, Springfield, Mass. Flanders, ABTSNE I p.76 (N)

Description: K('They told me to plow...')^{1a,2a,3,5,}
K^{8a,11a,11b}.

Refrain: Luma tisell, luma tasell, luma tusell, etc.

(viii) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Quanah, Texas

Date: 1932

Source: Sung by Mrs. J.C. Marshall. Mabel Major, Publications of the Texas Folk-lore Society, X (1932) pp.137-8.
J.F. Dobie, Tone the Bell Easy, 1932/1965, p.137
Bronson 2.5

Description: 7 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4} K^{1a,2a,5,8a,11a} M.

Refrain: Keedle up, a keedle up, a turp, turp tay,
etc.

Tune: unclassified

(ix) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: St. Albans, Vermont

Date: ?1933

Source: Sung by Lillian Mason Morton. Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.68-70 (I)

Description: 8 stanzas, fragmented:

C² G^{1,3,4} I³ K^{1a,2a,5} M¹.

Refrain: Bum, bum-a-linktum-a slum-a-lay, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(x) 'Tell her to make me a holland shirt'

Place: Cadyville, New York

Date: ?1933

Source: Sung by Lily Delorme. Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.71-3 (K)

Description: 5 stanzas:

G^{1,3} K^{1a,2a,5} M¹.

Refrain: Slum-alum-may-cree, slo-mun-nil, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(xi) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Wallingford, Vermont

Date: 1934

Source: Sung by Charles Wade. Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.75-6 (M)

Description: 7 sung stanzas + 1 spoken stanza:

K^{1a,2a,5,8a,16d,4,11} G^{1c,3}'When your work is all done, your shirt
you can put on'.

Refrain: Slum-alum-a linktum, slow me, etc.

(xii) 'Mother, make me a cambric shirt'

Place: Aurora, Indiana

Date: 1936

Source: From Mrs. John W. Wright. P. Brewster, Ballads & Songs of Indiana, 1940, pp.27-8

Description: 6 stanzas:

G^{1,3,4} K('Mother, buy me...')^{1a,5,2a} Q¹.

Refrain: From a nomanee, cast nomanee, etc.

(xiii) ('The Cambric Shirt')

Place: Doolittle Mills, Indiana

Date: 1936

Source: Sung by Mrs. Earl Underhill; collected by Dr. Claude Lomax. Brewster, Ballads and Songs of Indiana p.25

Description: 11 stanzas:

E¹ G^{1c,2,3,4} J K^{1a,2a,5,8a,11a,11c} M.

Refrain: Ly flum a lum a licker sloma, etc.

(xiv) 'O say, do you know the way to Selin ?'

Place: Carthage, Maine

Date: 1937

Source: Sung by 'Aunt Fannie' Parker. L.R. Ring, New England Folk Songs, 1937, pp.12-13. Bronson 2.4

Description: 12 stanzas:

C² G^{1c,3,3b,4} I⁹ K^{1a,2a,5,8b,14,8d,11a,11b} M.

Refrain: Hickalack, tickalack, farmalack-a-day, etc.

Tune: unclassified

(xv) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Miller's Falls, Mass.

Date: 1939

Source: From Herbert J. Ward. Flanders, ABTSNE I p.77 (0)Description: 3 stanzas: K^{1a,2a,5} M.

No refrain.

(xvi) 'Are you going to the Fair'

Place: Newport, Rhode Island

Date: Oct. 1945

Source: Spoken by Elizabeth Genders, sung to her as a child by her family, who were early Rhode Island settlers. Flanders, ABTSNE I pp.67-8 (H)

Description: 9 stanzas:

C¹⁰ G^{1,3,4} I¹² K^{1a,2a,5,8b,11} M¹.

Refrain: Fum-alum-a-lie, fum-a-lie-low-lee, etc.

(xvii) 'Tom, lom, make a slomingey'

Place: Hill Top, Arkansas

Date: 1958

Source: Lavada Abney, learned from her father,
who learned it from an uncle. University
of Arkansas Library

Description: 10 stanzas:

C G^{1c,3,4} I⁷ K^{1a,2a,5,8,11a} M.

Refrain: Tom, lom, make a slomingey, etc.

(xviii) 'The Cambric Shirt'

Place: Tulsa, Oklahoma

Date: 1964

Source: Sung by Mrs. Mary Ann McFarland. Moore,
Ballads & Folksongs of the Southwest, 1964,
pp.8-9

Description: 6 stanzas:

G('My mother made me...')^{1,3,4} K('My father
gave me...')^{1,5,2a} Q¹.GROUP D: 'Sing ivy' refrains

(i) 'My father left me three acres of land'

Place: England

Date: c.1850

Source: J. O. Halliwell, Nursery Rhymes of England,
6th ed. p.109, No.171. Collected mainly
from oral tradition.
Child 2K

Description: 5 stanzas:

F K^{2a,5,3a,8,11a}^{4,17} P.Refrain: Sing ivy, sing ivy
Sing holly, go whistle and ivy.

(ii) 'My father gave me an acre of land'

Place: England

Date: 1853

Source: Notes & Queries, 1st Ser.VII p.8 (1853)
Child 2L

ctd..

(ii) ctd.

Description: 7 stanzas:
F K^{2a,3a,5,8,17,21}.

Refrain: Sing ivy, sing ivy,
Sing green bush, holly and ivy

(iii) 'Sing Ivy'

Place: Shepperton, Surrey

Date: 1899

Source: Sung by Henry Hills; learned at Petworth,
Sussex, 1840-50. JFSS I No.3 (1901) p.83
Bronson 2.52

Description: 14 stanzas:
F¹ K^{2a,5,3a,8,11,13a,14,18,17} p.

Refrain: Sing ivy, sing ivy,
Shall I go whistling ivy ?

Tune: D (Cp. Group Ba)

(iv) 'An acre of land'

Place: Coombe Bisset, Wiltshire

Date: 1904

Source: Sung by Frank Bailey. R.Vaughan Williams,
JFSS II (1906) p.212. Bronson 2.53

Description: 6 stanzas:
F K^{2a,5,3a,8,16a,13a,17} p⁴.

Refrain: There goes this ivery,
And a bunch of green holly and ivery.

Tune: D

(v) 'Sing Ivy'

Place: England

Date: 1906

Source: A. Moffat & Frank Kidson, Children's Songs
of Long Ago, n.d., p.48; tune also in
JFSS II (1906) p.213. Bronson 2.54

Description: 5 stanzas:
F K^{2a,5,3a,8,11a,4,17} p¹.

Refrain: Sing ivy, sing ivy!
Sing holly, go whistle and ivy

Tune: D

(vi) 'Yacre of Land'

Place: S.W.England

Date: c.1906

Source: Sung by Mr. Greenwood, schoolmaster;
Vaughan Williams MSS Vol III pp.10-11Description: 10 stanzas:
F K^{2b,3a,5,8c,16a,13a,13c} Q.Refrain: Yacre of land
On Christmas Day in the morning

Tune: D.

(vii) 'Sing ivy'

Place: Catherington Workhouse, Hampshire

Date: c. 1906

Source: Sung by William Hill (79). Gardiner MSS
Notebook 15 p.12Description: 11 stanzas;
F K^{2a,5,3a,4a,8,17,13a,14,17} p².Refrain: Sing ivy, sing ivy,
Sing haricot, whiskey and ivy

(viii) 'Sing Ivy'

Place: Hampshire

Date: c.1906

Source: William and George Cole. Gardiner MSS
H 1226; H 1295

Description: 1 stanza: F.

Refrain: Sing ovy and sing ivy (or, Sing holly and
sing ivy)
With a bunch of green holly and ivy

Tunes: D

(ix) 'Sing Ivy'

Place: Dorchester Union, Dorset

Date: Dec. 1906

Source: Sung by Mrs. Seale. Hammond MSS D718
(Notebook DVII 46)Description: 7 stanzas:
K^{13a} F K^{18,16f,2a,5} p³.

Refrain: Sing holly, sing ivy

(x) 'Sing Ivy'

Place: Easton, Winchester

Date: November 1906

Source: Sung by William Mason. Gardiner, JFSS No.XIII
(1907) pp.274-5. Bronson 2.55.

Description: 9 stanzas

F K^{3a,5,4a,8,11,13a,17} P⁴.

Refrain: Sing ovy, sing ivy

A bunch of green holly and ivy

Tune: D

(xi) 'Sing Holly, Sing Ivy'

Place: Axford, Basingstoke, Hampshire

Date: 1907

Source: Sung by Mrs. Goodyear. Gardiner MSS Notebook
XI p.85.

Description: 1 stanza: F.

Refrain: Sing ovey and sing ivy

With a bunch of green holly and ivy

Tune: D.

(xii) 'A Bunch of Green Holly and Ivy'

Place: Addebury (Adderbury?), Oxfordshire

Date: c.1907

Source: Sung by Rev. C. F. Cholmondely, at Harvest
Suppers, collected by Janet Blunt. Foxworthy,
Forty Long Miles, n.d.

Description: 8 stanzas

F K^{2b,3a,5,8,16f,13a} p⁵.

Refrain: Sing hey, sing ho, sing hidee-o

With a bunch of green holly and ivy

Tune: D

(xiii) ('Sing Ivy')

Place: England

Date: Dec. 1922

Source: Sharp MSS 4933. Bronson 2.51. Singer not given.

Description: 1 stanza: F.

Refrain: Sing hey sing ho sing ivy

And a bunch of green holly and ivy

Tune: D

(xiv) 'Holly and Ivy'

Place: Purton, Wiltshire

Date: published 1923

Source: From Mrs. Hedges. Alfred Williams, Folksongs of the Upper Thames, pp.221-2.

Description: 9 stanzas

F K^{16b},3a,5,8,13a,14,17 p³.Refrain: Sing holly, sing ivy
And a bunch of green holly and ivy

(xv) 'A Bunch of Green Holly and Ivy'

Place: ? England

Date: ? 1930s

Source: W. Belcher. Carpenter MSS, Reel 4 Box 2,
Packet II.

Description: 12 stanzas

F⁵,3a,8,10,11,13a,14,19 p³.Refrain: Sing ovey, sing ivey,
With a bunch of green holly and ivy

(xvi) 'A Bunch of Holly and Ivy'

Place: Weston (Avon?) England

Date: ? 1930s

Source: Daniel Fisher, learned as a lad in the village
50 years previously. Carpenter MSS, Reel 4
Box 2 Packet II.

Description: 22 stanzas

(xvii) 'Green Holly and Ivy'

Place: ? England

Date: ? 1930s

Source: Edward Newitt. Carpenter MSS, Reel 4 Box 2
Packet II.

Description: 5 stanzas

F^{2b},5,8c,16a.Refrain: Sing inc, sing inc, sing ivy,
With a little green holly and ivy

Tune: D

(xviii) ('Sing Holly and Ivy')

Place: Hamptonfields, Minchenhampton, Gloucestershire

Date: ? 1930s

Source: Jim Cox. Carpenter MSS, Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II

Description: 13 stanzas

F² K^{2b,3d,5,5b,4a,8,11,14,11e,19} p³.

Refrain: Sing ovey, sing ivy,

With a bunch of green holly and ivy

(xix) ('The Elfin Knight')

Place: ? England

Date: ? 1930s

Source: Daniel Price. Carpenter MSS Reel 7, Box V.

Description: 1 stanza, with tune: F.

Refrain: Sing ivy, sing ivy

With a bunch o' green holly and ivy

Tune: D

(xx) 'My father gave me an acre of ground'

Place: Hamblen Co., Tennessee

Date: 1934

Source: J. J. Niles, Ballad Book, pp.13-15

Sung by Simeon B. Coffee.

Description: 3 stanzas following the normal pattern, concluding with 5 stanzas from Groups A ('Plaid or not plaid, married we'll be') and B ('I'll wear my shirt in yonders town') and with both ivy and herb refrains. Since this is the only American text in Group D, its authenticity is extremely dubious.

Tune: D

(xxi) 'Evie and Ivy'

Place: Bedfordshire

Date: ?c.1950

Source: Sung by Mr. Salisbury, collected by Fred Hamer. Hamer, Green Groves, 1973, p.27.

Description: 5 stanzas

F K^{2a,5,3,8a}.

Refrain: Evie and Ivy

With a bunch of green holly and ivy

Tune: D

(xxii) 'An Acre o' Land'

Place: Barrow-on-Humber

Date: 1957

Source: Sung by Luther Stanley; collected by
Mrs. E. H. Rudkin. Patrick O'Shaughnessy,
More Folk Songs from Lincolnshire, 1971, p.1.

Description: 7 stanzas

F K^{5,3b,8,13a,19} p².

Refrain: Sing, sing Ay, sing izey
And a bunch of bonny green ivy

Tune: D

(xxiii) 'Yacker a' Land'

Place: Swinton, Maltby, Yorkshire

Date: 20 Jan. 1958

Source: Sung by Eric Race (aged about 28); collected
by N. A. & M. Hudleston. Vaughan Williams
Memorial Library, MPS 50(31)II 1-7; English
Dance & Song XXXV No.1 (1973) p.25: 'Sung
especially after harvest. A version sung in
Rillington - 'Me father he took a yacre of
t'sands' - Rillington Sands were enclosed 1780
and made into allotments, 1828. At least one
ribald version'.

Description: 6 stanzas

F K^{2b,3b,4a,5,7,8,16a,13a,17} p².

Refrain: Sing 0 sing 0 sing evy 0
With a brunch a' green holly and ivy

Tune: D

(xxiv) 'Acre of Land'

Place: West Chiltington, Sussex

Date: 1965

Source: Sung by Gabriel Figg (83); collected by
Joy Hyman. English Dance & Song XXX No.2
(1968) p.58.

Description: 11 stanzas

F K^{16f,4a,5,8,13a,14,15,19} p².

Refrain: For ee-i-o sing ivy
And a bunch of green Hollaman's ivy

Tune: D

Plus a coda: 'And that is the misfortune and end of me
farm and all, And a bunch of green
Hollaman's ivy'.

(xxv) 'Heigh-ho, sing ivy'

Place: Rottingdean, Sussex

Date: published 1971

Source: Bob Copper, A Song for Every Season, pp.206-7.

Description: 14 stanzas

F K^{2b}, 5, 3, 4a, 16a, 13a, 14, 18, 19.

Refrain: Heigh-ho, sing ivy

With a bunch of green holly and ivy

Tune: D

(xxvi) 'An Acre of Land'

Place: Shedfield, Hampshire

Date: unknown

Source: Sung by George Privett, learned from an old
soldier. Gwilym Davies, A Hampshire Collection,
n.d.

Description: 8 stanzas

F K^{2a}, 5, 3c, 8, 15, 17 p².

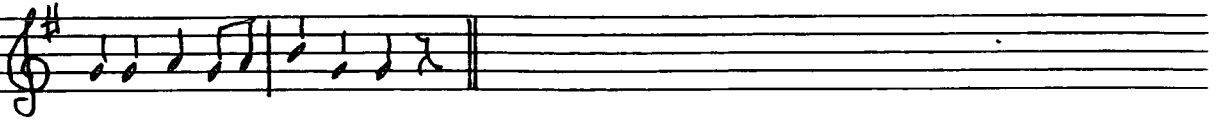
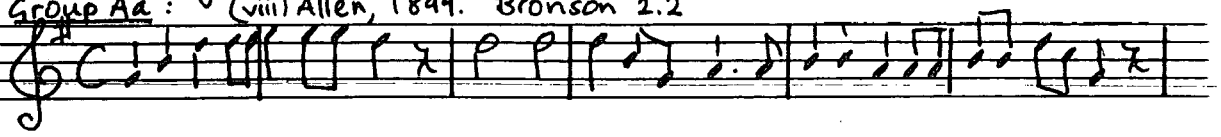
Refrain: Sing over and sing ivy

With a bunch of green holly and ivy

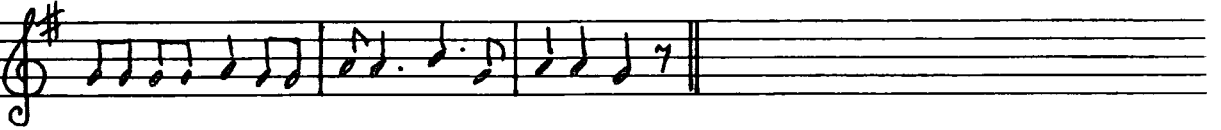
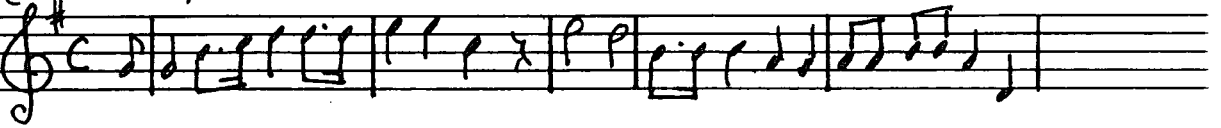
Tune: D

The Elfin Knight

Group Aa: (viii) Allen, 1899. Bronson 2.2



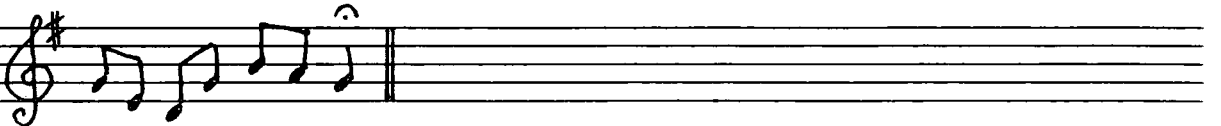
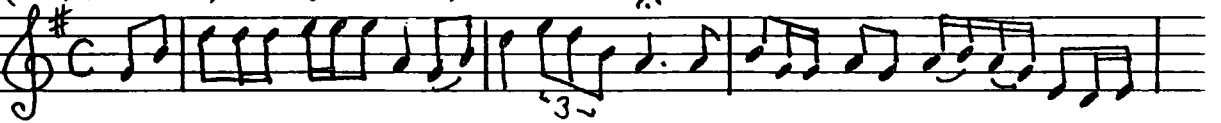
(xii) Richards, 1941



(xviii) Decker, 1959 (George)



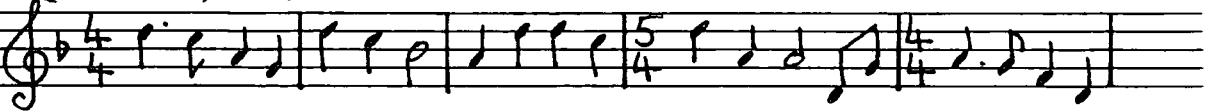
(xviii) Decker, 1966 (Charlotte)



Group A unclassified : (ix) Robb, 1908. Bronson 2.1

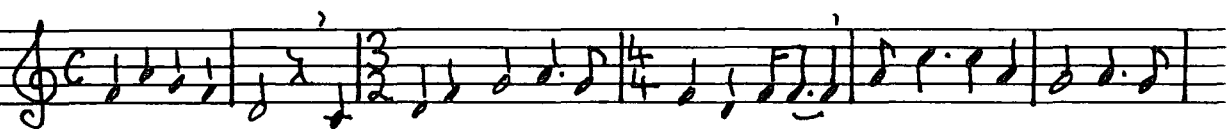
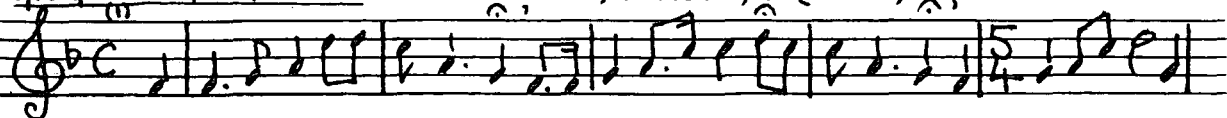


(xi) Duncan, 1931, stanza 1

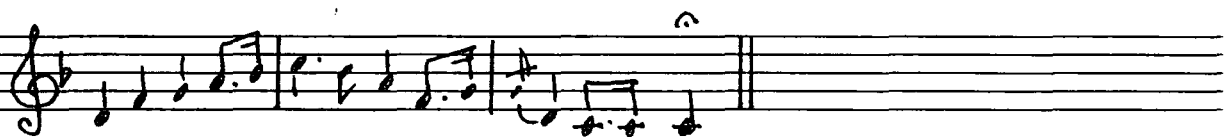
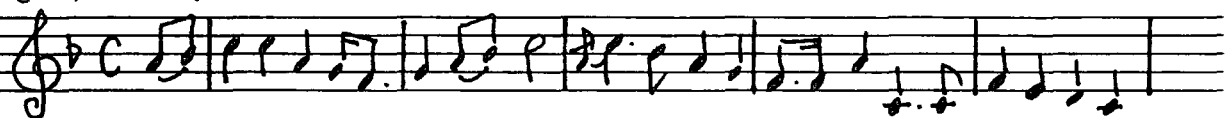


Elfin Knight

Elfin Knight
Group A unclassified ctd: (xv) Reid, 1955, stanzas 1, 4 (Martha)



(xvi) Stewart, 1956



(xix) MacDonald, 1975



(xx) Tait, 1975



(xvi) Reid (Alexander), 1975



Elfin Knight
Group 8a: (v) Grace/Stoke, 182. Bronson 2.22

(iv) Kidson, 1860. Bronson 2.18

*

(vi) Kidson, 1884. Bronson 2.17 : identical to (iv) above until *

(ix) Hext, 1890. Bronson 2.33

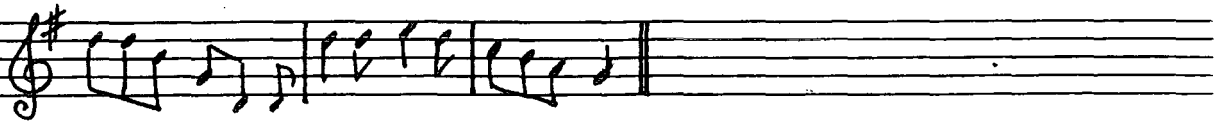
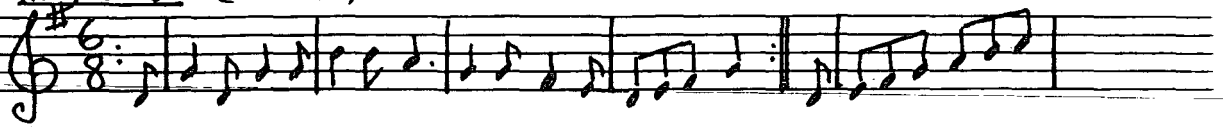
(xi) Wardill, 1891. Bronson 2.29

(xii) Hoat, 1891. Bronson 2.20

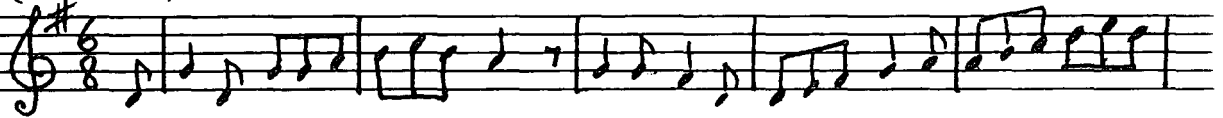
stanzas 2-5, 7-10:

Elfin Knight

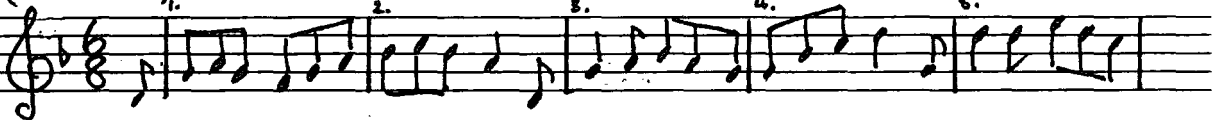
Group B♭ etd. : (xlii) Dyer, 1891. Bronson 2.14



(xix) Gilbert, 1904. Bronson 2.16



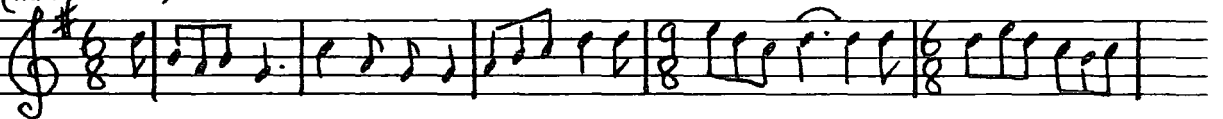
(xxxi) Hutton, 1913. Bronson 2.21



GROUP B♭ : (xx) Huxtable, 1906. Bronson 2.36



(xxix) Beadle, 1911. Bronson 2.44



Elfin Knight
Group BB ctd: (xxxvii) Barbeau et al, 1920. Bronson 2.32

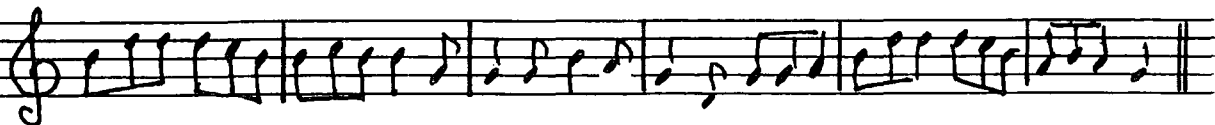
(xxxviii) Williams, 1922. Bronson LP 440.

(lii) Evlitzky, 1935. Bronson 2.38

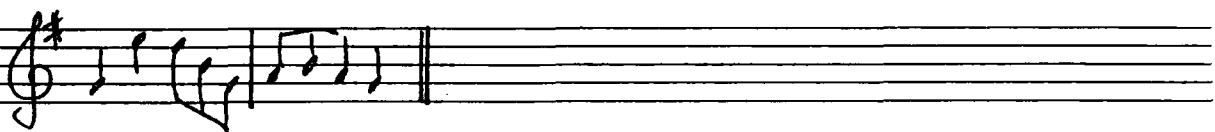
(ix) Norton, 1935-6. Bronson 2.44

(xvi) Griffin, 1937. Bronson 2.42

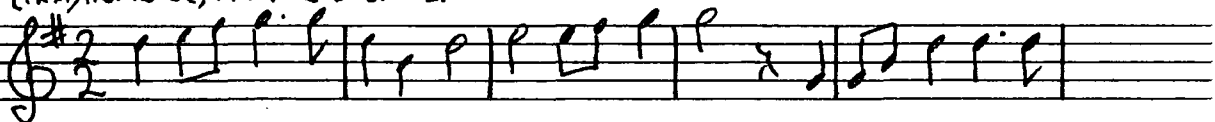
Elfin Knight
Group B♭ std: (I xviii) Lux, 1939. Bronson 2.43



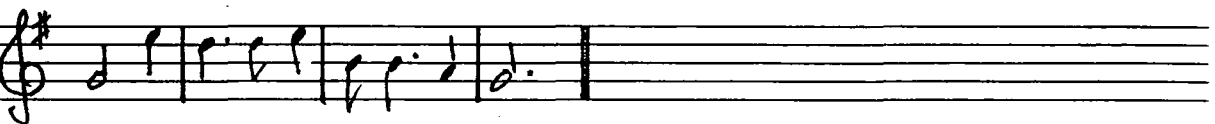
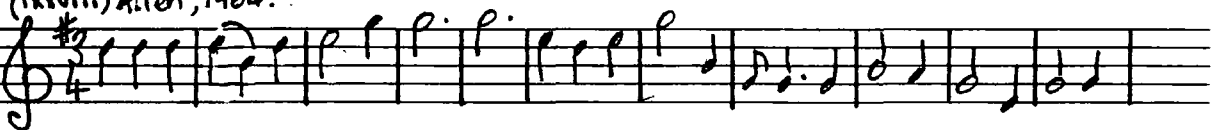
(I xix) Byers, 1939. Bronson 2.39



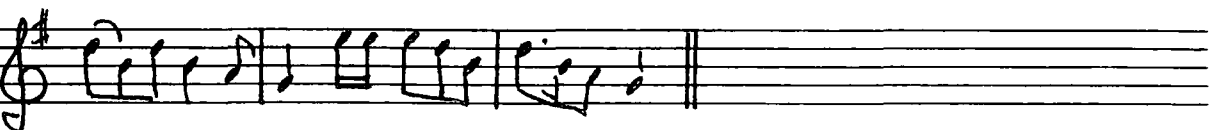
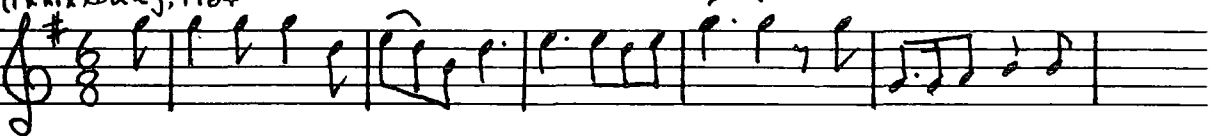
(I xxi) Hembree, 1941. Bronson 2.40



(I xviii) Allen, 1964.



(I xxix) Daley, 1964

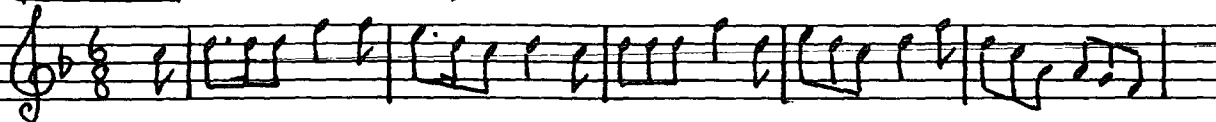


Group B♭: (I xxxii) Davis, 1914. Bronson 2.23

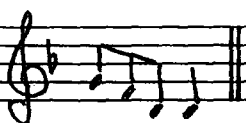
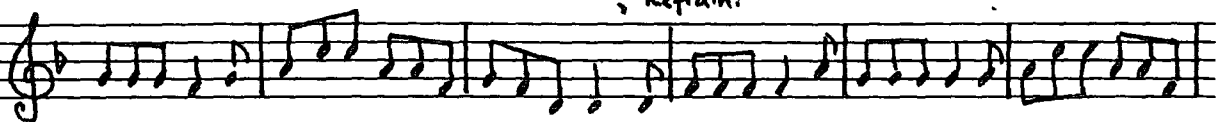


Elfin Knight

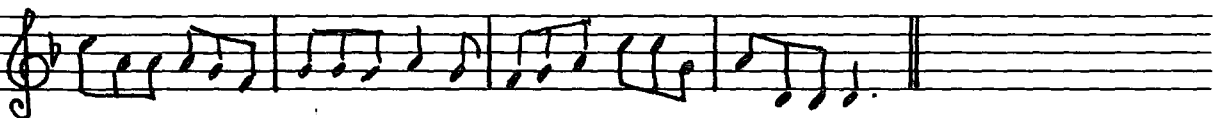
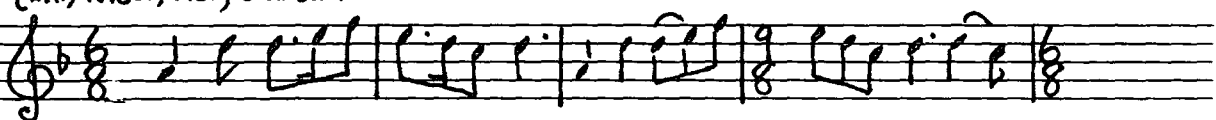
GROUP Bc ctd: (xxxix) Brown, 1931, stanza 1.



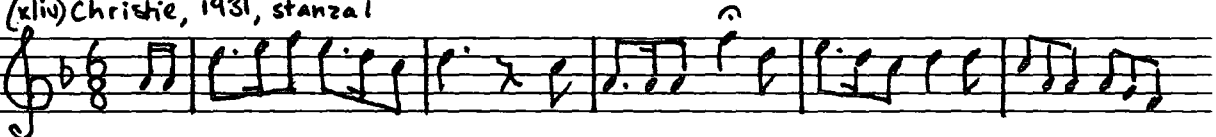
, Refrain:



(xlii) Nicol, 1931, stanza 1



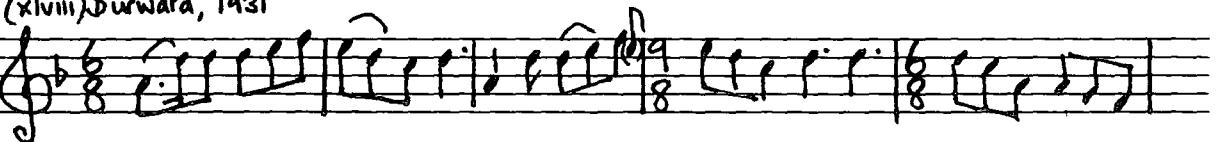
(xliii) Christie, 1931, stanza 1



(xlvi) Morrison, 1931

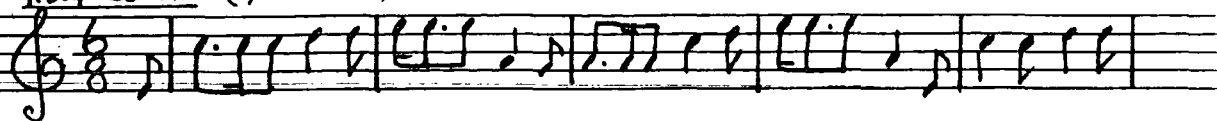


(xlviii) Durward, 1931



Elfin Knight

Group Bc ctd: (i) Robertson, 1932



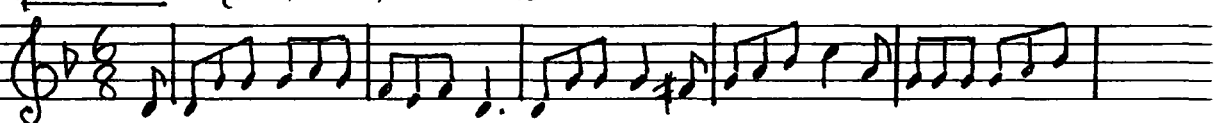
(ixv) Underhill/Young, 1938



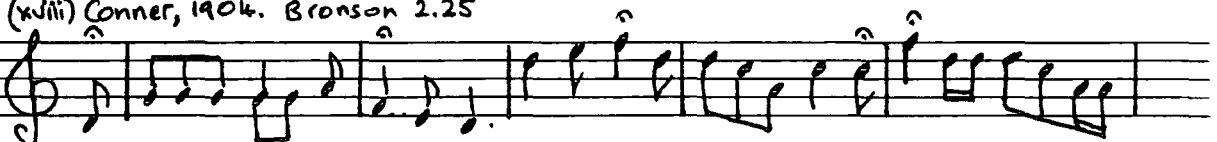
(ixvi) Borusky/Jacobs, 1939. Bronson 2.24



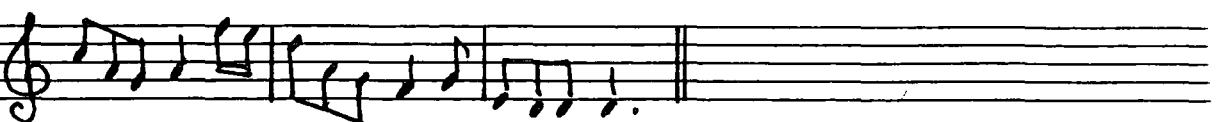
GROUP Bd: (xvii) Flint, 1904. Bronson 2.26



(xviii) Conner, 1904. Bronson 2.25

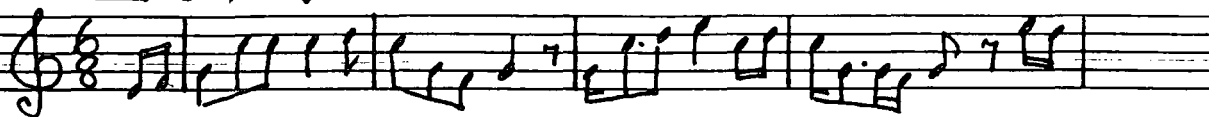


(xxvi) Joyce, 1909. Bronson 2.27

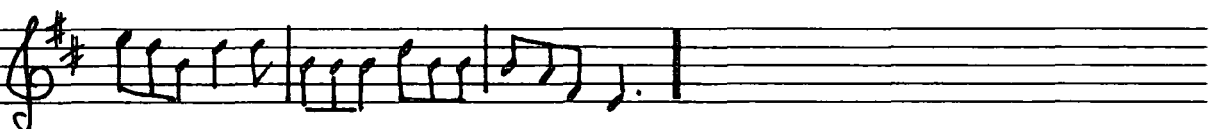
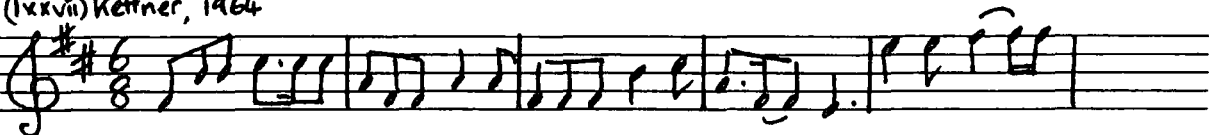


Elfin Knight

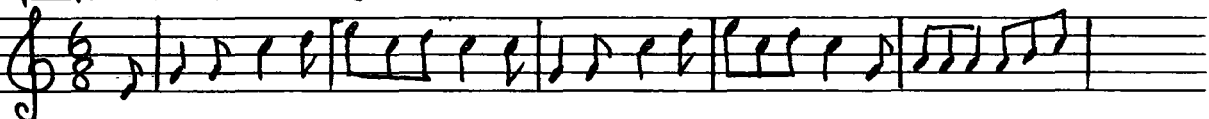
GROUP Be: (xvi) Geary, 1906. Bronson 2.31



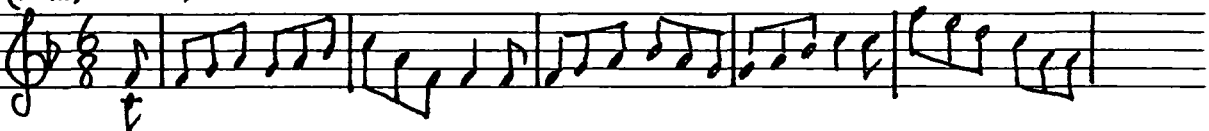
(lxxvii) Kettner, 1964



Group B unclassified: (xiv) Decrow, 1894. Bronson 2.46



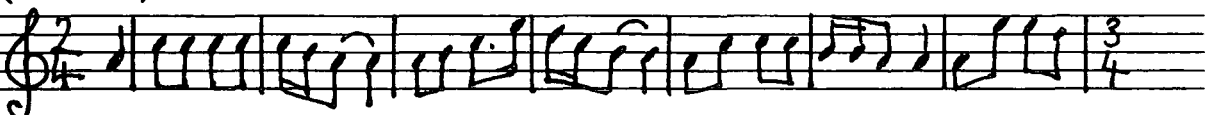
(xxiii) Russell, 1907.



(xxiv) Niles, 1908.

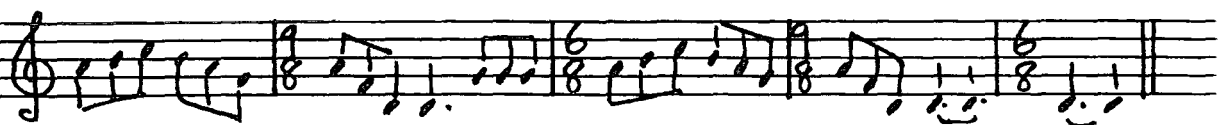
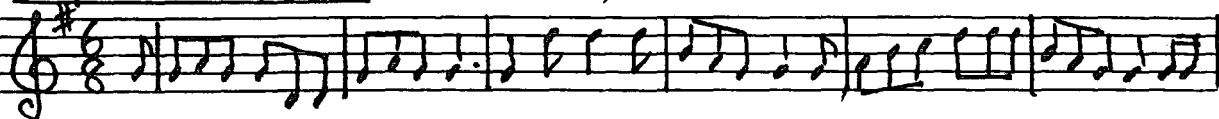


(xxv) Niles, 1908.

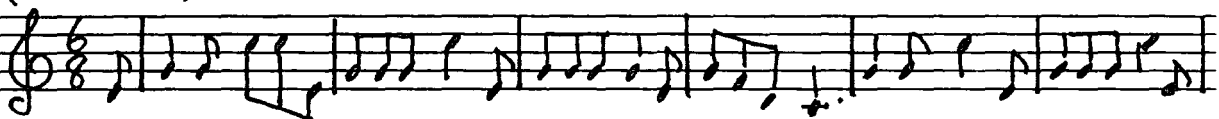


Elfin Knight

Group 3 unclassified ctd: (xxvii) Houston, 1910. Bronson 2.28



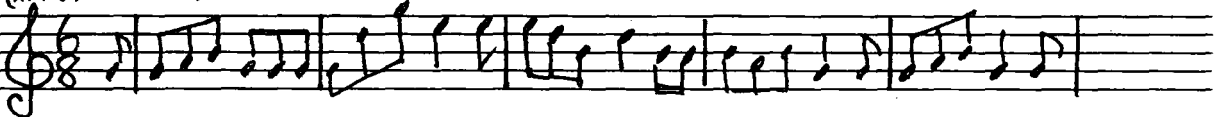
(xxiv) Carter, 1917. Bronson 2.37



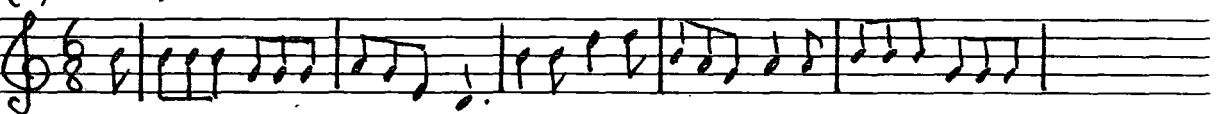
(xxv) Jones, 1917. Bronson 2.30



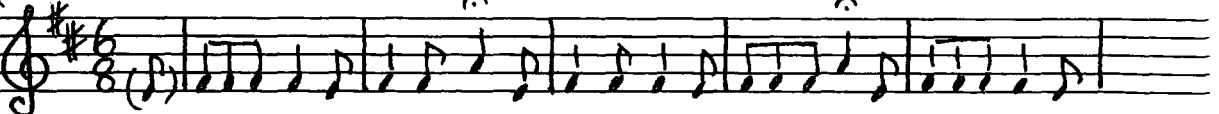
(xxvi) Mitchell, 1918. Bronson 2.48



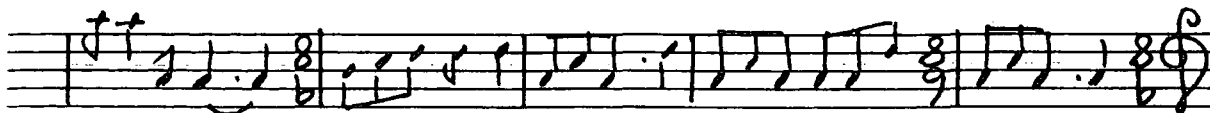
(li) Vincent, 1932. Bronson 2.35



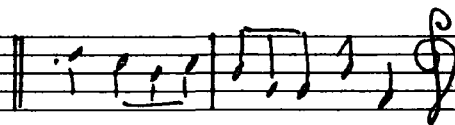
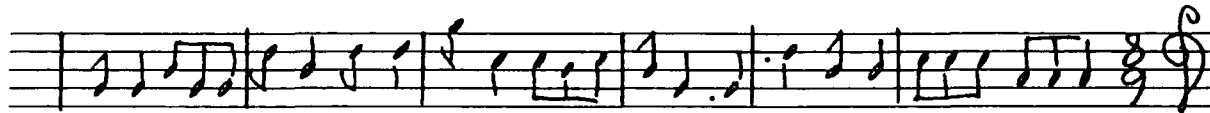
(lvi) Daniels, 1934.



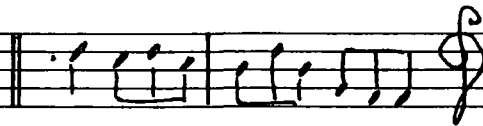
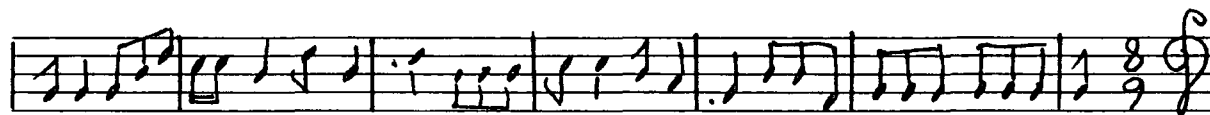
Elfin Knight
Group B unclassified ch: (ivii) Luke, 1934. Bronson 2.45



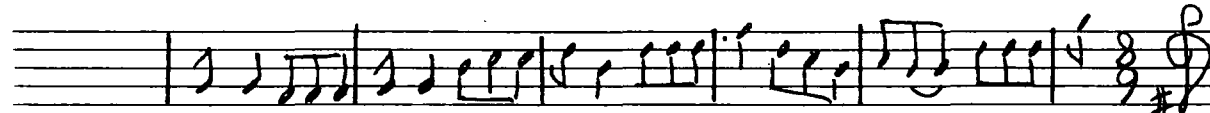
(ixvii) Graham, 1938. Bronson 2.49



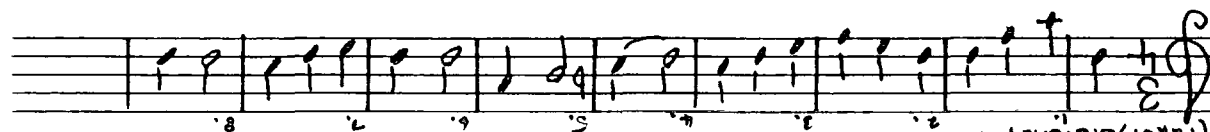
(ixv) Perkins, 1939. Bronson 2.47, stanza 1



(ixviii) Moran, 1954.



(ixxvi) Stevens, 1959



9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.



1966 variants:

14.

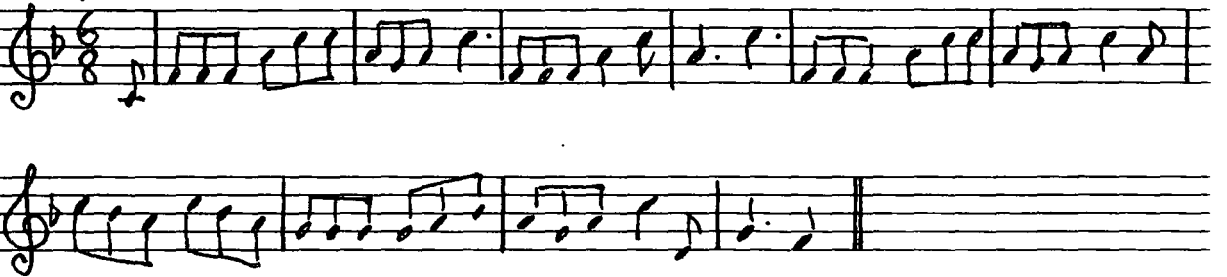


Elin Knight

Group B unclassified std: (Ixxx) Cleveland, 1965. Bronson IV p. 440

GROUP Cb (close to Bb)

(iv) Ayers, 1924.



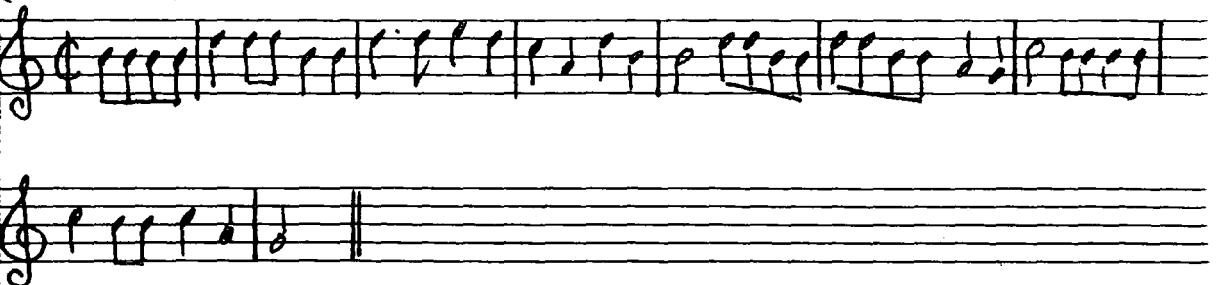
(vi) Gray, 1931. Bronson 2.6 is identical to (iv)

GROUP C unclassified

(v) Young, 1929. Bronson 2.3

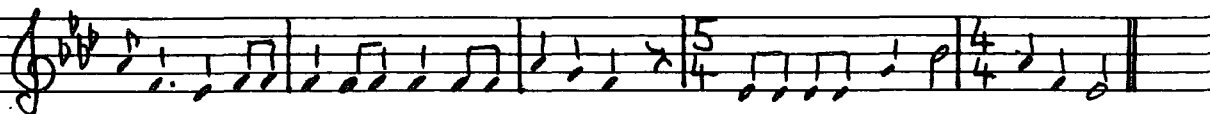
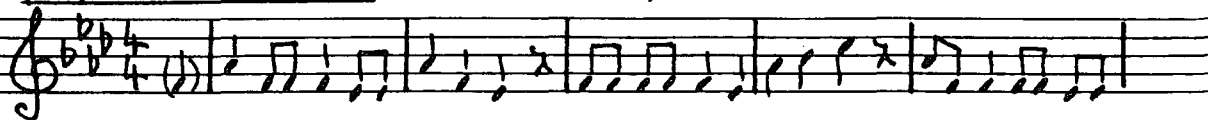


(viii) Marshall, 1932. Bronson 2.5

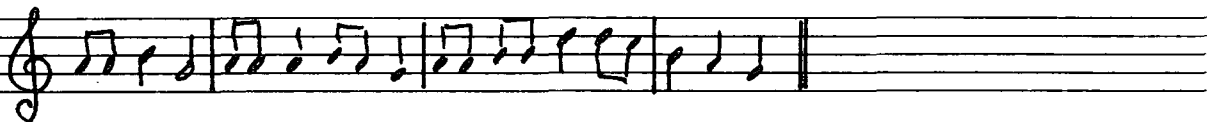
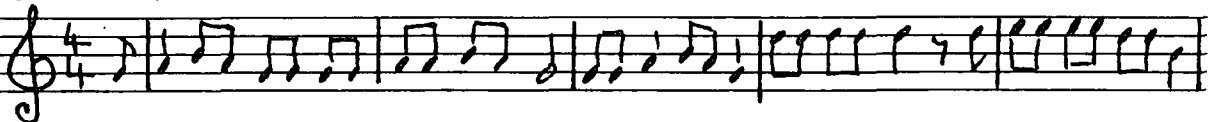


Elfin Knight

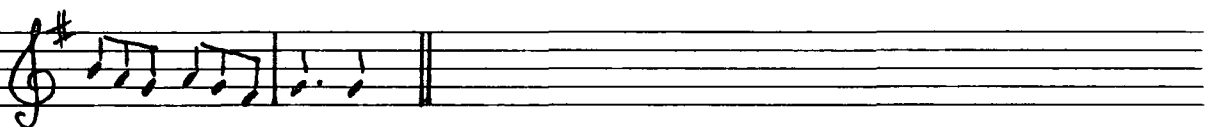
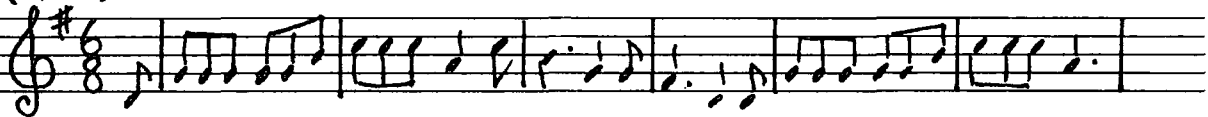
Group C unclassified ctd: (x) Delorme, 1933, stanza 1.



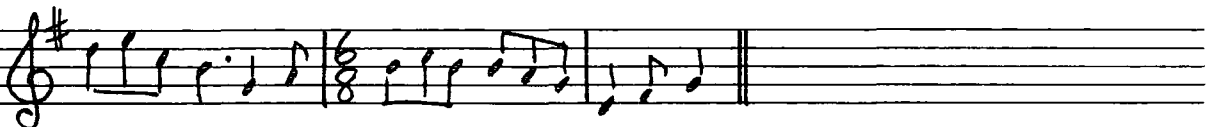
(xiv) Parker, 1937. Bronson 2.4.

GROUP D

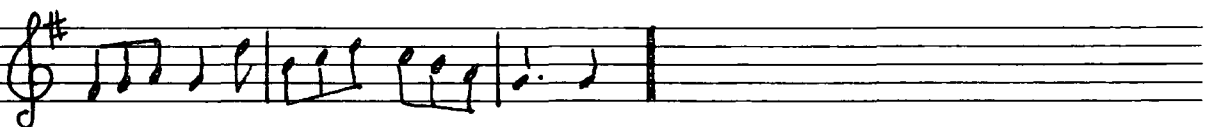
(iii) Hills, 1899. Bronson 2.52



(iv) Bailey, 1904. Bronson 2.53



(v) Moffat/Kidson, 1906. Bronson 2.54

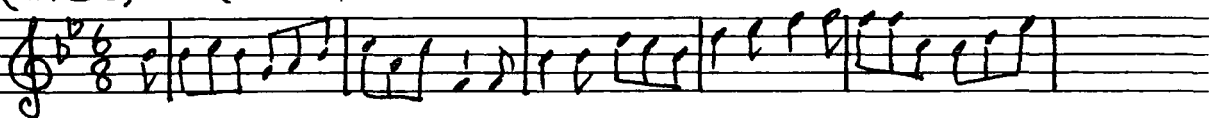


Elfin Knight
Group D et al.

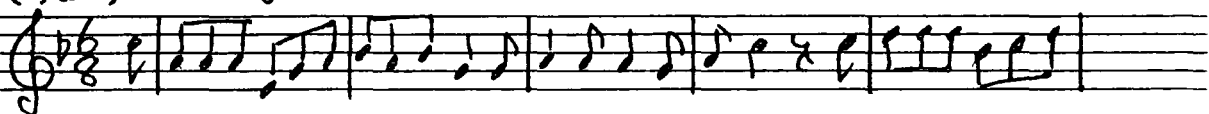
(vi) Greenwood, 1906.



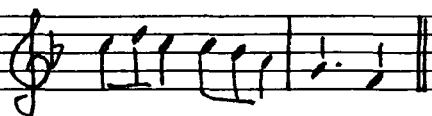
(viii) Cole, 1906 (William)



(vii) Cole, 1906 (George)



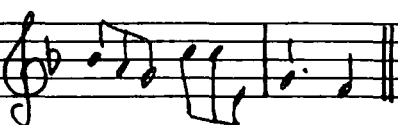
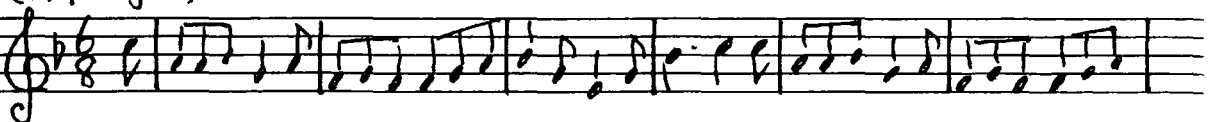
Extra refrain at end

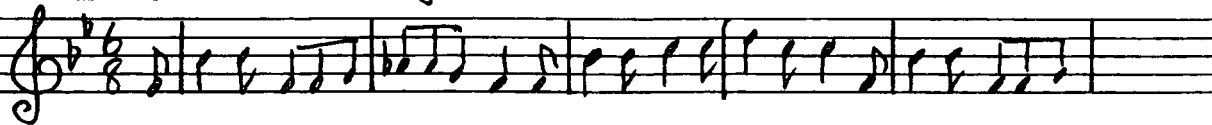


(x) Mason, 1906. Bronson 255

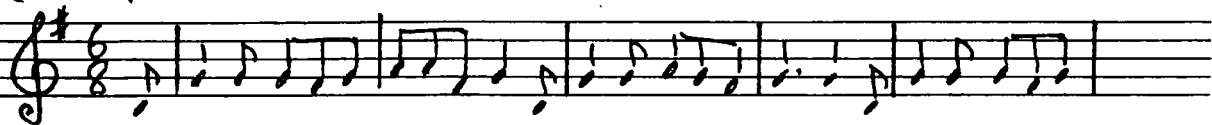


(xi) Goodyear, 1907

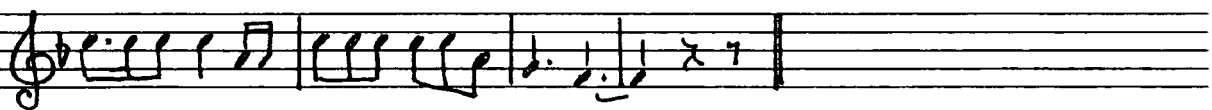
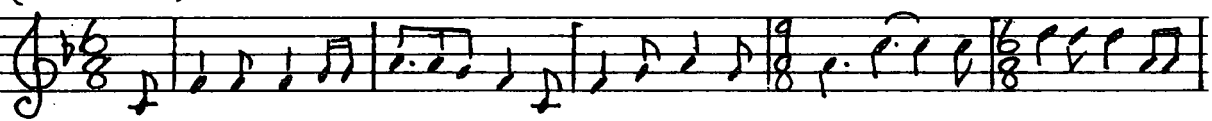


Elfin KnightGroup 3 chd: (xii) Cholmondeley, 1907

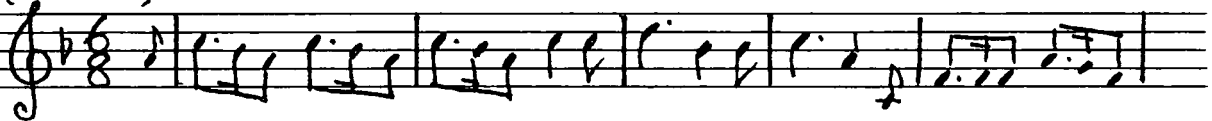
(xiii) Sharp 1922 . Bronson 2.51



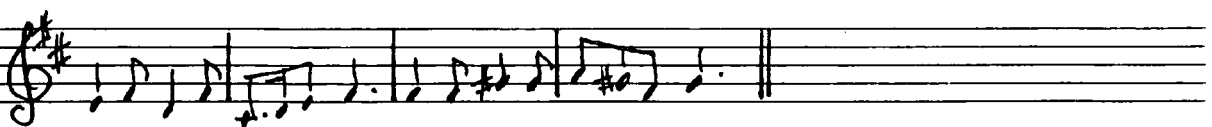
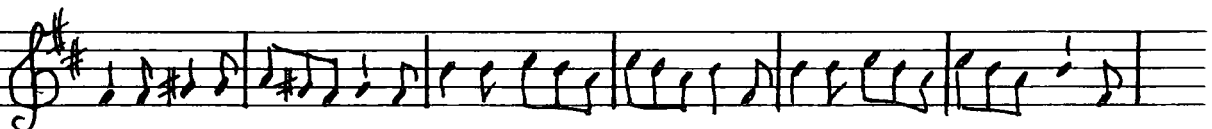
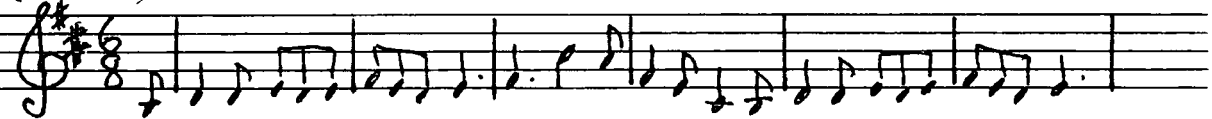
(xvii) Newitt, 1930s



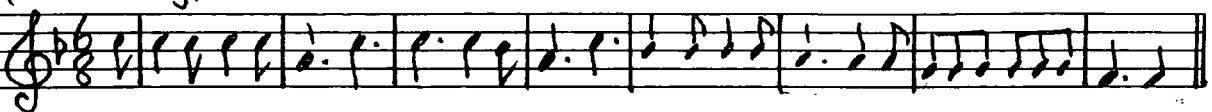
(xix) Price, 1930s



(xx) Niles, 1934

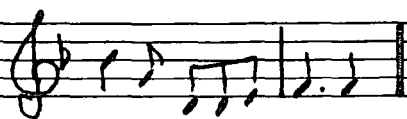
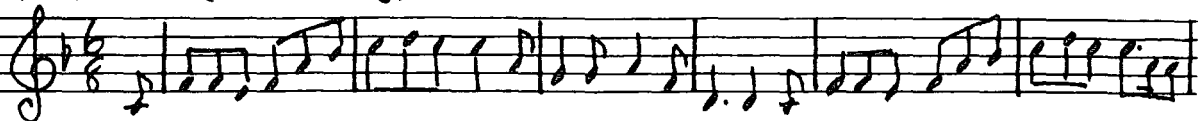


(xxi) Salisbury, 1950(?)

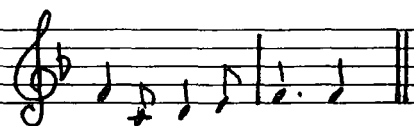
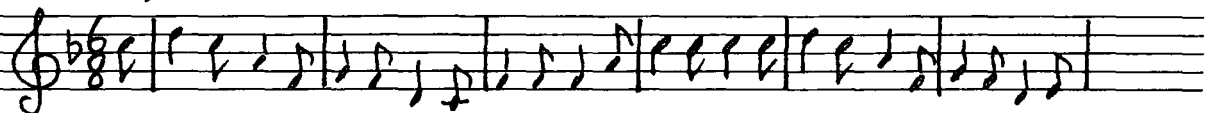


Elfin Knight

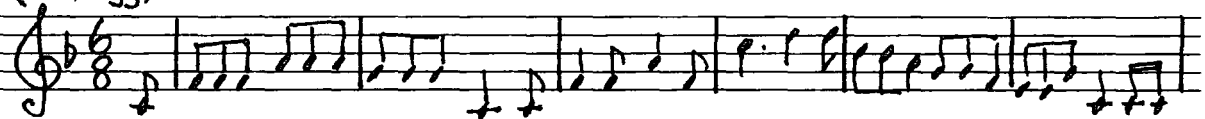
Elfin Knight
Group D ctd: (xxii) Stanley, 1957



(xxiii) Race, 1958



(xxiv) Figg, 1965



(xkv) Copper, 1971



(xxvi) Privett, n.d.



APPENDIX C: CHILD 3, 'THE FALSE KNIGHT UPON THE ROAD':
DESCRIPTION OF TEXTS.

Key to Description of Texts.

- A. Where are you going? - I'm going to my school.
- B. What brings you here so late? - I go to meet my God.
- C. What do you go there for? - to learn the word of God.
- C¹. What do you go there for? - to learn to read (I read
from my book).
- D. What's that on your back? - my books.
- D¹. What's that on your back? - my bannocks (bundles) and
my books.
- D². What's in your pack? (bag/wooler) - my books (primer and
my dinner).
- D³. What's in your bucket?(basket) - vittles for my dinner
(bread/breakfast and my
dinner).
- D⁴. What's in your bottle? - milk for myself to drink.
- D⁵. What are you eating? - bread and cheese (meat).
- D⁶. What have you there? - something to eat (bread and cheese/
dinner and books).
- D⁷. What have you there? - good books in my hand.
- D⁸. What is for your dinner? - some bread and some meat.
- E. Give me a share. - Not a bite or a crumb (not a bite for
your tooth/I canna give you a share).
- E¹. Have you any for me? - I 've got little enough for myself.
- E². Give my dog some. - I won't give him none (I'd sooner see
him choke)
- F. What's on your arm? - my peat.
- G. Whose cattle are those? - mine and my father's.
- G¹. Whose sheep are those? - mine and mother's (my father's).
- G². What sheep and cattle are those? - my father's and mine.
- H. How many are mine? - All those with blue tails (no tails).
- H¹. Which of them are yours? - The ones that wear their tails
behind.
- H². There's nary a one with a blue tail. - And nary a one
shall you have.

- I. How will you go by land? - with a strong staff in my hand.
 How will you go by sea? - with a good boat under me.
- I¹. Are you a child of God? - I say my prayers at night.
- I². Whose castle is that? - my father's and mine.
 I wish it were in a blaze of flame. - and you in the middle of it.
 Whose river is that? - my father's and mine.
 I wish you were in the middle of it. - and a good boat under me.
- I³. Has your mother any more like you? - aye, but none of them for you.
- I⁴. What is rounder than a ring? - the sun.
 What is higher than a king? - God.
 What is whiter than milk? - snow.
 What is softer than silk? - down.
 What is greener than grass? - poison.
 What is worse than women coarse? - the devil.
 What is longer than the wave? - love.
 What is deeper than the sea? - Hell.
- I⁵. What is higher than the sky? - Heaven.
 What is deeper than the sea? - Hell.
- I⁶. What do you learn to read for? - to keep me from Hell.
- I⁷. Who taught you so well? - my teachers and my mama.
 What did they teach you so well for? - to keep me from you and your wicked Hell).
- J. I wish you were along with me - and our Lord in company.
- K. I wish you were in that tree - a ladder under me.
- K¹. I wish you were in that tree - a good gun with me.
- L. And the ladder to break - and you to fall.
- M. I wish you were in the sea - a good boat (ship/bottom) under me.
- N. And the boat to break - and you to drown.
- N¹. And the boat to break - and you in and I out.
- O. I wish you were in that well - and you in Hell.
- O¹. I wish you were in that well - but the Devil's chained in Hell.
- O². I'll pitch you in the well - I'll pitch you in first.
- P. I wish you were on the sands - a good staff in my hands.
- Q. I hear a bell (your school bell) - it's ringing you to Hell.
- R. A curse on your mother and father (on your teacher) -
 A blessing on my mother....

- S. I wish I had you in the woods - a good gun under my arm.
With your head broke in two - a fence rail jobbed down
your neck.
- T. I wish you were a fiddle - And you to be the bow of it.
And if the bow should break - May the end stick in your
throat.
- U. You're on your knees - I am praying to my Lord to send
the Devil back to Hell.

Description of Texts.

- (i) 'Oh, I wish you were along with me'

Place: ?Ireland

Date: 1818

Source: C. R. Maturin, Women: or, Pour et Contre,
Edinburgh, 1818, p.28. In the novel the stanzas
are sung by an old madwoman; the novelist
describes it as a fragment of an Irish ballad
'evidently of monkish composition, and of which
the air has all the monotonous melancholy of the
chaunt of the cloister'.

Also in G. H. Gerould, 'An Irish Version of the
False Knight Upon the Road', MLN 53 (1938) 596-7.

Description: 2 stanzas: J O.

Description of Knight: 'the false knight as he rode'

Description of Child: 'the child, and he stood'

- (ii) 'Oh, whare are ye gaun'

Place: West Scotland

Date: 1827

Source: Motherwell, Minstrelsy, App. No.32 and p.xxiv.
Child 3B.

Description: 1 stanza: A.

Knight: 'the false knight, and false false was his rede'

Child: 'the pretty little boy, and still still he stude'

Tune: A

- (iii) The Fause Knicht

Place: Galloway, Scotland

Date: 1827

Source: Mary McQueen. Andrew Crawford's Collection
of Ballads and Songs, ed. E. B. Lyle, I p.77.
Motherwell, Minstrelsy, Introduction p.lxxiv.
Child 3A.

ctd...

Description: 9 stanzas.

A D F G¹ H K L M N.

Knight: 'the fause knicht upon the road'

Child: 'the wee boy and still he stood'

(iv) 'Oh whare are ye gaun'

Place: Airds, Kirkcudbright, Galloway

Date: 1884

Source: From Mr. McMath, from the recitation of his
aunt, Jane Webster, learned 'many years ago'
from the wife of Peter McGuire, cotman at Airds.
Child I p.485 (C)

Description: 4 stanzas

A G H O

Knight: 'the false knight upon the road'

Child: 'the wee boy, and still he stood'

Tune: Child V p.411. Group B. Bronson 3.8

(v) 'What have you in your bottle?'

Place: Fort Kent

Date: 1911

Source: Sung by a French girl, learned from an
illiterate Irish family, before 1870.
P. Barry, JAF XXIV (1911) p.344.

Description: 1 stanza: D⁴.

Knight: 'the fol, fol Fly on the road'

Child: 'the child, who was seven years old'

(vi) 'The Knight met a child in the Road'

Place: Flag Pond, Tennessee

Date: Sept. 1, 1916

Source: Sung by Mrs. T. G. Coates. Sharp MSS 3369/2466
Sharp & Karpeles, English Folksongs from the
Southern Appalachians, 1932, I p.3.

Description: 7 stanzas + introductory line as above.

A C D⁶ E P M Q.

Refrain: He stood and he stood, and it's well because
he stood

Knight: 'the knight in the road'

Child: 'the child as he stood'

Tune: Group C. Bronson 3.5

(vii) 'Where are you going?'

Place: Hot Springs, N. Carolina

Date: 1916

Source: Mrs. Jane Gentry. Sharp MSS 3426/2516.
 Sharp & Karpeles, English Folksongs, 1932
 I p.4 (B).

Description: 5 stanzas: A D⁵ M O.

Refrain: He stood and he stood
 He well thought on he stood

Knight: 'the knight in the road'

Child: 'the child as he stood'

Tune: Group C. Bronson 3.6

(viii) 'Where are you going?'

Place: Missouri (Virginian source)

Date: 1917

Source: Learned by Miss J. D. Johns from an uncle in
 Virginia, whose grandmother came from Scotland.
 Belden, Ballads & Songs collected by the
Missouri Folklore Society, p.4. JAF XXX (1917) 286

Description: 4 stanzas: A D³ E² O².

Knight: 'the false knight Munroe'

Child: 'the little boy'...'but I'll stand to my book
 also'

Last line is spoken: 'And he pitched him in the well
 and went on to school'.

(ix) 'The False Knight on the Road'

Place: Elkton, Virginia

Date: Nov. 23, 1918

Source: Mrs. Sarah Finchum, collected by Martha M. Davis.
 A. K. Davis, Traditional Ballads of Virginia,
 1929, pp.549, 61.

Description: 4 stanzas: A D⁷ I¹ O.

Knight: 'the false knight....the false so rude'

Child: 'the child, and still it stood'

Tune: unclassified. Bronson 3.4

(x) 'The Fause Knicht and the Wee Boy'

Place: New Brunswick (Scottish source)

Date: 1929

Source: Written down by Mrs. James McGill, learned in
 Galloway. Barry, Eckstorm and Smyth, British
Ballads from Maine, p.11

Description: 9 stanzas

A D F G¹ H K L M N.

Knight: 'the Fause Knicht upon the road'

Child: 'the wee boy and still he stude'

(xi) 'The False Knight on the Road'

Place: Springfield, Vermont

Date: Sept. 21, 1932

Source: Mrs. E. M. Sullivan. Learned in childhood in Ireland. Flanders & Olney, Ballads Migrant in New England, 1953, pp.46-7

Description: 7 stanzas

A D² G H I⁷ R.

Knight: 'the false, false knight'

Child: 'the child on the road: the pretty boy seven
years old'

St.6: 'and he bowed seven times on the road'

Tune: Group C. Bronson 3.10

(xii) 'False Knight Upon the Road'

Place: Devil's Island, Nova Scotia

Date: 1932

Source: Mr. Faulkner and Mr. Ben Henneberry.
Helen Creighton, Songs and Ballads from Nova Scotia, pp.1-2.

Description: 6 stanzas

D² I⁴ R. 'Hi diddle' refrain, 4 lines.

Knight: 'the false knight'

Child: 'the child on the road: the pretty little child
only seven years old'

Tune: Group C. Bronson 3.9

(xiii) 'The False Knight upon the Road'

Place: Brewer, Maine

Date: August 20, 1934

Source: Mr. William Morris, learned from the singing of his mother, native of Prince Edward Island. Phillips Barry, BFSSNE XI (1936) 8-9.

Description: 5 stanzas

A D² E T.

Knight: 'the false knight upon the road'

Child: 'the pretty little boy about seven years old'

(xiv) 'The False Fidee'

Place: Connersville, Indiana

Date: 1935

Source: Lucile Wilkin, learned from Mrs. Chester A. Porter. Paul G. Brewster, Ballads and Songs of Indiana, pp.29-30.

Description: 6 stanzas

A G H H² M O.

Knight: 'the false, fie, the false Fidee'

Child: 'the child, and there still she stood'

Tune: unclassified. Bronson 3.3

(xv) 'The Smart Schoolboy'

Place: Powell Co., Virginia

Date: 1935

Source: Preston Wolford. J. J. Niles, Ballad Book, 1961, pp.22-3.

Description: 5 stanzas

A C¹ D⁶ E Q.

Knight: 'the knight on the road'

Child: 'the boy as he stood'

Tune: Group D

(xvi) 'The False Knight to the Row'

Place: Wise Co. Virginia

Date: June 16, 1939

Source: Mrs. Polly Johnson, collected by E. L. Hamilton. University of Virginia Library Collection, 1547/20/375.

Description: 7 stanzas

A D⁶ E¹ G¹ H M K¹.

Knight: 'the false knight to the row'

Child: 'child....for I'm seven years old'

(xvii) 'The Boy and the Devil'

Place: Roanoke Co., Virginia

Date: 1941

Source: Mrs. Ninninger, collected by Alfreda M. Peel. A. K. Davis, More Traditional Ballads of Virginia, pp.14-15.Description: 1 stanza: M N¹.

Knight: 'Devil'

Child: 'Boy'

(xviii) 'The False Knight upon the Road'

Place: Hot Springs, N. Carolina

Date: 1947

Source: Mrs. Maud Long (daughter of Mrs. Jane Gentry,
see vii). Duncan Emrich, LC Archive of
American Folksong, Album XXI.

Description: 7 stanzas

A C D⁵ E M P O.

Knight: 'the knight in the road'

Child: 'the child as he stood'

Tune: Group C. Bronson 3.7

(xix) 'False Knight upon the Road'

Place: Nova Scotia

Date: 1950

Source: Evelyn Richardson and Anne Wickens.
H. Creighton, Traditional Songs from Nova Scotia,
p.1.Description: 4 stanzas: A C¹ I⁶.

Knight: 'False Knight'

Child: 'the child in the road': 'the pretty little girl,
but still she stood in the road'

Tune: unclassified. Bronson 3.2

(xx) 'False Knight'

Place: Aberdeen

Date: 1954

Source: Nellie MacGregor, a city-dwelling tinker woman.
H. Henderson & F. Collinson, 'New Child Ballad
Variants', Scottish Studies IX Pt.1 (1965) 11(c).Description: 1 stanza: D¹.

Knight: 'the false knight upon the road'

Child: 'the wee boy and still he stood'

Tune: Group B

(xxi) 'False Knight'

Place: Blairgowrie, Perthshire

Date: 1955

Source: Mrs. Bella Higgins. Henderson & Collinson, SS
IX Pt.1 (1965) 11(B).Description: 4 stanzas: A D¹ M O.

Knight: 'the false knight upon the road'

Child: 'the wee boy and still he stood'

ctd..

Tune: Group B

(xxii) 'False Knight'

Place: Blairgowrie, Perthshire

Date: 1955

Source: Andra and Bell Stewart. Archive of the School of Scottish Studies, rec. no. 1955/152/B6.

Description: 5 stanzas

A D¹ E M O.

Knight: 'the false knight upon the road'

Child: 'the wee boy and still he stood'

Tune: Group B. Bronson IV p.442, 3.9.1

(xxiii) 'The False Knight'

Place: Blairgowrie, Perthshire

Date: Summer 1955

Source: Duncan MacPhee (aged 19). Henderson & Collinson, SS IX Pt.1 (1965) 10(A).

Description: 3 stanzas: D¹ E G².

Knight: 'the false knight upon the road'

Child: 'the wee lad and still he stood'

Tune: Group B

(xxiv) 'The Devil and the School Child'

Place: Putney, E. Kentucky

Date: 1955

Source: Tom Crouch, transcribed by his son Jim: the Crouches are a mining and small farming family. Leonard Roberts, Sang Branch Settlers, pp.89-90.

Description: 8 stanzas

A D³ E S M N² O¹.

Knight: 'the proud porter gay, all alone by the wayside
lone'

Child: 'the child gentleman, and the game feller's
walking alone'

Tune: unclassified

(xxv) 'The False Knight on the Road'

Place: Coalisland, Co. Tyrone, Ireland

Date: 1958

Source: Frank Quinn, recorded by Sean O'Boyle. Topic, The Folksongs of Britain IV, 'The Child Ballads I'.

ctd..

Also in J. Taylor & Michael Yates, eds.,
Ballads and Songs, Vol 6.

Description: 4 stanzas

B I Q + refrain

Refrain: 'And he stood and he stood
 and twere well that he stood'

Knight: 'the knight on the road'

Child: 'the child as he stood'

Tune: Group D

(xxvi) 'The Nightman'

Place: Fayetteville, Arkansas

Date: July 15, 1959

Source: Mrs. Maxine Hite. M. C. Parler, An Arkansas
 Ballet Book, p.44.

Description: 8 stanzas

A D⁶ G H¹ I².

Knight: 'the nightman as he rode'

Child: 'the boy and still he stood' (repeated at end
 of each stanza as a refrain)

(xxvii) 'The False Knight in the Wood'

Place: Huntingdonshire, England

Date: 1962

Source: Remembered by Miss Margaret Eyre. JFDSS IX 3
 (1962) 156-7; SS IX Pt.1 (1965) 13(E).

Description: 1 stanza: A.

Knight: 'the old dark knight, the old dark knight in
 the wood'

Child: 'the little little boy, and he answered him
 where he stood'

Tune: unclassified

(xxviii) 'False Knight'

Place: Aberdeen

Date: 1962

Source: Willie Whyte. Henderson & Collinson, SS IX Pt.1
 (1965) 12(D).

Description: 3 stanzas: A O I³.

Knight: 'the false knight upon the road'

Child: 'the little boy, and there he stood'

Tune: Group B

(xxix) 'The False Knight'

Place: Chaplin Island Road, Miramichi, New Brunswick

Date: 1963

Source: Alan Kelly. L. Manny & J. R. Wilson, Songs of Miramichi, pp.199-200.

Description: 8 stanzas

A D³ E² D⁴ E² I⁵ U.

Knight: 'the false, false knight on the road'

Child: 'the little boy not seven years old'/'...of
seven years old'

Tune: unclassified

N.B. Another text from Mr. Kelly was recorded in 1962 by Lee B. Haggery & Henry Felt: Bronson IV p.442 (3.10.1) The tune, which is irregular, is slightly different; the false knight is recorded as 'the fol-fol-follies at the road'; and the text has only three stanzas, as follows:
D³ D⁴ E².

(xxx) 'The False Knight on the Road'

Place: Tulsa, Oklahoma (Scottish source)

Date: ?1964

Source: James McPherson (recitation), born Inverness. Ethel & Chauncey O. Moore, Ballads and Folksongs of the Southwest. pp.11-12.

Description: 5 stanzas

A D⁷ G¹ H O.

Knight: 'the fause knicht on the road'

Child: 'the child, but still he stood'

(xxxi) 'The False Knight'

Place: New Ferry, Cheshire

Date: ?1967

Source: Sung by Mrs. Stanley. Dorothy Dearnley, Seven Cheshire Folksongs, pp.12-14.

Description: 6 stanzas

A D⁶ D⁸ E C Q.

Knight: 'the false knight'

Child: 'the child on the road: the bonny little girl of
seven years old'.

Tune: unclassified

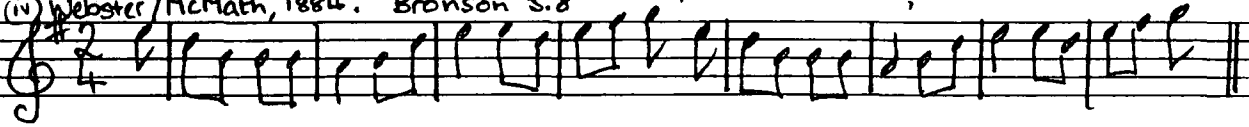
The False Knight Upon the Road

TUNE A
(ii) Hetherwell, 1827. Bronson 3.1



GROUP B

(iv) Webster/McMath, 1884. Bronson 3.8



(xx) MacGregor, 1954



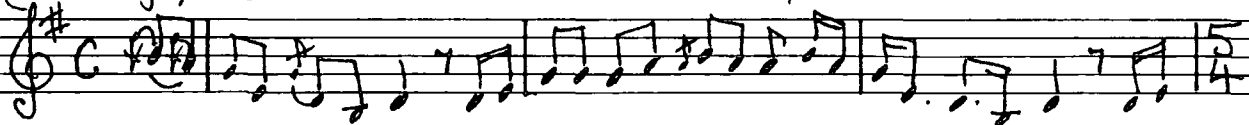
(xxi) Higgins, 1955 ; (xxiii) MacPhee, 1955



(xxii) Stewart, 1955. Bronson IV p. 442.



(xxviii) Whyte, 1962.



The False Knight upon the Road

GROUP C

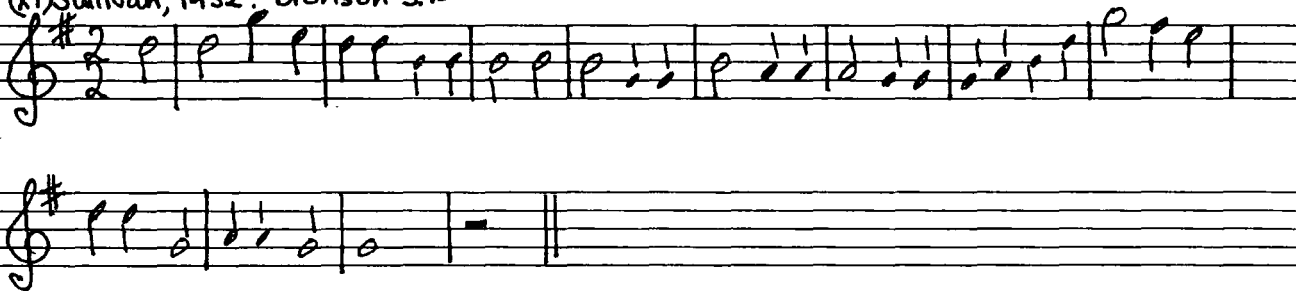
(vi) Coates, 1916. Bronson 3.5.



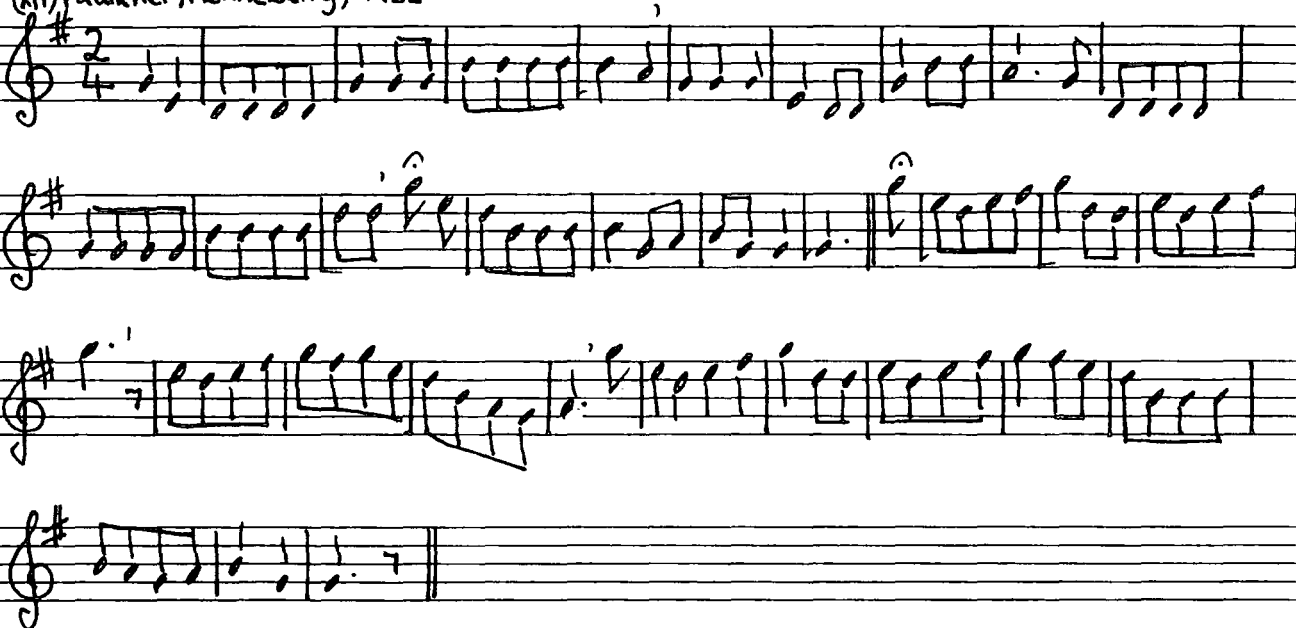
(vii) Gentry, 1916. Bronson 3.6.



(xi) Sullivan, 1932. Bronson 3.10



(xii) Faulkner/Henneberry, 1932



The False Knight Upon the Road

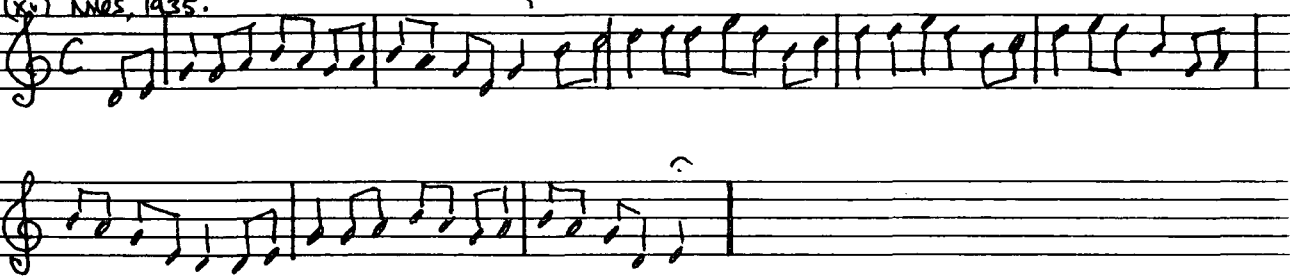
GROUP C ctd.

(xviii) Long, 1947. Bronson 3.7



GROUP D

(xv) Niles, 1935.

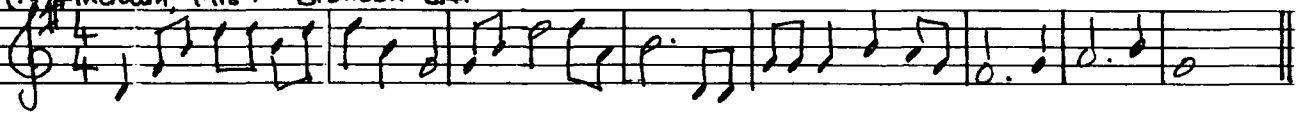


(xxv) Quinn, 1958.

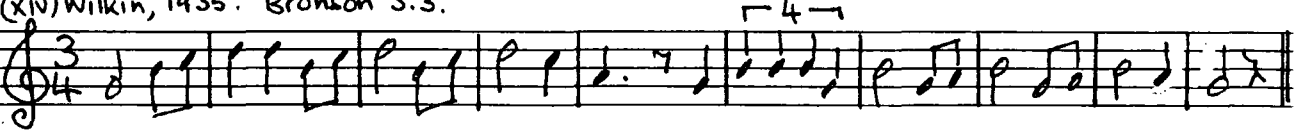


UNCLASSIFIED TUNES

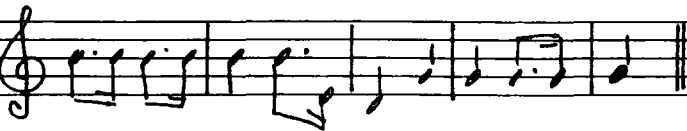
(ix) Fincham, 1918. Bronson 3.4.



(xiv) Wilkin, 1935. Bronson 3.3.



(xix) Richardson/Wickens, 1950. Bronson 3.2

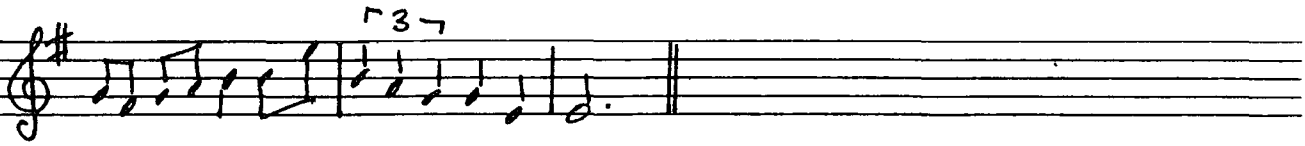
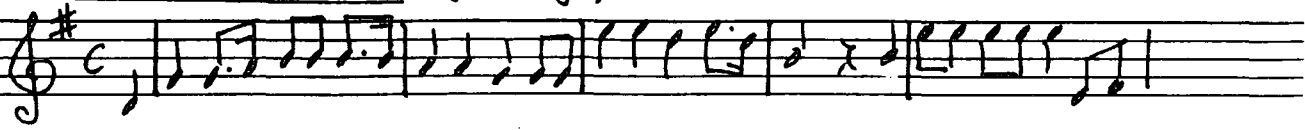


(xxiv) Crouch, 1955.

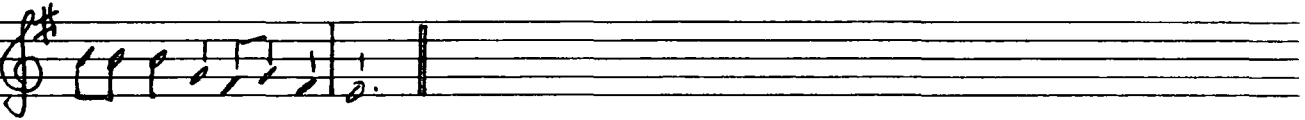


The False Knight Upon the Road

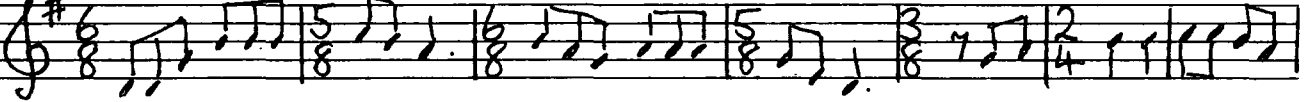
UNCLASSIFIED TUNES ctd. (xxvii) Eyre, 1462.



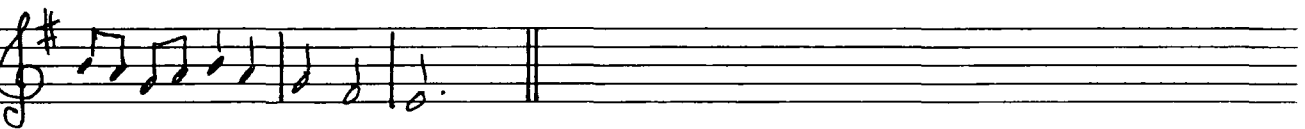
(xxix) Kelly, 1462. Bronson III p. 442, stanza 1.



(xxx) Stanley, 1467



(xxx) Stanley, 1467

'Où vas-tu, mon petit garçon?' : Arsenault (Barbeau, Jongleur Songs of Old Quebec)

APPENDIX D: CHILD 45, 'KING JOHN AND THE BISHOP':DESCRIPTION OF TEXTSKey to Description of Texts.

- A. Announcement: 'I read in a story I can shew you anon'
 A¹. 'Of an ancient story I'll tell you anon'
 A². 'I'll tell you a story, a story anon/ A story, a story, a story of one'
 A³. 'Here's a health to King John...'
- B. Description of John: 'a noble prince...of great might'
 B¹. 'a notable prince...with maine and might'
 B². 'an old prince...of great might/mirth'
 B³. 'a young prince...of great mirth'
 B⁴. 'a young prince...of learning and wit'
 B⁵. 'Old King John...a great noble knight/worthy old knight'
- C. Character of John: put down wrong and held up right
 C¹. held up great wrong and put down right
- D. Genealogy: brother of Richard I, succeeded by Henry III
- E. The King (K.) is grieved with the Bishop/Abbot (B.) for his expensive household, and sends his messenger for him post haste.
 E¹. 'I'll tell you of the Abbot of Canterbury, how his house-keeping made him go to London'.
 E². K. sends for B. to 'make himself merry'.
 E³. K. sends for B. as he is seated to make himself merry.
- F. The messenger finds B. making merry, and delivers the charge of keeping too sumptuous a household. B. smiles and says he spends nothing but God's and his own. He says he will answer the charge, and gives orders for the messenger to be entertained.
 F¹. B.'s household is described, 100 men, gold chains, etc.
- G. B. comes to court and kneels before K., who says he is welcome and will be charged with treason.
 G¹. B. comes to court; K. says he is welcome; he has worked treason.
 G². K. accuses B. of keeping a better house than himself.

- G³. K. accuses B. of being a better scholar than himself.
- H. B. assures K. he spends nothing but God's and his own.
- H¹. B. hopes K. will not bear him a grudge for spending his own goods.
- I. K. says unless B. can answer 3 questions, his land and living shall be taken from him and his head from his body.
- I¹. K. says unless B. can answer 3 questions, his head shall be taken from his body.
- J. The questions: (i) When K. is in his seat, with his gold crown and his nobility around him, how much is he worth?
 (ii) How soon may the K. go round the world?
 (iii) What does the K. think?
- K. B. is given 40 days to answer the questions.
- K¹. " 20 days " "
- K². B. asks for 3 days and is given them.
- K³. B. asks for 3 weeks and is given them.
- L. B. goes to Oxford and Cambridge to consult doctors; none can help, so he goes home sadly.
- M. B.'s brother-in-law, a shepherd, comes out to meet him.
- M¹. B.'s half-brother, a shepherd 'fierce and fell', comes to welcome him.
- M². B. meets his shepherd (all alone/going to the fold).
- M³. B. goes to shepherd (S.) and asks for his skill.
- N. S. asks B. why he is so sad: if he tells him, he can perhaps help. B. doubts it; S. quotes adage that 'a fool can teach a wiseman wit'.
- N¹. S. asks B. for his news; B. answers that he has been given 3 days to answer the questions.
- O. B. relates questions (J) to S.
- P. S. tells B. to lend him apparel and he will go to London in his place.
- P¹. S. wonders that a man of learning is defeated by so little; he asks B. to lend his apparel to go in his place.
- P². S. quotes adage: 'A fool can teach a wiseman wit'.

- Q. B. resists, then agrees, saying he will himself flee into France.
- Q¹. B. makes ready the horses and S. sets off.
- Q². S. points out that they are very like each other. B. agrees, then kits S. out
- Q³. B. offers S. a suit of apparel and £5/£10 a year for as long as he lives (£10,000 as sure as he lives).
- R. S. comes to court and kneels before K. K. offers pardon if questions are solved. S. says he spends nothing but God's and his own.
- R¹. S. comes to court and is so like B. that K. is fooled.
- R². S. comes to court; K. welcomes him and offers pardon if questions are solved.
- R³. S. rides off and meets K.
- R⁴. K. asks S. has he come to live or die.
- R⁵. S. gets on mule and rides to K.
- R⁶. S. has gone to answer questions; if he fails he will lose his head.
- S. K. repeats questions and S. answers them:
- (i) K. is worth one penny less than Christ, who was sold for 30 pence.
 - (ii) K. can travel round world in a day, with the sun.
 - (iii) K. thinks S. is B., but he is mistaken.
- S¹. S. relates questions to K. and answers them as above.
- T. K. says S. shall be Bishop and vice versa. S. refuses because he is illiterate.
- T¹. K. says S. shall reign Bishop 'another while'.
- U. K. gives S. money and a pardon for the B.
- U¹. K tells S. to tell B. 'he keeps a fine fellow if he keeps thee'.
- U². S. tells K. to tell B. 'he'll be a frisky one if he gets me'.
- V. S. returns and tells B. news, and that he will no longer 'crouch and creep', or be shepherd. B. makes him a gentleman with £50 a year.
- W. Not many shepherds could have done the same. B. and S. pass their lives serving God. Minstrel begs for a place in Heaven.

- W¹. Minstrel says he never knew of such a shepherd, unless it were David.

Description of Texts.

- (i) 'A Tale of Henry ye 3. and ye Archbishop of Canterbury'

Place: Oxford

Date: c.1550

Source: MS 255, fol.105, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
Printed, R. D. Cornelius, 'A New Text of an old Ballad', PMLA 46 (1931) pp.1025-33.

Description: 166 lines, no stanza divisions

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U (£100)
V W.

- (ii) 'Kinge John and Bishoppe'

Place: Shropshire

Date: c.1650

Source: Percy Folio MS p.184. Ed. Hales & Furnivall, I 508. Child 45A.

Description: 38 stanzas.

A¹ B¹ C¹ E F¹ G¹ H I J K¹ L M¹ N O P¹ Q¹ R¹
S T U (£300 a year) V W.

- (iii) 'King John and the Abbot of Canterbury'

Place: London

Date: 1673-95

Source: Broadside printed for P. Brooksby at the Golden Ball, licensed by Roger Estrange. British Museum, Roxburghe II 883. Child 45B.

Copies of the same text occur throughout the 18th century to 1790, found in the following collections: Pepys, Ouvry, Bagford, Heber, Euing, Crawford, Douce, Charles Harding Firth. Printed in Newcastle by John White, c.1740 (B. Mus., Roxburghe III 494). Published in A Collection of Old Ballads, 1723, attrib. Ambrose Phillips.

Description: 19 stanzas: 11-12 are misplaced in some copies.

A² B C¹ E G² H¹ J K² M² N¹ O P² S T U (£4 a week).

Tune: 'The King and the Lord Abbot'; printed in D'Urfey, Pills to Purge Melancholy, 1719-20.
Bronson 45.1

(iv) 'King John and the Abbot of Canterbury'

Place: London

Date: 1765

Source: Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry
No. VI. Compiled by Percy from 'an ancient
black-letter copy to the tune of derry down'
with additions from the Föllo text.

Description: 27 stanzas

A¹ B¹ C¹ E¹ F¹ G² I² J K³ L M² N¹ O P² R²
Q² S T U(4 nobles a week).

(v) 'King John'

Place: Glenbuchat, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1818

Source: Glenbuchat MSS, IV pp.11-13. King's College
University Library, Aberdeen; collected by
Rev. Robert Scott, minister of Glenbuchat, and
one of his daughters.

Description: 17 stanzas

A² B² C¹ E¹ G² I¹ J K² N¹ O P¹ R³ S T U(£5 a wk.)

(vi) 'King John and the Abbot of Canterbury'

Place: Scotland

Date: c.1825

Source: Buchan MSS British Museum Add. MSS 29.409,
pp.324-6. Collected by Peter Buchan.

Description: 16 stanzas, the last two being long stanzas.

A² B C¹ E¹ G² H¹ I¹ J M² N¹(3 weeks) O P²
P R² S.

(vii) 'The Bishop of Canterbury'

Place: Wyoming Co. Western New York State

Date: 1841-56

Source: Stevens-Douglas MS. (Family song book).
Published, 1958: Harold W. Thompson & Edith E.
Cutting, A Pioneer Songster, (Cornell Univ.
Press, Ithaca, N.Y.) pp.5-7.

Description: 16 stanzas

A³ C¹ E³ G² I¹ J M² N¹ O P Q³ R⁴ S¹ T (but no
refusal) U¹.

(viii) 'King John'

Place: Barrow-on-Humber

Date: 27 July 1906

Source: Sung by Joseph Skinner. Grainger MS No.138.
Bronson 45.7.

Description: 9 stanzas

A¹ B¹ C¹ E G² I¹ J(ii,iii) M² R⁵ S(ii,iii) U.

Tune: Bronson 45.7 (very similar to (iii))

(ix) ('King John and the Bishop')

Place: Providence, Massachusetts

Date: 4 May 1907

Source: Sent to Philips Barry by Mrs. Mary E. Eddy,
from the singing of her mother. Barry, JAF XX
(1908) pp.57-8; JAF XXII (1909) p.73.
Bronson 45.9.Description: 17 lines + 2 half lines: Bronson makes
9 stanzas.C¹ J(i) I¹ J(ii) S(ii) S(i,iii) U.

Tune: Bronson 45.9

(x) 'King John and the Abbot of Canterbury'

Place: Titchfield, Hampshire

Date: September 1907

Source: Repeated by Mr. Windsor: learned from his grand-
mother. Gardiner MS 1011 (Notebook No.13, p.123)
(Vaughan Williams Memorial Library).

Description: 28 stanzas

A¹ B¹ C¹ E¹ F¹ G² H I² J K³ L M² N¹ O P² Q²
R² S(+extra stanza from J) T U(4 nobles a week)

(xi) 'The King's Three Questions'

Place: Wardsboro, Vermont

Date: 1931

Source: Sung by George Farnham, learned from his grand-
mother. Flanders & Brown, ed., Vermont Songs
and Ballads, pp.200-203. Bronson 45.11.

Description: 16 stanzas

A² B C(Tore down great barns) E² G³ I¹ J M²
N¹ O P¹ Q³(£10,000) R⁴ S¹.

Tune: Bronson 45.11

(xii) 'King John and the Bishop'

Place: E. Calais and N. Montpelier, Vermont

Date: 1933

Source: Sung by Mrs. Elmer George and her sister,
 Mrs. Myra Daniells, at separate times.
 H. H. Flanders, Ancient Ballads Traditionally
 Sung in New England Ipp.286-90 (B 1). Flanders,
A Garland of Green Mountain Song, p.64.
 Bronson. IV p.461.

Description: 16 stanzas

A³ B² C E² G² M² N¹ O P¹ Q³ R⁴ S¹ T U².

Tune: Bronson IV p.461

(xiii) 'King John and the Bishop'

Place: North Calais, Vermont

Date: 1933

Source: Sung by Alice Sicily. Flanders, Ancient Ballads,
 p.297 (C).

Description: 2 stanzas

A³ B⁴ C E³(King of Canterbury) G².

(xiv) ('King John and the Bishop')

Place: Detroit, Michigan

Date: 1937

Source: Sung by Henry R. Vaughan; learned from his
 mother in Vermont. Gardner and Chickering,
Ballads and Songs of Southern Michigan, p.379.

Bronson 45.5

Description: 1 stanza: A² B C¹.

Tune: Bronson 45.5

(xv) 'The Bishop of Canterbury: or, King John'

Place: Central Valley, California

Date: 25 December 1938

Source: Sung by Warde H. Ford, learned from his mother
 of Wisconsin. Robertson, UC/LC Folk-Record 4196.
 Bronson 45.4

Description: 13 stanzas

A² E² I¹ J M² N¹ P¹ Q³ S¹.

Tune: Bronson 45.4

(xvi) 'King John and the Bishop'

Place: E. Calais, Vermont

Date: November 1939

Source: Sung by Elmer George. Collected by Alan Lomax.
Flanders, Ancient Ballads, pp.290-94 (B 2).

Description: 18 stanzas

A² B³ C E² G² I¹ J M² N¹ O P¹ Q³ R⁴ S¹ T U².Tune: Flanders, Ancient Ballads, pp.290-94.

(xvii) 'The King's Three Questions'

Place: Siberia, Staceyville, Maine

Date: 1940

Source: From Mr. Jack MacNelly. Collected by H. H.
Flanders. Flanders & Olney, Ballads Migrant
in New England, pp.111-12.

Description: 13 lines

E¹ (includes prose explanation) J(ii,i,iii)
(concludes, 'and I nawthin but his hired man')

(xviii) 'The King's Three Questions'

Place: Garnett, Kansas

Date: 26 January 1945

Source: Sent by Virginia Hiner, learned from her mother.
H. H. Flanders Collection, Middlebury College,
Vermont.

Description: 17 stanzas

A³ B⁵ C¹ E³ G² I J M² N¹ O P Q³ R⁴ S¹ T U¹.

(xix) ('The Bishop of Canterbury')

Place: Salt Lake City, Utah

Date: 10 February 1946; 10 June 1947

Source: Mrs. Salley A. Hubbard, from a brother in
Willard, c.1875. Lester A. Hubbard & LeRoy
Robertson, 'Traditional Ballads from Utah',
JAF 64 (1951) pp.37-53. Bronson 45.12.

Description: 16 stanzas

B⁵ C¹ E³ G² I¹ M² N¹ O P R⁶ S T¹ U¹.

Tune: Bronson 45.12

(xx) 'King John and the Bishop'

Place: E. Calais, Vermont

Date: 1953

Source: Elmer George; sung for a long-playing record.
H. H. Flanders, Ancient Ballads, pp.294-6 (B 3)Description: Substantially the same as (xvi), but the
wording differs in places, e.g. stanza 12:

(xvi) I hope your faith will pardon me

(xx) I hope your grace will pardon me

Stanza 1 (xvi) who sawed great rights...
(xx) he set up great rights...

Tune: Flanders, pp.294-6 (same as (xvi))

(xxi) 'King John and the Abbot of Canterbury'

Place: La Rue Co., Kentucky

Date: Autumn 1965

Source: Sung by Mrs. Maxine Elkins, aged 24. Collected
by Joyce Lee. Montell Collection, W. Kentucky
University.

Description: 2 stanzas:

A²(a story I know) B¹ E¹.

King John and the Bishop
(!!!) Dufrey, 1719-20. Bronson 45.1

Chappell, A Collection of National English Airs, 1838-40. Bronson 45.3

(VIII) Skinner, 1906. Bronson 45.7

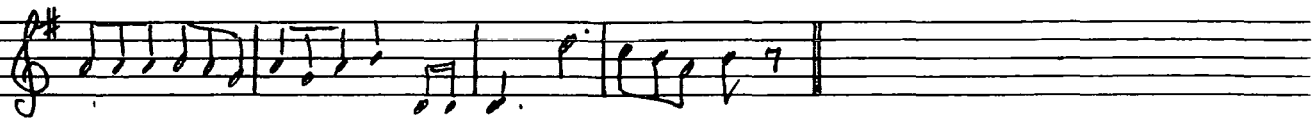
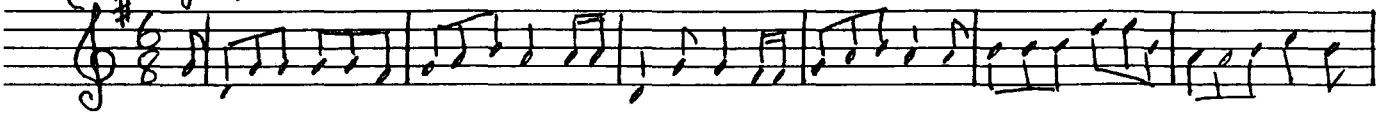
(IX) Eddy, 1907. Bronson 45.9

(XI) Farnham, 1931. Bronson 45.11

(XII) Mrs. E. George/Mrs. M. Daniels, 1933. Bronson 45.1461

King John and the Bishop

(xiv) Vaughan, 1937. Bronson 45.5



(xv) Ford, 1938. Bronson 45.4



(xvi) E. George, 1939 ; (xk) 1953.

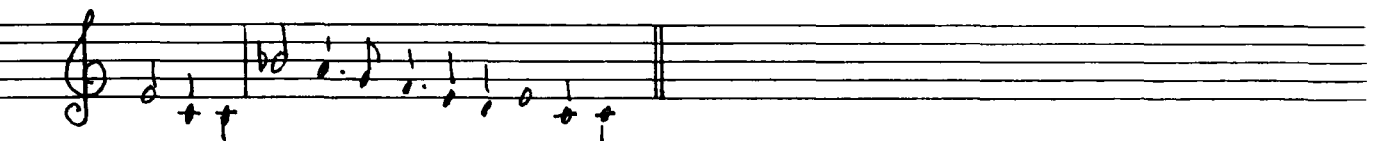
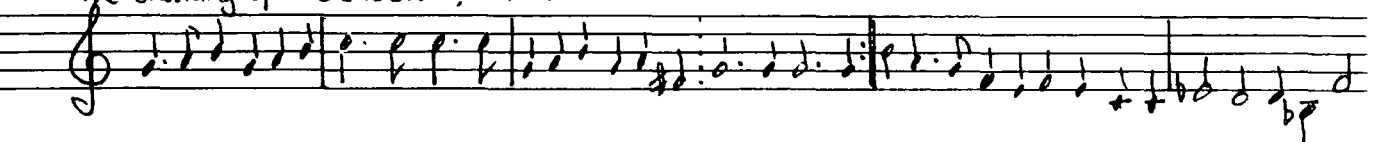


(xix) Hubbard, 1946-7. Bronson 45.12



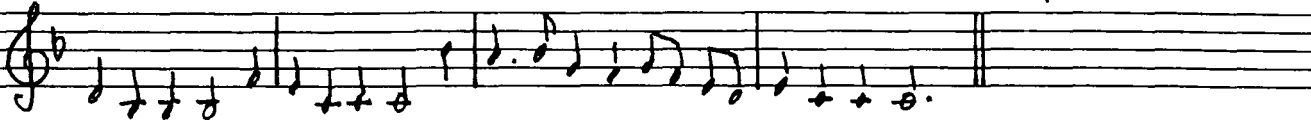
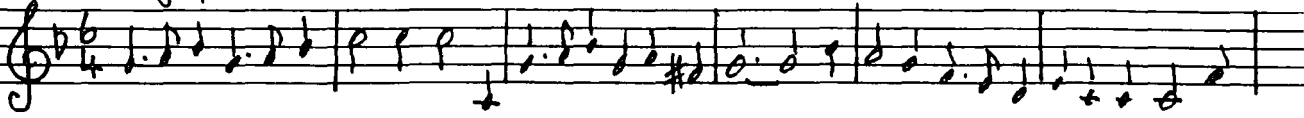
The Old Abbot and King Offrey, 1682

'The shaking of the sheets', William Ballet's lute MS. Bronson 45.13



The Old Abbot and King Olafey ctd.

(The Shaking of the Sheets) Hawkins, 1776. Bronson 45.14



APPENDIX E: CHILD 46, 'CAPTAIN WEDDERBURN'S COURTSHIP':DESCRIPTION OF TEXTS

('Riddle Song' and 'Perry Merry Dictum' texts are treated as separate groups in the Appendix as in Chapter 6.)

'Perry Merry Dictum' texts: Key to Description.

- A. I have a young sister far beyond the sea; many are the presents she sent me.
- A¹. I have four sisters across the sea; each of them sent a present to me:
- A². I have three/four brothers over the sea; each of them sent a present to me:
- A³. I have three cousins over the sea who each sent a present to me:
- A⁴. I had:
- A⁵. I have a true love beyond the sea ; many the love-tokens he sends to me:
- B. She/the first sent a cherry without a stone
- C. She/the second sent a dove/chicken/bird without a bone
- D. She/the third sent a briar without a rind/thorn
- D¹. She/the third sent a blanket without any thread
- E. She bade me love my leman without longing
- E¹. The fourth sent a book no man has read
- F. How can there be a cherry without a stone? etc.
(Question is repeated for each riddle)
- F¹. I counted up the presents that my lovers all sent me when they came courting
- G. A cherry in the blossom has no stone
- H. A chicken/dove/bird in the egg has no bone
- I. A briar when it is growing (onbred) has no rind/thorn
- I¹. A blanket in the fleece/on the sheep has no thread
- J. When the maiden has that which she loves, she is without longing (When a maiden has her lover, then she loves no more)
- J¹. A book in the press no man has read

Description of 'Perry Merry Dictum' Texts

(i) 'I have a Jong suster'

Place: Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk

Date: c. 1440

Source: British Museum MS Sloane 2593

Thomas Wright, Songs & Carols from a MS in the British Museum of the XVth Century (Wharton Club, London 1856) p.33.

Iona & Peter Opie, Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes pp.386-8 (Facsimile, pl.xvi) Child I p.415.

Description: 14 lines

A B C D E F G H I J.

(ii) ('I have a true love')

Place: Scotland

Date: 1838

Source: W. Dauney, Ancient Scottish Melodies, pp.180-1. From a friend, who heard it as a child from an aged relative.

Description: 1 stanza: A⁵.

Refrain: Par mee dicksa do mee nee...

With a rattum, pattum, Para mee dicksa do mee nee.

(iii) 'Four Sisters'

Place: Tunbridge Wells, Kent

Date: c.1843

Source: Document owned by Miss M. C. Meyer; taught to the children of Forty Hall Infant School, communicated by her godson, Angus D Van der Bucht. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Collection, MPS 50 (31) 226-7.

Description: 7 stanzas:

A¹ C B F H G D E¹ F I¹ J¹.

Refrain: Perry erri Igdom, do, man soe...

Quartom, portom, nearly I lost them,
Perri erri Igdom do, man soe.

(iv) ('Four Sisters')

Place: unknown

Date: 1849

Source: J. O. Halliwell, Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales, p.150.
 Child I p.415n.

Description: 7 stanzas:

$$A^1 C B D^1 E^1 F H G I^1 J^1.$$

Refrain: Para-mara dictum, domine
 Partum, quartum, paradise tempum
 Para-mara dictum, domine.

(v) ('Four Brothers')

Place: unknown

Date: 1866

Source: Notes & Queries 3rd Series IX (1866) p.401.

Description: 7 stanzas:

$$A^2 B C D^1 E F G H I^1 J^1.$$

(vi) 'I had a sister'

Place: unknown

Date: 1866

Source: Notes & Queries 3rd Series IX (1866) p.499.
 From J. Warren White, allegedly from 'an aged countrywoman'.

Description: 7 stanzas:

$$A B C D E F G H I J.$$

(vii) 'A Paradox'

Place: unknown

Date: 1878

Source: Mason, Nursery Rhymes & Country Songs p.23

Description: 7 stanzas:

$$A^2 C E^1 D^1 F H G J^1 I^1.$$

Refrain: Perry, merry dictum, domine
 Partum Quartum pare dissentum,
 Perry merry dictum domine

Tune: Group A; Bronson 46 (Appendix) 14.

(viii) 'Perry perry wicktum'

Place: unknown

Date: c.1878

Source: Broadwood MS. pp.47-8.

Description: 7 stanzas:

A² C E¹ D¹ F H G J¹ I¹.

Refrain: Perry perry wicktum do do me
 Partum quartum paradise lostum
 Perry perry wicktum do do me

(ix) 'The Riddle'

Place: unknown (S.W. England)

Date: 1895

Source: S. Baring-Gould, A Book of Nursery Songs and Rhymes pp.78-9 (No. LXIV)

Description: 7 stanzas:

A² C E¹ D¹ F H G J¹ I¹.

Refrain: Perrie-merry-dix, do-mi-ne,
 Petsum, Patsum, Paradixi,
 Perrie-merry-dixi, domine

(x) 'Pery Mery Winkle Domine'

Place: Stratford-upon-Avon

Date: 1914

Source: Miss Aimers, collected by Cecil Sharp, MS 3022. James Reeves, The Idiom of the People (Heinemann London 1958) pp.73-4.

Description: 7 stanzas:

A¹ C B E¹ D¹ F H G J¹ I¹.

Refrain: Pery mery winkle domome
 Partrum quartum paradise lostum,
 Pery mery winkle domome

Tune: Group A

(xi) 'Perry Merry Dictum Dominee'

Place: Chicago; heard in Chabanese, Illinois

Date: 1916

Source: Emma Schrader. Heard in c.1880.
JAF XXIX (1916) pp.157-8

Description: 5 stanzas:

A² B C D¹ E¹ G H I¹ J¹.

Refrain: Perry merry dictum dominee,
 Partum quartum pere dicentum,
 Perry merry dictum dominee.

(xii) 'I Had a Cherry'

Place: Tebsworth, Oxford

Date: 7 December, 1932

Source: Mr. Geoffrey H. Page, aged 74, in a letter to Douglas Kennedy, recalling the 1860's when he sang in St. John's College choir in Oxford; the song had been sung at a college gaudy and was subsequently picked up by the choirboys.

Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Collection,
MPS 60 (31) 63.

Description: 2 stanzas:

A⁴ B C G H.

Refrain: Meré meré victus domine

Tune: Group B

(xiii) 'Gifts from over the sea'

Place: Michigan

Date: 1934

Source: Charles Muchler (learned 1879).

E. E. Gardner & G. J. Chickering, Ballads
and Songs of Southern Michigan (1939) p.453.
Bronson 46. (Appendix 13)

Description: 5 stanzas:

A² B C D¹ E¹ G H I¹ J¹.

Refrain: Perry merry dinctum dominee
Partum, quartum, pery dee centum,
Perry merry dinctum dominee.

Tune: Group A

(xiv) 'Piri-miri-dictum Domini'

Place: Ohio(?)

Date: 1934

Source: J. J. Niles, A Ballad Book, pp.7-9. Source
given as Miss Cora Swift, Oberlin, Ohio.

Description: 7 stanzas:

A³ C B E¹ D¹ F H G J¹ I¹.

Refrain: Piri-miri-dictum, Domini
Pantrum, quartum paradise stantrum,
Piri-miri-dictum Domini.

Tune: Group A

(xv) 'Perry, Merry, Dictum, Domini'

Place: Stowe, Vermont

Date: c.1939

Source: Miss Zelta Norcross, learned from her grandfather (b.1839):

H. H. Flanders, Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England, II pp.313-5.

Description: 5 stanzas:

A² C B D¹ E¹ H G I¹ J¹.Refrain: Perry, merry, dictum, domini
Partum, quartum, perry, dicentum,
Perry, merry dictum, domini.

Tune: Group A

(xvi) 'Perri dixi'

Place: East Jaffrey, New Hampshire

Date: 1939

Source: Lena Bourne Fish; Flanders, ABTSNE II pp.312-3.

Description: 6 stanzas:

A² B C D¹ F¹ G H I¹ J¹.Refrain: Perri dixi, dum-di-dee
From over the deep blue sea

(xvii) 'Perry Merry Dictum Dominee'

Place: Medina, Ohio

Date: 1939

Source: Lena Smith. Eddy, Ballads & Songs from Ohio
p.25; Bronson 46 (Appendix 15)

Description: 5 stanzas:

Perry merry dictum dominee
Partum quartum perry dicentum
Perry merry dictum dominee

Tune: Group A

(xviii) 'Perrie merrie dixi Domini'

Place: Taunton, Massachusetts

Date: 1939

Source: 'When the eldest daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Wheeler Hubbard... was ten years old, she was given the evening duty of singing her small brother to sleep, and no other song that she knew would induce so prompt a drowsiness as the monotonous rhythm of this old ballad'; E. H. Linscott, Folksongs of Old New England, pp.267-9.

ctd..

(xviii) ctd..

Description: 5 stanzas:

A² B C D¹ E¹ G H I¹ J¹.

Refrain: Perry merry dixi Domini
 Petrum, partrum, paradisi tempore,
 Perry merry dixi Domini.

Tune: Group A

(xix) 'Peri Merri Dictum'

Place: unknown

Date: 1953

Source: 'The Curtis Collection of Songs, Part II';
New York Folklore Quarterly, IX (1953) 273.

Description: 5 stanzas:

A² B C D¹ E¹ G H I¹ J¹.

Refrain: Perri merri dictum domine
 Partum, quartum, peri dicentum,
 Perri merri dictum domine.

(xx) 'Perrie merrie dixi domini'

Place: Oklahoma

Date: 1964

Source: Mrs. W. F. Lawson (born Penns.). Ethel &
 Chauncey O. Moore, Ballads and Folksongs of
 the Southwest (University of Oklahoma Press,
 1964) p.243.

Description: 5 stanzas:

A² B C D¹ E¹ G H I¹ J¹.

Refrain: Perrie merrie dixi Domini
 Petrum, partrum, Paradise tempore,
 Perrie merrie dixi Domini.

Tune: Group A.

'Riddle Song' texts: Key to Description

- A. I gave/bought my love.../I'll get my love...
 A¹. My love gave me...
 A². You promised me...
 A³. Bring me...
 A⁴. I'll give thee...
- B. A cherry without a(any) stone
- C. A chicken without a(any) bone
- D. A ring that has no rim/a ring that has no end(rent)
 D¹. A thimble without any rim
 D². A Bible that no man could read
 D³. A blanket without a(any) thread
 D⁴. A story that has no end
- E. A child wench(baby) without mourning(crying)
- F. An apple without any core
- G. A dwelling without any door
 G¹. A palace without a door, that you may unlock without a key
 G². A home wherein she may be, where she may be kept fast, without any key
- H. A palace wherein she may be, that she might unlock it without any key
 H¹. A fortune Kings cannot give
- I. How can there be...(to each riddle)
- J. A cherry in blossom has no stone
- K. A chicken in the egg(when it's pipping) has no bone
- L. A ring when it's rolling(melting) has no rim(end/rent)
 L¹. When the thimble's running it has no rim
 L². When the Bible's in the press, no man can it read
 L³. When the wool's on the sheep's back, there is no thread
 L⁴. The story of our love(that I love you) it has no end
- M. A baby when it's sleeping/a-getting has no crying (mourning)
 M¹. An oak in the acorn it has no limb
 M². The dove is a bird without a gall

N. My head is the apple...

O. My mind is a dwelling...

¹
O . My mind is love's palace

P. My heart is a palace...

¹
P . My heart is the house, wherein she may be...

²
P . My heart is the wealth...

Description of texts

(i) ('My love gave me a cherry')

Place: England

Date: c.1650

Source: Edinburgh University MS Dc.1.69, No. 2
(back of MS). Bronson 46 (Appendix 1).Description: 1 stanza: A¹ B C D E

Tune: Group A

(ii) 'The Riddle'

Place: London

Date: ? c.1830

Source: Broadside (slip-sheet) printed by J.
Jennings, 15, Water-lane, Fleet-street
(one of the printers used by John Pitt's
firm). Madden collection, Cambridge
University Library.Description: The riddles are enclosed in a 'medley'
text; see Chapter 6.

No stanza division: 40 lines.

A F G H B C D E I N O P J K L M.

(iii) 'Love's Riddle'

Place: England

Date: 1873

Source: John Clare. Printed in J. L. Cherry,
Life and Remains of John Clare (London,
1873) pp.356-357.Description: 6 stanzas: the riddles are enclosed in
3 stanzas presumably of Clare's composition.
The poet addresses 'Jenny', inviting her to
solve the riddles in return for a kiss; if
she answers wrongly she is to 'treble the
debt to me. She fails, and he claims his
dues. Stanzas 2-4 as follows:A⁴ F B G¹ H¹ I N J O¹ P².

(iv) ('A Paradox')

Place: England

Date: 1878

Source: M. H. Mason, Nursery Rhymes and Country Songs
(1908 edn.) p.24. Bronson 46 App. 4

Description: 3 stanzas:

A¹ C B D² D³ I K J L² L³.

Refrain: Don't you go a-rushing, maids in May;
 Don't you go a-rushing, maids, I pray;
 For if you go a-rushing,
 I'm sure to catch you blushing;
 So gather up your rushes, and haste away.

Tune: Group E

(v) 'Don't you go a-rushing'

Place: South Brent, and Mary Tavy, Devon

Date: 1888; 1893

Source: J. Helmore and Samuel Fone, noted by H.
Fleetwood Shepherd; Baring-Gould MSS CXVI(i);
text (A). Bronson 46 App. 10

Description: 4 stanzas. Opening stanza as follows:

Don't you go a rushing, Maids in May,
 Don't you go a rushing, Maids I say.
 Don't you go a rushing
 Or you'll get a brushing,
 Gather up your rushes, and go away.
 A⁴ C B D E¹ I K J L M¹.

Tune: Group E

(vi) ('Don't you go a-Rushing')

Place: Whitchurch, Hampshire

Date: 1890

Source: William Nichols, noted by H. Fleetwood
Shepherd. Baring-Gould MSS CXVI(2) text (B).
Bronson 46 App. 11Description: 2 stanzas given; 'rest as in the
previous copy, (A)'A G² P¹ C B...

Tune: C

(vii) 'Go no more a Rushing'

Place: England

Date: 1891

Source: William Alexander Barrett, English Folksongs
p.62. Bronson 46 App. 16

Description: 2 double stanzas. Begins:

Go no more a rushing, maids, in May;
 Go no more a rushing, maids, I pray;
 Go no more a rushing, or you'll fall a blushing,
 Bundle up your rushes and haste away.
 A² B C D E² I J K L M².

Tune: Group A

(viii) 'I will give my love an apple'

Place: Sherborne, Dorset

Date: 1906

Source: Mr. J Burrows, collected by H. E. D. Hammond.
Folksong Journal Vol III No.11 (1907) p.114.
 Also sung by Clive Carey, English Colombia
 Rec.WA 10686 (DB 335).
 Bronson 46 App.3 . Hammond MS D575 p.353,

Description: 4 stanzas, plus two additional stanzas
 in MS only; see Chapter 6

A F G H N O P A B C D E J K L M.

Tune: B

(ix) ('Don't you go a-Rushing')

Place: Eley, Over Stowey, near Bridgwater, Somerset

Date: 1907

Source: Mrs. Ware. Sharp MSS 1224/1197.
 Bronson 46 App.12

Description: 3 stanzas: 1-2 as follows:

Don't you go rushing maids, I say,
 Don't you go rushing maids in May,
 For if you go a rushing they're sure to get
 you blushing,
 They'll steal all you rushes away.
 I went a rushing 'twas in May,
 I went a rushing maids you say,
 I went a rushing, they caught me a blushing
 And stole my rushes away.

K J M.

Tune: Group E

(x) ('The Riddle Song')

Place: Hyden, Kentucky

Date: October 9 1917

Source: Mrs. Eliza Pace. Sharp MSS 4139/2987.
 Sharp & Karpeles, English Folksongs from the
 Southern Appalachians, p.190. Bronson 46
 App.6.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D¹ E I J K L¹ M.Tune: Group D^D

(xi) ('The Riddle Song')

Place: St. Helen's, Lee County, Kentucky

Date: October 12 1917

Source: Mrs. Margaret Dunagan. Sharp MSS 4155/2997.
 Sharp & Karpeles, op.cit. p.191.
 Bronson 46 App.5

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D¹ E I J K L¹ M.

Tune: Group DD

(xii)('The Riddle Song')

Place: Pineville, Kentucky

Date: May 2 1917

Source: Mrs. Wilson. Sharp MSS 3621/2688. Sharp
 & Karpeles, op.cit. p,190
 Bronson 46 App.7

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D I J K L M.

Tune: Group D

(xiii)'The Riddle Song'

Place: Clay County, Virginia

Date: c.1924

Source: Mary Bell Workman. Patrick Gainer, Folk
 Songs from the West Virginia Hills, p.29.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D⁴ E I J K L⁴ M.

Tune: Group D

(xiv) 'Riddle Song'

Place: N. Carolina

Date: 1927

Source: Sung 'by a young girl who worked in a mica mill and had lived on the ... ridge above the Toe River valley all her life'.
 Collected by Mrs. Sutton. Brown MSS 16a 4J.
 Brown, North Carolina Folklore II p.49.
 Bronson 46 App.9

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D E I J K L M.

Tune: Group DD

(xv) 'Riddle Song'

Place: Lake Lynn, Pennsylvania

Date: ?c.1930

Source: Edna Barker, learned from Mrs. S. Jacobs,
 Point Marion, Pa. Carpenter MSS Reel 5.

Description: 2 stanzas: A B C

(xvi) 'The Riddle Song'

Place: Kentucky

Date: 1933

Source: Miss Wilma Creech, Pine Mountain. J. J. Niles,
Ballad Book, pp.5-7.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D E I J K L M.

Tune: Group D

(xvii) 'I gave my love a cherry'

Place: Knott Co., Kentucky

Date: 1936

Source: Elmer Griffith Sulzer, Twenty-Five Kentucky Folk Ballads, I p.5. Bronson 46 App.8.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C I J K L.

Tune: Group D

(xviii) 'Bring me a cherry'

Place: Buchanan Co., Virginia

Date: 1937

Source: Sung by a 'youth'. Dorothy Scarborough,
A Song Catcher in the Southern Mountains
pp.230-231.

Description: 3 stanzas

A³ B C D E I J K L M.Note: 'The old ballads generally end with a spoken
line, "And now she is Mrs. Wedderburn"'.
'

(xix) 'The Riddle Song'

Place: Virginia

Date: June 29 1940

Source: Betty Adams, from Kentucky, collected by
James Taylor. University of Virginia
Library, 1547/18/168. Betty Adams learned
it at school in Knott Co.; she said there
was some other title which she had forgotten.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D E I J K L M.

(xx) 'I gave my love a cherry'

Place: Fulton Co., Kentucky

Date: May 1948

Source: Mrs. Eunice Maddox. Montell Folksong
Collection, Western Kentucky University.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D E I J K L M.

(xxi) 'I gave my love a cherry'

Place: Kentucky

Date: 1950

Source: Boswell Folksong Collection, Western Kentucky
University.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D⁴ E I J K L⁴ M.

Tune: Group D

(xxii) 'I'll give my love an apple'

Place: Chezzetcook, Nova Scotia

Date: 1950

Source: Dennis Smith, collected by Helen Creighton.
Fowke & Johnston, Folksongs of Canada,
pp.136-137. Bronson 46 App.2a,b.

Description: 6 stanzas

A F G H I N O P A B C D E I J K L M.

Tune: Group A

(xxiii) 'I gave my love'

Place: Campbellsville College, Kentucky

Date: 1964

Source: Betty Lou Clark (aged 19), collected by
Jerry Powell. Montell Folksong Collection,
Western Kentucky University.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D E I J K L M.

(xxiv) 'I gave my love'

Place: Carrol Co., Kentucky

Date: 1966

Source: Melanie Gwen Eversole (aged 9), collected by
Jane Chandler. Montell Folksong Collection.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D E I J K L M.

(xxv) 'The Riddle Song'

Place: Berea College, Kentucky

Date: 1967

Source: From students, collected by Gladys V. Jameson.
Jameson, Sweet Rivers of Song, pp.46-47.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D E I J K L M.

Tune: Group D

(xxvi) 'Riddle Song'

Place: Campbellsville College, Kentucky

Date: 1968

Source: Bonnie Dunaway, collected by Brenda Watson,
Montell Folksong Collection, West Kentucky
University.

Description: 3 stanzas

A B C D E I J K L M.

'Captain Wedderburn' Texts: Key to Description.

- A. The Laird of Bristoll's daughter (or: The Duke of Merchant's daughter; The Laird of Rosslyn's daughter; A Nobleman's fair daughter; A Gentleman's fair daughter; A farmer's daughter; A Duke's fair daughter of Scotland; One of fair Scotland's daughters; A gentle young lady; A fair lady; A girl) walked out (or: rode/roved out) in the lane (or: in the woods; alone).
- A¹. As I walked (roved) out one evening (morning) by John Sander's lane (or: a shady/narrow/strawberry lane), or: As I walked down the Mall last night...
- A². It's of a merchant's (rich man's) daughter who lived in Maiden Lane (or: down yonder lane)...
- A³. Captain Washburn is a shrewd and daring sailor, who decides at last to take a wife. He goes courting a worthy lady who is hard to win.
- B. She met with Captain Wedderburn (Walker), a servant to the King (Queen).
- B¹. She met with Mr. Woodburn (Cameron, Gilmour, Walker, Osbourne; Captain Dixon; William Dixon; William Dempsey; William Peterson; Johnnie Hoodsparra), the keeper of the game.
- B². I met with Bold Robbington (Captain Woodstock; Mr. Cameron; a pretty maid), the keeper of the game (a gentleman).
- B³. She met with a deep (bold) sea captain.
- B⁴. A noble lord followed her and abducted her to his castle.
- B⁵. Two gentlemen from Ireland come that way.
- C. He said to his serving men (man) if it was not for the law, he would have her in his own bed ...
- C¹. One says to the other if it was not for the law he would have her in his own bed...
- C². It's true I loved that handsome maid and if it were not for the law I would have her in my own bed...
- C³. He said to his serving maid if it were not for the law both you and I in one bed would lie...

- D. She says she is in her father's land and asks to be left alone.
- D¹. She says he is a 'clever chiel' and she will set him questions.
- E. The supper (butler's) bell will soon be rung and she'll be missed away.
- F. He describes the bed she will have, with satin and holland.
- G. He introduces himself and says she will have fifty men at her command, with drums and trumpets to sound.
- H. He takes her to Edinburgh. His landlady says she has never seen such a fair lady. He orders a down bed.
- I. She asks for three dishes for her supper (breakfast/dinner) before she will lie with him: he answers the riddles:
- (a) a cherry without a stone (- in blossom; or, 'The Kerry land is flat and low, it really has no stone')
 - (b) a chicken/bird/capon without a bone (- in the egg)
 - (b¹) a fish without a bone (- in the egg)
 - (c) a bird without a gall (- the dove)
- J. She asks six/seven questions, which he answers:
- (a) What is rounder than a ring? (- globe/world/earth)
 - (b) What is greener than grass? (- virgus/holly/holland/evergreen/death/the grave)
 - (c) What is higher than a tree/the sky? (- Heaven/Sun/hill)
 - (c¹) What is higher than a wall? (- Sun)
 - (c²) What is higher than a King? (- God)
 - (d) What is meaner (worse) than a woman's (an ill woman's) wiss (wrath/vice/tongue/voice); or, than womankind? (or; What do pass the female heart?) (- Devil/Old Nick)
 - (e) What is deeper than the sea? (- Hell)
 - (f) What bird sings best? (thrush/hackey bird/lark/nightingale)
 - (g) What bird sings first? (- cock/lark/roe/nightingale)

- J. (h) What bird sings next? (- sea bird)
 (h¹) What bird sings last? (- 'thirst')
 (i) What bird flies far the broad sea across? (- gull)
 (j) What bird sends forth its busy call? (- lark)
 (k) What tree/flower buds/grew first? (- cedar/heath/
 oak/yew/palmtree)
 (k¹) What heather blooms first?
 (l) Where does the dew (jew) first fall (or; what falls
 on them first)? (- on Sugar Loaf/in the air/on them/
 on it/the dew)
 (l¹) Whence do the dew-drops fall (- from Heaven)
 (m) What's a young man's sense in a fair maid's heart,
 I you on duty call? (- The Devil's sense....)
- K. She asks four questions (or, for four presents/ferlies):
 he answers:
 (a) fruit that grows in winter (- My father has.../
 In my father's hot-bed/I'll pick you some haws)
 (a¹) Farren fruit that in Car'lina grew (My father has..)
 (b) a silk mantle/cloak/dollman that never weft went
 through (- My mother/father has...)
 (b¹) a silk webbed cloak that never a shadow went
 through
 (b²) a new slip bound with never thread worn through it
 (- My mother has...)
 (c) a sparrow's horn/thorn (- there's one on every claw)
 (d) a priest unborn to join us twa (- one is by the
 door who was cut from his mother's side/a wild boar
 pierced his mother's side)
 (d¹) a priest unborn/unshorn (- Melchisedec/Saint Patrick/
 Virginian/Damocles/Benedict/Belshazzar/in Belgium
 there is...)
 (d²) A priest unborn (- ...I cannot call)
- L. Little kent Grizey Sinclair/she that morning that would
 be the last of her maiden days; now she is Captain
 Wedderburn's wife.
- L¹. The couple got married; because she was so clever/
 generous-hearted, she enthralled his heart.

- L². The couple got married; because he was a clever fellow, he enthralled/betrayed her heart.
- L³. 'You fly from me, Devil', she said, 'right through that old stone wall'.
- L⁴. He took her by the lily-white hand and led her through the hall, and led her to his bed of down.
- L⁵. She found her Willie so manfully did Mary's heart enthrall, He/I took this young girl by the waist but she didn't lie next to the wall.
- L⁶. So I'll leave this stuccoed wall.

Description of 'Captain Wedderburn' Texts

(i) 'Captain Wedderburn'/'The Laird of Bristoll's Daughter'

Place: Scotland

Date: c.1776-1825

- Sources: - David Herd MS (British Mus. Add.22311-12) I, 161; II, 100. Child 46A. ('The Laird of Bristoll's Daughter')
- Chapbook, with 'The Wandering Boy', c.1825, 4 pages. Stirling, printed by W. Macnie. Woodcut of a hunt. Bound in 'Curious Tracts' by James Mitchell, Aberdeen, 1828 (British Mus. 1078m 24 7k) ('The Laird of Roslin's Daughter')
- Alexander Whitelaw, Book of Scottish Song, Blackie, London 1843, pp.70-1. With note; 'This diverting ditty was at one time very popular among the country people of Scotland. It can be traced no further back than to the New British Songster published in Falkirk in 1785.' (Roslin) Child 46A

Description: Except for the discrepancy 'Bristoll', the texts are virtually identical.

18 stanzas

A B C D E F G H I(a,b,c) J(b,c,d,e,g,l)
K(a,b,c,d) L.

(ii) 'Captain Wedderburn'/'Lord Roslyn's Daughter'

Place: North Scotland; Newcastle

Date: c.1775-1857

- Sources: - 'Lord Roslin's Daughter's Garland' (late 18th c.)
- Harris MS fol.19b, No.14 (Mrs. Harris) (Late 18th c.) Tune: Group A.
- 'The Old Lady's Collection' (Scott MSS) No. 38 (c.1805)
- Thomas Wright, Songs & Carols (Wharton Club, 1856) 'from a Newcastle chapbook about the beginning of the 19th century'
- Jamieson, Popular Ballads (Edinb. 1806) II, 159
- Chapbook, with 'Johnie Coup', n.d., Glasgow, woodcut of soldier, 8pp. Mitchell Library, Glasgow Ser.v 556267 893152.
- Buchan MSS II, 34 (c.1828)

- Kinloch MSS II, 34 (c1830) - Mary Barr.
 - Notes & Queries 2nd Series IV, 170 'as sung among the peasantry of the Mearns' (1857)
- See Child 46B. Bronson 46.8

Description: Texts are virtually identical (See Child)
18 stanzas

A B C D E (G) H I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c) J(b,c,d,e,
g,k,l) L.

N.B. In the Glasgow chapbook, K and J are mixed:
K(a,b) J(g,k,l) J(b,c,d,e) K(c,d).

(iii) 'The Lover's Riddle'

Place: Cork

Date: ?c.1825

Source: - Broadside, n.d., Haly, South Main-Street,
Cork. Woodcut of seated man and woman.

- Another copy, n.d., unnamed, woodcut of
interior with man, woman and child.

Both in National Library of Ireland

Description: 10st.

A B¹ C I(b,a,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) K(a,b,c,d)
L¹.

(iv) 'The Laird of Roslin's Daughter'

Place: Berwick on Tweed

Date: 1847

Source: Remembered by a lady of Berwick, learned from
a nurse in childhood. Sheldon, Minstrelsy of
the English Border, 1847, p.232.

Child C.

Description: 12 sts.

A B C G Kc(corrupt) I(b,a,c) J(c,d,e) Kd L.

(v) 'The Lord of Rosslyn's Daughter'

Place: Montrose

Date: 1866

Source: Notes & Queries, 3rd Ser. X (1866) 48-9.
Contributor aged 80. 'Published towards the
end of the last century'

Description: 8 sts., fragmented, prose interpolations

A B D E H I(a,b,c) J(b,c,d,e,g,l) K(a,b,c,d) L.

(vi) ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: Affath (error for Achath, Aberdeen?)

Date: 1905

Source: Mrs. Pyper, Greig MSS I 94. Bronson 46.1.

Description: 1 stanza: I(b,a)

Tune: Group A

(vii) 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'

Place: N.E.Scotland

Date: 1906

Source: J. W. Spence; Greig MSS I 165; Bk.726, XVI 85
Greig & Keith, Last Leaves, 1925, p.136(b);
Bronson 46.7

Description: 16 sts.

A B C D E G H I(a,b,c) J(b,c,d,e,g,l)

K(a,b,c,d) L.

Tune: Group A

(viii) ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: New Pitsligo, Aberdeen

Date: Sept. 1907

Source: J. Mowat. Greig MSS II 149; Bk.729, XIX 32.
Greig & Keith, Last Leaves, p.36(2).
Bronson 46.10

Description: 17 sts.

A B C D E G H I(a,b,c) J(b,c,d,e,g,l)

K(a,b,c,d) L.

Tune: Group D

N.B. The same text, and the same tune with very slight variation, appear in Carpenter's collection, Reel 4 Box 2, from Johnie Mowat of Craigmaud, Dumfriesshire, learned from his father. (c.1930?) This may be the original J. Mowat, or his son.

(ix) 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'

Place: Udney, Aberdeen

Date: c.1910

Source: R. Alexander; Duncan MS 285: 'dates back 100 years'. Greig & Keith, Last Leaves, p.36(1a);
Bronson 46.5; Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2.Description: 1 st. A B⁴

Tune: Group A

(x) 'The Laird o' Roslin's Daughter'

Place: Strichen, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1910

Source: Elizabeth Robb. Greig MSS, IV p.88.
Carpenter MSS, Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II.
Bronson 46.3

Description: 15 sts.

A B C D E H I J(b,c,d,e) K(a,b,c,d) L.

Tune: Group D

(xi) 'Six Questions'

Place: Westville, Pictou Co., Nova Scotia

Date: 1910

Source: John Adamson. JAF XXIII (1910) p.377.
W. Roy Mackenzie, The Quest of the Ballad,
pp.108-110. Bronson 46.13.

Description: 9 stanzas

A B³ J(a,c,d,e,g,h¹,l) K(a,b,c,d) I(b,a,c) L⁴.

Tune: Group F

(xii) ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: Boston, Massachusetts

Date: 1911

Source: E. A. S. native of Co. Down. Barry, JAF XXIV
(1911) 335-336. Barry, Eckstorm & Smyth,
British Ballads from Maine, p.97.
Bronson 46.9.

Description: 9 stanzas (fragmented)

A B¹ J(a,c,d,e)(f,k,l) I(b,a,c) K(a,b,d¹).

Tune: Group F

(xiii) ('The Duke of Rutland's Daughter')

Place: Boston, Massachusetts

Date: 1911

Source: Hudson MS, No. 701, from E. Clements. Barry,
JAF XXIV (1911) p.337. Bronson 46.11.

Description: 2 lines: A

Tune: Unclassified

(xiv) ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: Union Mills, Brunswick, Canada

Date: 1928

Source: T. Edward Nelson. Barry, Eckstorm & Smyth, British Ballads from Maine, pp.95-6(B).
Bronson 46.12.

Description: 2 stanzas (fragmented)

J(a,c,d,e,k,l)

Tune: Group BB

(xv) 'Bold Robbington'

Place: West Gouldsboro, Maine

Date: June 28th 1929

Source: Mrs. Annie V. Marston; learned in 1867.
Barry, Eckstorm & Smyth, British Ballads from Maine, p.481; pp.93-5. Bronson 46.17.

Description: 10 stanzas

A¹ B² C² J(a,c,d,e,i,l) K(a,b,d¹) I(a,b,c) L⁵.

Tune: Group BB

(xvi) 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'

Place: North River, Conception Bay, Newfoundland

Date: 1929

Source: Mrs. Mary McCabe. Maud Karpeles, Folksongs from Newfoundland, pp.39-40 (A).

Description: 4 stanzas

J(b,c,d,e,f,l) I(b¹, a,c).

Tune: Group C

(xvii) 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'

Place: Trepassey Bay, Newfoundland

Date: 4th August 1930

Source: Mrs. K. M. Coombes. Karpeles, op.cit., pp.40-1 (B).

Description: 5 stanzas

A B³ C I(b¹, a,c) K(a,b²,c,d²) L⁶.

Tune: Group C

(xviii) 'The Laird o' Roslin's Daughter'

Place: Lambhill, Inch, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1930

Source: Bell Duncan. Carpenter MSS Reel 4, Box 2
Packet II

Description: 14 stanzas

A B C D E J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d) L.

(xix) 'The Laird o Roslin's Daughter'

Place: Tories, Oyne, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1930

Source: Mrs. William Duncan. Carpenter MSS Reel 4,
Box 2 Packet II; Reel 7 Box 5.

Description: 11 stanzas

A B C D E J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d)L.

Tune: Group A

(xx) 'The Laird o' Roslin's Daughter'

Place: Gourdon, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1930

Source: Jim Smith. Carpenter MSS, Reel 4 Box 2,
Packet II; Reel 10, learned 32 years ago.

Description: 10 stanzas

A B C D E J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c).

Tune:

(xxi) 'The Laird o' Rossley's Daughter'

Place: Stonehaven, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1930

Source: Peter Christie. Carpenter MSS, Reel 4, Box 2
Packet II; Reel 7 Box 5.

Description: 13 stanzas

A B C D E H K(a,b,c,d) I(a,b,c) J(b,c,d,e,g,l)

Tune: Group E

(xxii) 'Captain Wederbourne'

Place: Kirkside, ?N. E. Scotland

Date: c.1931

Source: Mrs. Pirie. Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2
Packet II.

Description: 18 stanzas

A B C D E G E H I(a,b,c) J(b,c,d,e,g,l)
K(a,b,c,d) L.

(xxiii) 'The Laird o' Roslin's Daughter'

Place: Glenbogie, Oyne, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1930

Source: John Riddoch; Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2
Packet II.

Description: 10 stanzas

A B C D E J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d).
Tune: Group A

(xxiv) 'The Laird o' Roslin's Daughter'

Place: Cuminestown, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1930

Source: Jean Esselmont, learned from milkmaids when
a girl 58 years ago. Carpenter MSS Reel 4, Box
2 Packet II.

Description: 11 stanzas

A B C D E J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d)
L.

(xxv) 'Captain Wederbourn'

Place: Denhead, Dunlugas, Fife

Date: c.1930

Source: Alexander Clark, from Maggie Lamond, of Eden,
1878. Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II;
Reel 7, Box 5.

Description: 10 stanzas

A B C D¹ J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d)
L.

Tune: Group A

(xxvi) 'The Laird o' Roslyn's Daughter'

Place: Willow Bank, Inch, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1930

Source: Leslie Durno. Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II. Learned from a farm labourer, 1878, never seen in print.

Description: 12 stanzas

A B C D E J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d)
L. ('Little Kristy St. Clair').

Tune: Group E

(xxvii) 'The Laird o' Roslin's Daughter'

Place: Denhead, Dunlugas, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1930*

Source: Willie Mathieson, learned as a boy from his father. Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II

Description: 12 stanzas

A B C D E J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d).
Tune: Group A

(xxviii) 'Laird of Roslyn's Daughter'

Place: Baldruderry, Latheron, Caithness

Date: C.1930

Source: John Sutherland. Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II; Reel 7, Box 5.

Description: 9 stanzas

A B C D E J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d).
Tune: Group E

(xxix) 'The Laird o' Roslyn's Daughter'

Place: Cuminstown, Aberdeenshire

Date: c.1930

Source: David Edwards, learned in Cornhill 60 years ago. Carpenter MSS Reel 4 Box 2 Packet II; Reel 7 Box 5.

Description: 19 stanzas

A B C D¹ J(b,c,d,e,g,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d)
L.

Tune: Group E

* The same text was collected in 1965 by H. Henderson & F. Collinson; Scottish Studies IX Pt.1 (1965) pp.14-17.

(xxx)('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: ? N.E. Scotland

Date: ? c.1930

Source: Jason Mason. Carpenter MSS Reel 7, Box 5.

Description: 2 stanzas: I(a,b,c).

Tune: Group E

(xxxi) ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: ? N.E. Scotland

Date: ? c.1930

Source: Ellen Rettie. Carpenter MSS Reel 7, Box 5.

Description: 1 stanza: A

Tune: Group A

(xxxii)('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: ? N.E. Scotland

Date: ? c.1930

Source: Mrs. Andrew Thompson. Carpenter MSS Reel 7
Box 5

Description: 2 stanzas: A I(a,b,c).

Tune: Group E

(xxxiii) 'The Laird o' Roslin's Daughter'

Place: North Scotland

Date: 1930

Source: John Ord, Bothy Songs and Ballads, pp.416-120.
Bronson 46.6.

Description: 18 stanzas

A B C D E G H I(a,b,c) J(b,c,d,e,g,l)

K(a,b,c,d) L.

Tune: Group A

(xxxiv) 'Captain Woodstock'

Place: South-East Passage, Nova Scotia

Date: 1933

Source: Richard Hartlan. Creighton, Songs & Ballads
from Nova Scotia, pp.6-7. Bronson 46.22.

Description: 7 stanzas

A¹ B¹ C J(a,c,d,e,k,f) I(b,a,c) K(b,d¹).

Tune: Group C

(xxxv) 'Mr Woodburn's Courtship'

Place: Greenville, Michigan

Date: 1934

Source: Mrs. Eliza Youngs, learned from her mother.
Gardner & Chickering, op.cit. pp.139-140.
Bronson 46.24.

Description: 10 stanzas

A B¹ C I(b,a,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,l) K(a,b,c,d¹)
L¹.

Tune: Group C

(xxxvi) 'Mr Woodburn's Courtship'

Place: Kalkaska, Michigan

Date: 1934

Source: Charles Muchler; learned in a Pennsylvanian
lumber camp. Gardner & Chickering, op.cit.,
pp.141-142. Bronson 46.15.

Description: 4 stanzas

A¹ B² C J(a,c,d,e,g,f,l).

Tune: Group BB

(xxxvii) Fragment

Place: Vermont

Date: August 3rd 1934

Source: Mrs. Ellen M. Sullivan. H. H. Flanders,
Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New
England I pp.45-50. Flanders places the
fragment as Child 1 on grounds of metre.

Description: 2 stanzas

J(a,c²e).

(xxxviii) 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'

Place: Chezzetcook, Nova Scotia

Date: July 11th 1937

Source: Dennis Smith. Creighton & Senior, Traditional
Songs from Nova Scotia, pp.22-23; JEFDSS VI
(Dec.1951) p.85. Bronson 46.

Description: 8 stanzas

Tune: Group B

(xxxix) ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: Petpeswick, Nova Scotia

Date: July 23rd 1937

Source: Tom Young. Creighton & Senior, op.cit.,
pp.23-34; JEFDSS VI(Dec.1951) p.84.
Bronson 46.20.

Description: 7 stanzas

A B⁵ C¹ J(a,c,d,e,k,f,l) I(a,b,c)
J(a,b,c,d).

Tune: Group B

(xl) 'Many Questions'

Place: Central Valley, California

Date: December 25th 1938

Source: Warde H. Ford. Robertson, LC/AAFS No.4196 B1.
Bronson 46.26

Description: 6 stanzas

I(a,b,c) J(a,e,d,c,j,l¹).

Tune: Unclassified

(xli) 'A Strange Proposal'

Place: New Hampshire

Date: November 1939

Source: Mrs. Margaret A. Martin, from her grandfather,
of Cork. Flanders & Olney, Ballads Migrant
in New England, pp.43-46.

Description: 10 stanzas

A B¹ C I(a,b,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) K(a,b,c,d) L²

(xlii) ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: New Hampshire

Date: September 1939

Source: Mrs. William Edwin Martin (mother of the
above?) as known to her father. She came
from Cork, but has lived long in Vermont.
Flanders, Ancient Ballads, I p.310 (E).Description: 1 stanza: K(b,c,d¹).

(xliii) 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'

Place: Springfield, Vermont

Date: c.1939

Source: Mrs. Elwin Burditt, as sung by 'Red MacDonald'
in Michigan. Flanders, Ancient Ballads, I
pp.307-308 (C)

Description: 2 stanzas: I(a,b,c)

Tune: Unclassified

(xliv) 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'

Place: Springfield, Vermont

Date: c.1939

Source: Mrs. Ellen M. Sullivan. (see also xxxvii).
Flanders, Ancient Ballads, I pp.308-310 (D).

Description: 2 stanzas: I(b,a,c)

Tune: Group C

(xlv) 'I'll lie near the wall'

Place: Cathair, Limerick

Date: 1939

Source: Molly King (aged 33). Irish Folkore Commission
(University College, Dublin) Vol.629 pp.548-9.

Description: 6 stanzas

A B¹ C J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) I(a,b,c)

(xlvi) 'Captain Washburn's Courtship'

Place: East Jaffrey, New Hampshire

Date: 1940

Source: Mrs. Lena Bourne Fish. Flanders, Ancient
Ballads I pp.304-307 (B).

Description: 6 stanzas

B³ I(b,a,c).

Tune: Group B

(xlvii) ('For my breakfast you must get me')

Place: Ballytruckle, Waterford, Ireland

Date: 1940

Source: Mary Josephine Cleary (aged 74) collected by
her son, Séan Ó Cléirigh. IFC Vol.696.
(Sung as a duet).

Description: 4 stanzas: I(a,b,c) J(c,a,d,e,f,l).

(xlvi) 'You lie next the wall'

Place: Kilgarvan, Kerry

Date: 1940

Source: Singer unknown, collected by John O'Donoghue.
IFC Vo. 828 pp.512-514.

Description: 6 stanzas

J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b) (unfinished).

(xlix) 'The Merchant's Daughter'

Place: Waterford

Date: c.1940

Source: Singer unknown. IFC Vol.275, pp.739-742.

Description: 7 stanzas

A B¹ C I(b,a,c) J(c,e,a,d,k,f,l)

(1) ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: Colebrook, New Hampshire

Date: 1942

Source: Mrs. Belle Richards. Flanders, Ancient Ballads I pp.310-312 (F).

Description: 2 stanzas: J(a,c,d,e,g,f,l)

Tune: Group C

(1i) 'One evening fair'

Place: Choc Maoilin Baile Chruuich, Mayo

Date: 1942

Source: Dónall a Gróntaigh (aged 89) collected by
Tomás de Búrca. IFC Vol.804 pp.206-209.

Description: 10 stanzas

A¹ B² C J(a,c,d,e,g,f,l) I(a,b,c) K(a,b,c,d¹).

(1ii) 'The Stock or Wall'

Place: Corrstruce, Ballinagh, Cavan

Date: 1942

Source: Pete Galligan, collected by Séamus MacAonghusa
IFC Vol.1282 pp.404-406.

Description: 11 stanzas

A B¹ C I(b,a,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) K(a,b,c,d¹)
L¹.

(liii) 'As I roved out one morning'

Place: Comhartha Beag, Cairbhe, Kerry

Date: 1942

Source: Máire Uí Chonail (aged 80) collected by
Tadhg Ó Murchú. IFC Vol.823 pp.440-444.

Description: 9 stanzas

A¹ B¹ C I(b,a,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) K(a,b,c,d¹)
L.

(liv) 'Either Stock or Wall'

Place: Clochán Liath, Dunglow, Donegal

Date: 1943

Source: Máire McCafferty (aged 54) collected by
Seamus MacAonghusa. IFC Vol.1282 pp.95-96.

Description: 10 stanzas

A¹ B² C I(b,a,c) KIa,b,d¹) J(a,e,d,c,k,l) L¹.

(lv) 'A gentle young lady'

Place: South Connellsville, Pennsylvania

Date: 1946

Source: Albert E. Richter, recorded by Samuel Bayard.
George Korson, Pennsylvanian Songs & Legends
pp.35-36. Bronson 46.25.

Description: 11 stanzas

A B¹ C I(a,b,c) J(a,e,d,c,g,f,l) K(a¹,b,c,d¹)
L¹.

Tune: Group E

(lvi) 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'

Place: Sambro, Maritime Canada

Date: 1949

Source: Mr. William Gilkie. Creighton, Maritime
Folksongs, p.6

Description: 2 stanzas and a fragment

A B⁵ C E ; K(c,d).

Tune: Group B

(lvii) ('Captain Wedderburn's Courtship')

Place: Cape Sable Island, Nova Scotia

Date: 1950

Source: Ralph Huskins; Creighton & Senior, Traditional Songs from Nova Scotia, pp.24-25.

Description: 3 stanzas: I(b,a,c).

Tune: Group BB

(lviii) 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship'

Place: Mohill, Co. Leitrim

Date: December 1954

Source: Thomas Moran, recorded by Seamus Ennis. JFDSS VII (1955) No.4 p.243. Seamus Ennis, Topic, Folksongs of Britain Vol.4, 'The Child Ballads I'; sings this text with a different tune (see tune for Willie Clancy, lxvi).

Description: 9 stanzas

A B¹ C I(a,b,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) K(a,b,c,d¹).

Tune: Group C

(lix) 'Stock or Wall'

Place: Belfast

Date: ?

Source: Collected by Hugh Shields; singer learned song in Inishowen, Co. Donegal. Ulster Folk Museum, tape 68/19.

Description: 6 stanzas

A B¹ C J(a,c,d,e,k,f,l) K(a,b,c,d)
last line is spoken: 'So he rolls her to the wall'

Tune: Unclassified

(lx) 'Stock or Wall'

Place: Annalong, Co. Down

Date: ?

Source: Mrs. Rose McCartin, collected by Hugh Shields; learned from a man of Hilltown, who wrote it down for her. UFM tape 70/4.

Description: 10 stanzas

A B¹ C I(b,a,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,h,l) K(b,a,c,d).

Tune: Unclassified

(lxi) 'As I roved out'

Place: Annalong, Co. Down

Date: 1955

Source: Mrs. Cunningham, collected by Hugh Shields.
 Learned from (lx) above; MS in possession
 of Hugh Shields. Fragment of same, UFM Tape
 70/2.

Description: 8 stanzas

$$A B^1 C J(a, c, d, e, g, k^1, l) K(b, a, c, d) L^2.$$

(lxii) 'Captain Walker's Courtship'

Place: Unknown (American)

Date: 1958

Source: Norman Cazden, ed., The Abeldard Song Book,
 p.20.

Description: 8 stanzas

$$A^2 B^1 C J(a, c, d, e, f, k, l) I(b, a, c) L^1.$$

Tune: Group E

(lxiii) 'The Devil and the Blessed Virgin Mary'

Place: Pinware, Labrador

Date: August 1960

Source: Martin Hocko. Leach, Folk Ballads & Songs of
 the Lower Labrador Coast, pp.26-27.

Description: 11 stanzas

$$A B^3 C D J(e, c^1 M) J(e, c^1, f, l) I(b^1, a, c) \\ K(a, b, c, d) L^3.$$

Tune: Group C

(lxiv) 'You'll lie next the wall'

Place: Cluain an Bhric, Aghinagh, Múscraí Thoir, Cork

Date: 1960

Source: Paddy Moynihan (aged 60), collected by Seán
 Ó Croíinín. IFC Vol.1592, pp.19-22.

Description: 11 stanzas

$$A^1 B^1 C J(a, c, d, e, f, k, l) I(b, a, c) K(a, b, c, d^1) \\ L.$$

(1xv) 'You and I in the one bed lie'

Place: Pomeroy, Co. Tyrone

Date: 1956-62

Source: Frank Donnelly, collected by Sean O'Boyle
and Diane Hamilton. Innisfree/Green Linnet,
1977, SIF 1005, 'Singing Men of Ulster'.

Description: 8 stanzas

A B¹ C I(b,a,c) K(a,b,c,d¹) J(a,c,f,l).

Tune: Group C

(1xvi) 'The Song of the Riddles'

Place: Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare

Date: 1967

Source: Willie Clancy, learned from a neighbour,
recorded by Bill Leader. Topic, 12T 175,
'Willie Clancy - Minstrel from Clare'.

Description: 9 stanzas

A B¹ C I(a,b,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) K(a,b,c,d¹).

Tune: Unclassified

(1xvii) 'Stock and Wall'

Place: Glencolumbkille, Donegal

Date: August 10 1968

Source: Patrick Heekin, collected by Hugh Shields.
Folklife X (1972) pp.87-88.

Description: 10 stanzas

A B¹ C I(b,a,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) K(a,b,c,d¹)
L¹.

Tune: Group C

(1xviii) 'Dialogue'

Place: Aughavilla, Warrenpoint, Co. Down

Date: ?1968-9

Source: Willie Johnson, MS written by Mrs. Nora Cooper
copy in possession of Hugh Shields.

Description: irregular, 6 long stanzas

A¹ B² C³ I(b,a,c) J(a,c,d,e,g,f,l).

Tune: 'to a tune like "The Boys from the Co. Armagh"'

(1xix) 'A Riddling Song'

Place: Caithness, Scotland

Date: 1969

Source: Mrs. David Gunn, collected by Alan Bruford.
Tocher I(1969) p.23; SA 1969/48 B5.

Description: 2 stanzas: J(a,c,d,e).

Note: 'This story, I think, is of a man
trying to evade marrying a woman asking her
riddles'.

Tune: Unclassified

(1xx) 'Mr Woodburren's Courtship'

Place: Mullagh, Co. Clare

Date: August 31 1972

Source: Joe 'Mikey' McMahon (aged 73), collected by
Tom Munnelly, IFC tape 92/A/1; Dal gCais
1977.

Description: 9 stanzas

A B¹ C J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) K(a,b,c,d1) I(b,a,c)
L¹.

Tune: Group C

(1xxi) 'Stock or Wall'

Place: Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare

Date: January 13 1972

Source: John Moloney (aged 66), collected by Tom
Munnelly, IFC tape 36/B/9.

Description: 9 stanzas

A B¹ C I(b,a,c) J(a,e,d,c,f,k,l) K(b,a,c,d¹).

(1xxii) 'The Nobleman's Fair Daughter'

Place: Kilshanny, Co. Clare

Date: July 19 1974

Source: Pat McNamara (retired farm worker), learned as
a child from his uncle. Collected by Tom
Munnelly, IFC tape 319/A/2.

Description: 11 stanzas

A B¹ C I(b,a,c) J(a,c,d,e,f,k,l) K(a,b,c,d¹)
L¹.

(1xxiii) 'Stock or Wall'

Place: Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare

Date: July 29 1974

Source: Tom Griffin (aged 80), farmer. Collected
by Tom Munnelly, IFC tape 324/A/2. (learned
from Ann Burke who emigrated to USA, 1920).

Description: 7 stanzas (some omitted from end)

A B¹ C J(a,c,d,e,k,f,l) I(b,a,c).

(1xxiv) 'The Keeper of the Game'

Place: Fish Loughan, Ulster.

Date: unknown

Source: John Millen, jun. Sam Henry Collection
No. 681 (Vaughan Williams Memorial library).

Description: 8 stanzas

A² B¹ C J(a,c,d,e,k,f,l) I(a,b,c) L².

Perry Merry DictumGROUP A

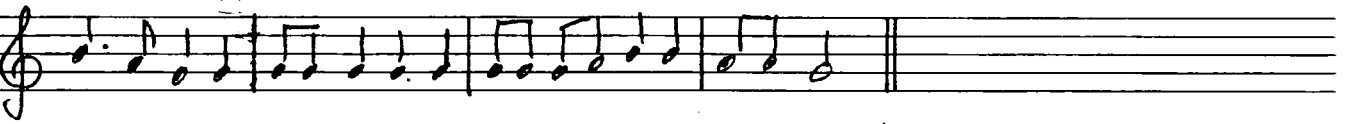
(vii) Mason, 1878. Bronson 46 App. 14



(x) Aimers, 1914



(xiii) Muchler, 1934. Bronson 46 App. 13



(xiv) Niles, 1934



(xv) Norcross, 1939

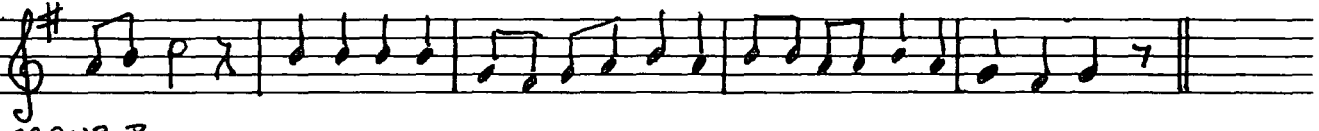


(xvii) Smith, 1939. Bronson 46 App. 15 ; also (xviii) Hubbard, 1939, identical



Perry Herry Dictum
Group A ctd.

(xx) Lawson, 1964



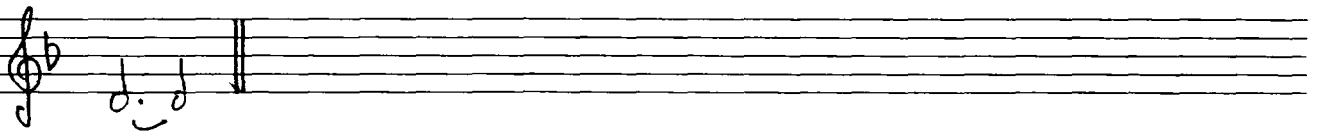
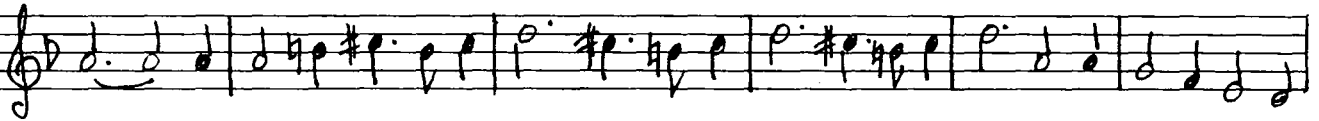
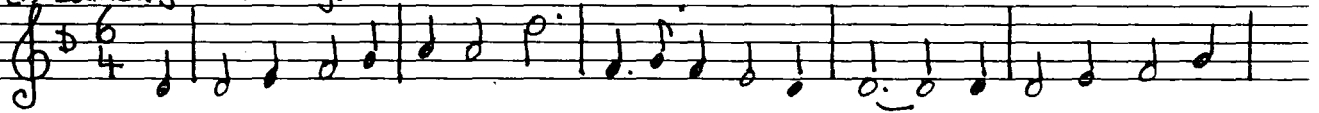
GROUP B
 (xii) Page, 1932



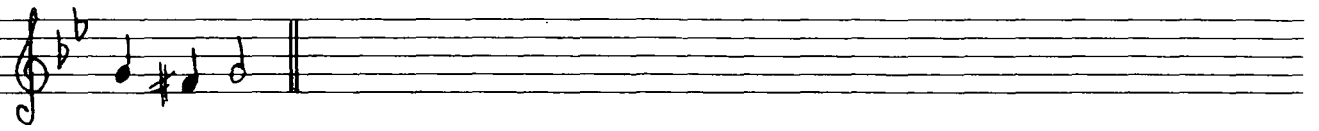
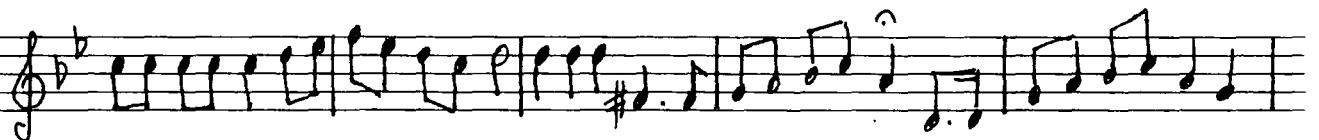
Riddle Song

GROUP A

(i) Edinburgh University, 1650. Bronson 46 App. 1



(vii) Barrett, 1891. Bronson 46 App. 16



Riddle Song
Group A ctā.

(xxii) Smith, 1950. Bronson 46 App. 2a (see 46 App 2b for a later recording)



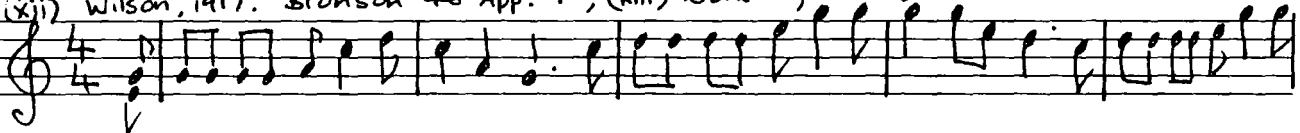
TUNE B
 (viii) Burrows, 1906. Bronson 46 App. 3



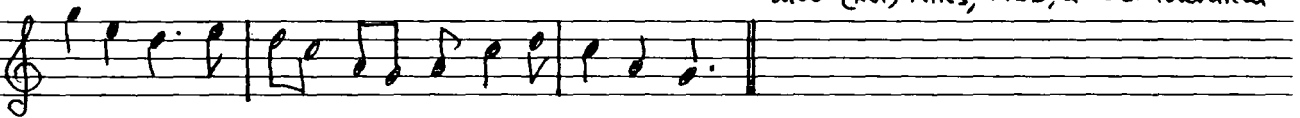
TUNE C
 (vi) Nichols, 1890. Bronson 46 App. 11



GROUP D
 (xi) Wilson, 1917. Bronson 46 App. 7 ; (xiii) Workman, 1924 (tunes are identical)



also (xvi) Niles, 1933, almost identical



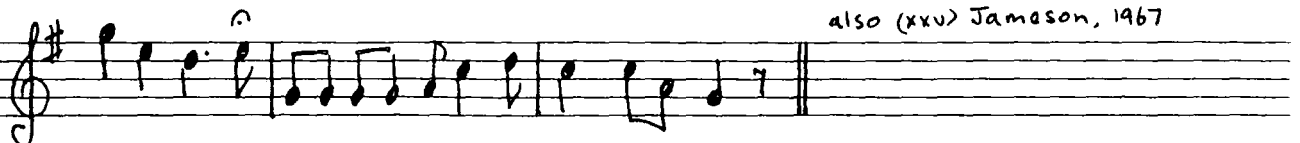
(xvii) Sulzer, 1936. Bronson 46 App. 8



(xxi) Boswell Collection, 1950



also (xxv) Jameson, 1967



Riddle SongGROUP DD

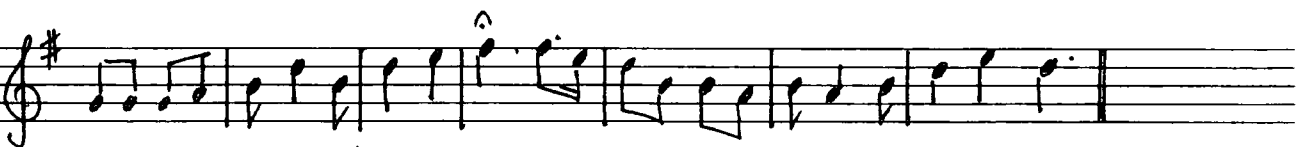
(x) Pace, 1917. Bronson 46 App. 6



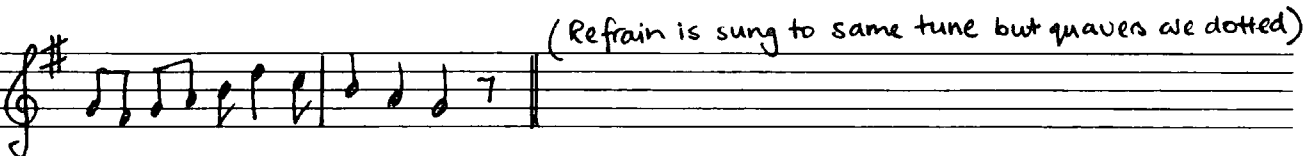
(xi) Dunagan, 1917. Bronson 46 App. 5



(xiv) Brown, 1927. Bronson 46 App. 9

GROUP E

(iv) Mason, 1878. Bronson 46 App. 4.

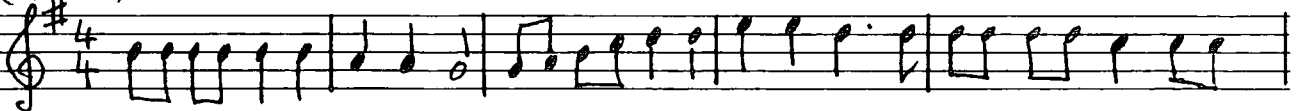


(Refrain is sung to same tune but quavers are dotted)

(v) Helmore/Fone, 1888, 1893. Bronson 46 App. 10

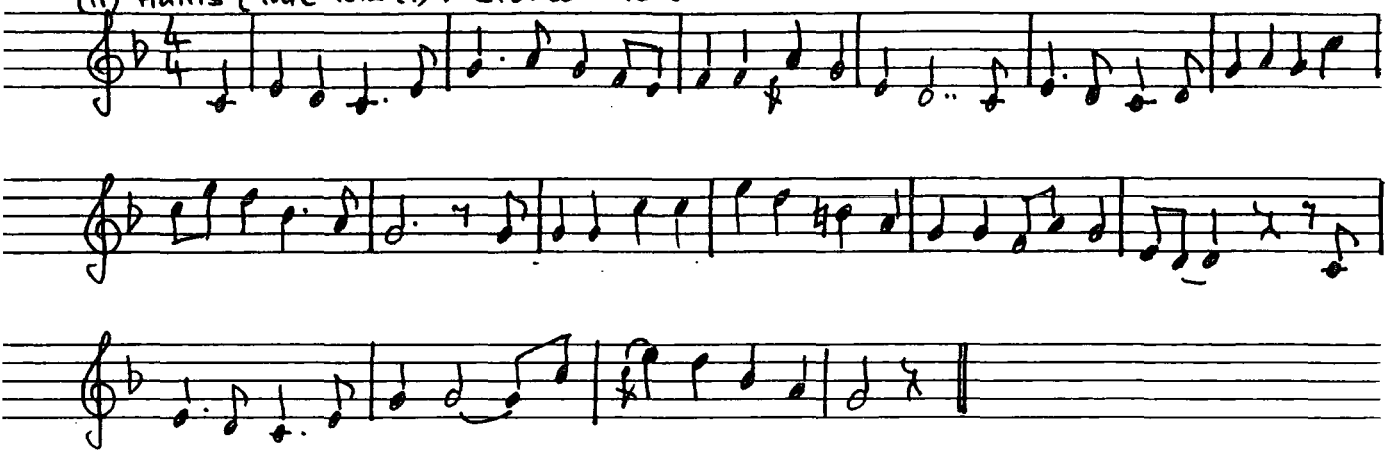


(ix) Ware, 1907. Bronson 46 App. 12



Captain Wedderburn's CourtshipGROUP A

(ii) Harris (late 18th c.). Bronson 46.8



Christie, 1881. Bronson 46.2 (Text borrowed & abridged) Learned from his grandfather



(vi) Pyper, 1906. Bronson 46.1



(ix) Alexander, 1910. Bronson 46.5



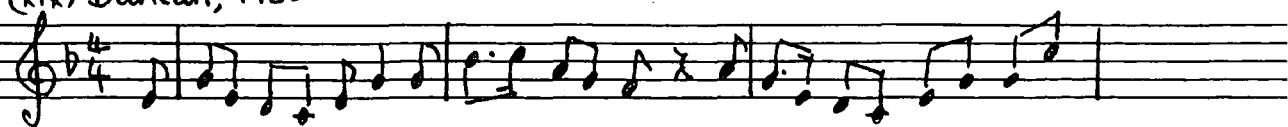
(vii) Spence, 1907. Bronson 46.7



Captain Wedderburn's Courtship

Group A ctd.

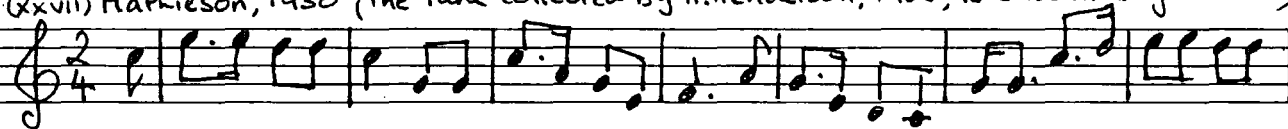
(xix) Duncan, 1930



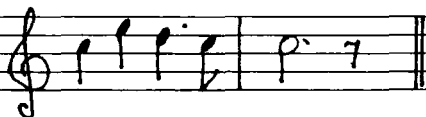
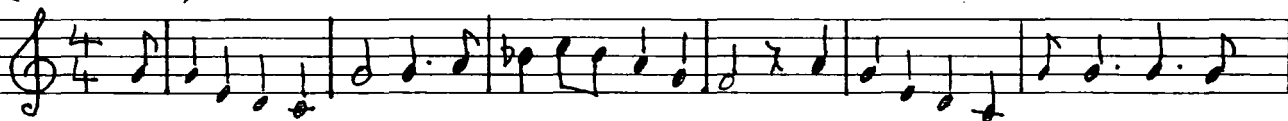
(xxv) Clark, 1930



(xxvii) Mathieson, 1930 (the tune collected by H. Henderson, 1965, is substantially the same)



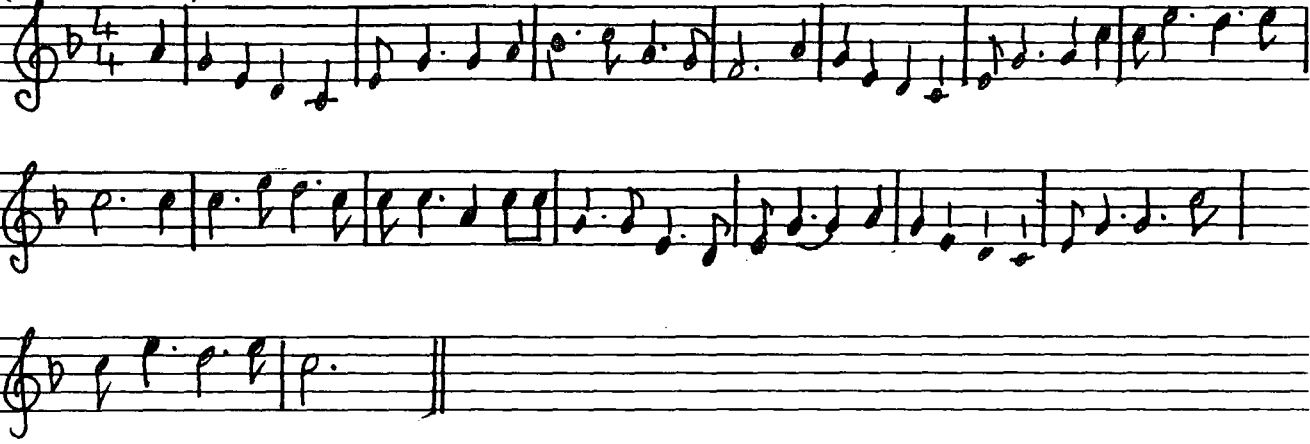
(xxxi) Rettie, 1930



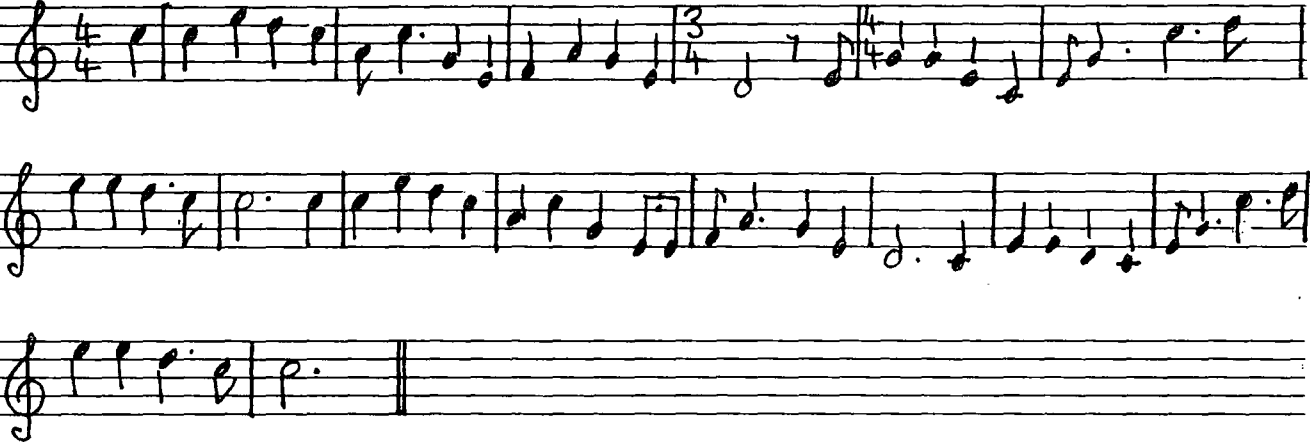
Captain Wedderburn's Courtship

Group A etc.

(xxiii) O'ra, 1930. Bronson 46.6.

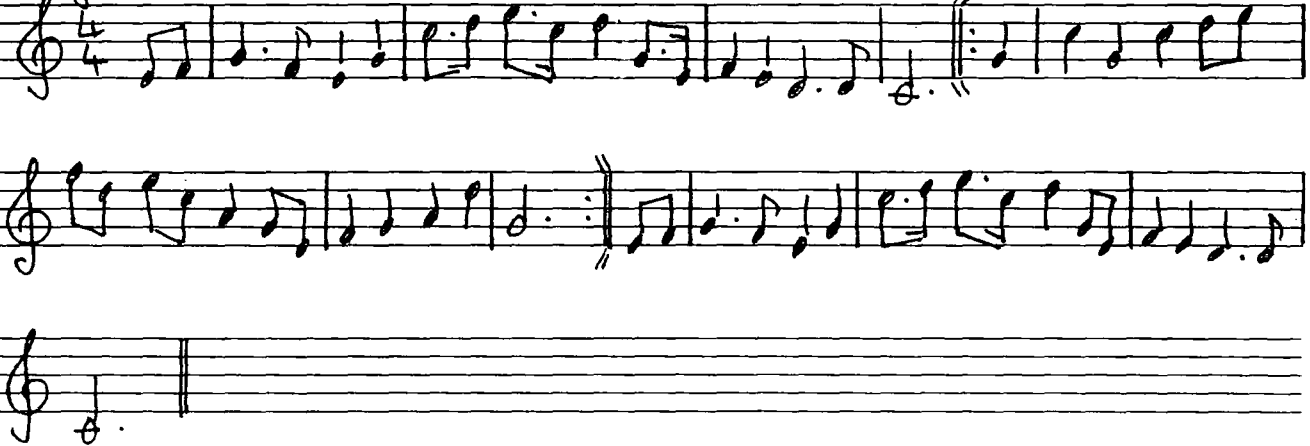


(xxiii) Riddoch, 1930.



GROUP B

Fitzgerald. Petrie, Collection of Irish Music, 1902-5. Bronson 46.23. No text.



(xxviii) Smith, 1937. Bronson 46.19



Captain Wedderburn's Cowtship

Group B ctd.

(xxxix) Young, 1937. Bronson 46.20



(xlii) Fish, 1940.



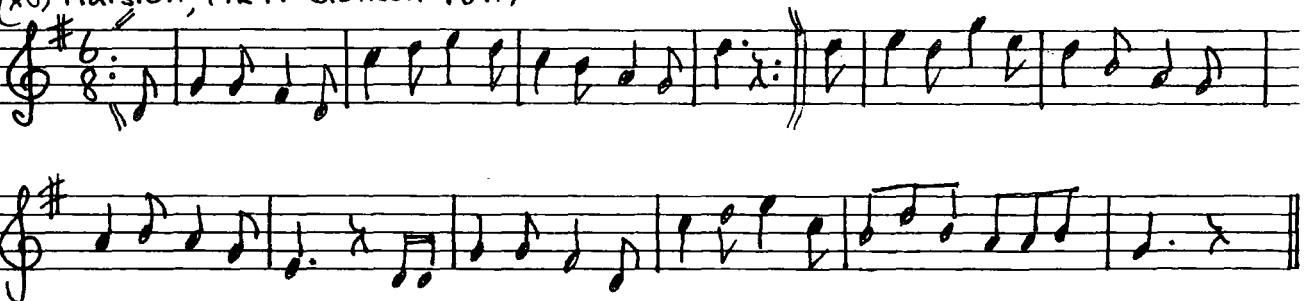
(li) Gilkie, 1949

GROUP BB

(xlv) Nelson, 1928. Bronson 46.12



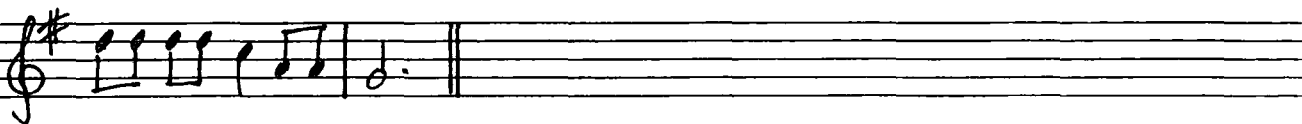
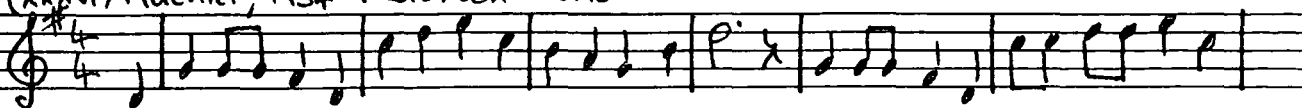
(xvi) Marston, 1929. Bronson 46.17



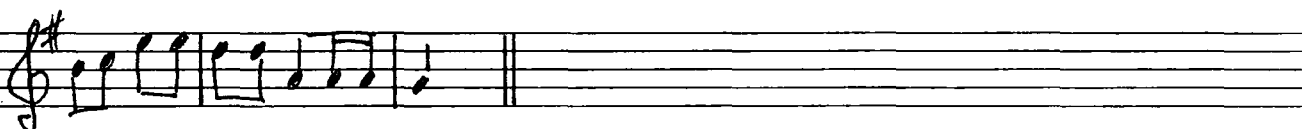
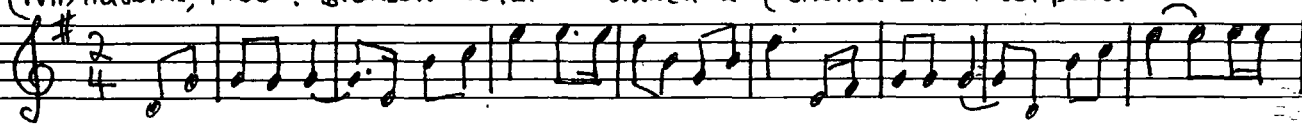
Captain Wedderburn's Courtship

Group BB ctd.

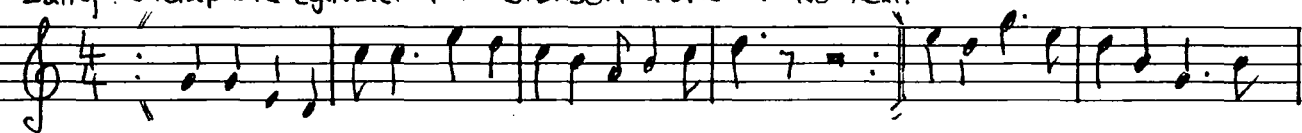
(xxvi) Muchler, 1934 . Bronson 46.15



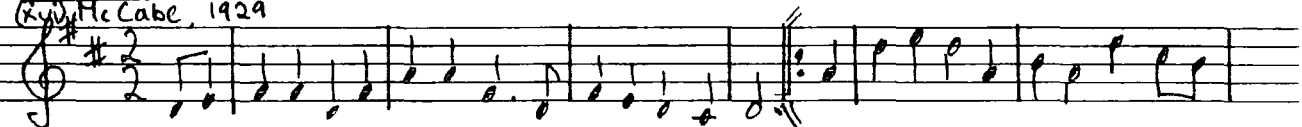
(lvii) Huskins, 1950 . Bronson 46.21 Stanza 2 (Stanza 1 is incomplete)



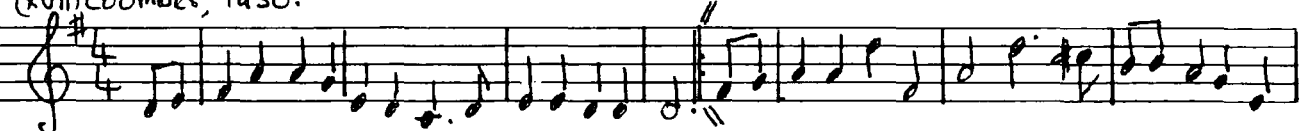
Barry . Dictaphone Cylinder 91 . Bronson 46.16 . No text.



GROUP C
(xviii) McCabe, 1929

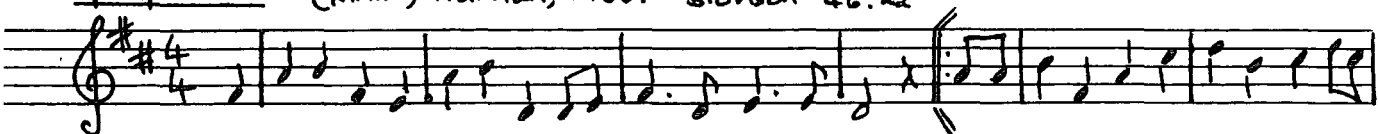


(xvii) Coombes, 1930.



Captain Wedderburn's Courtship

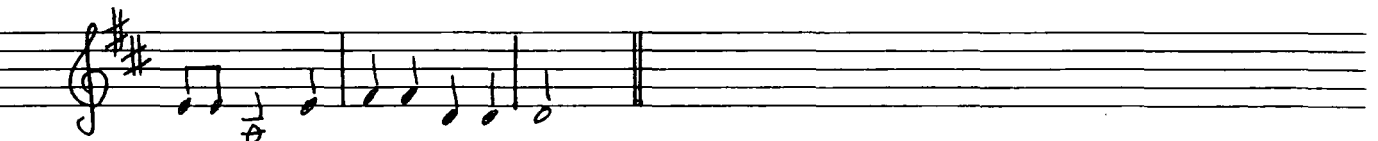
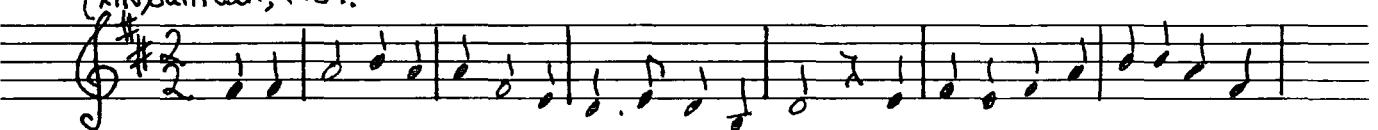
Group C ctd. (KXXIV) Hartlan, 1933. Bronson 46.22



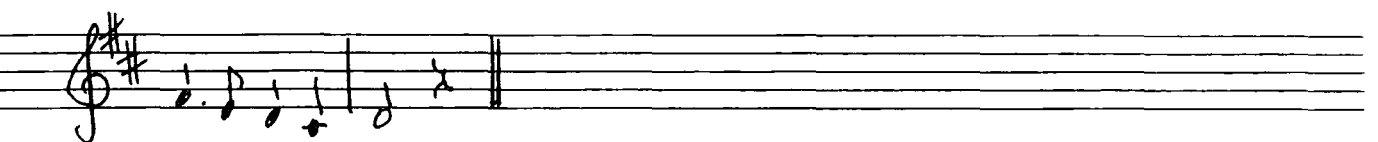
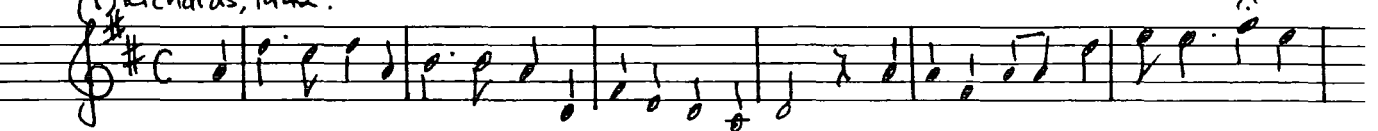
(KXXV) Youngs, 1934. Bronson 46.24



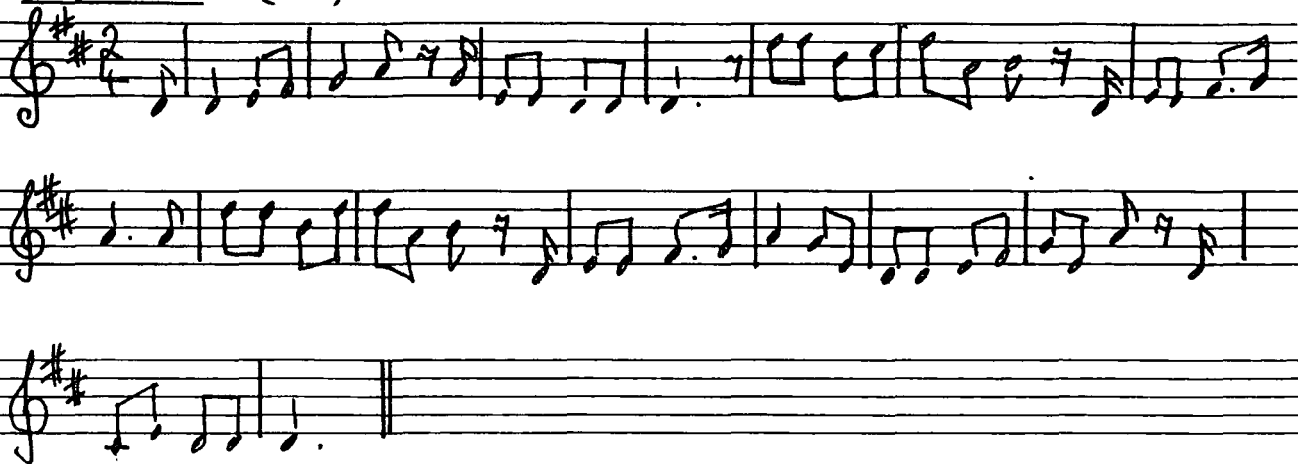
(xlii) Sullivan, 1939.



(i) Richards, 1942.



Captain Wedderburn's Courtship
Group C std. (lviii) Moran, 1954.



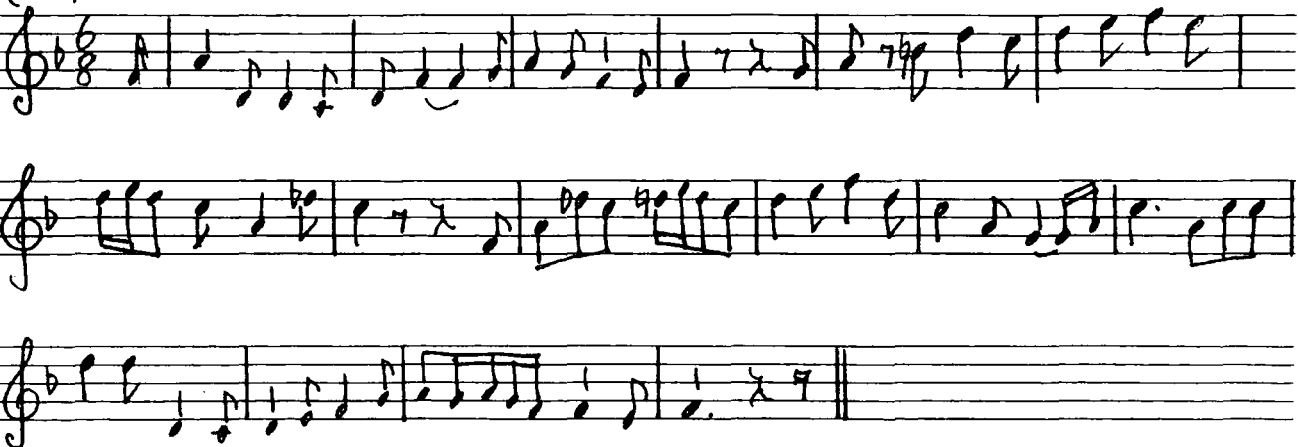
(lxiii) Hocko, 1960.



(lxvii) Heekin, 1968.

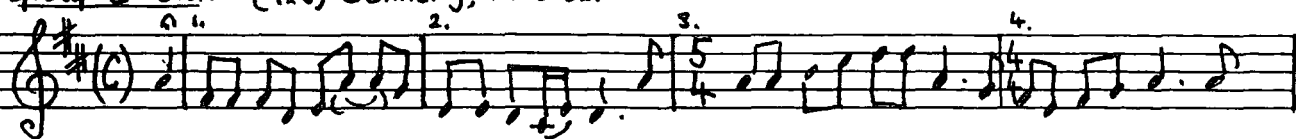


(lxx) McMahon, 1972



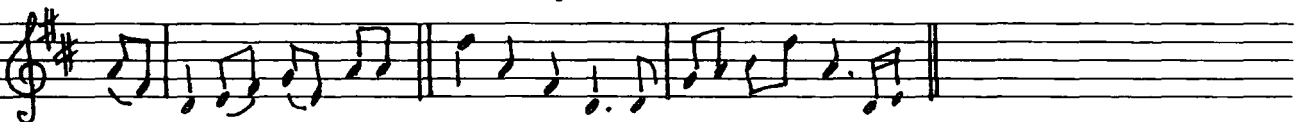
Captain Wedderburn's Courtship

Group C ctd. (lxv) Donnelly, 1956-62.

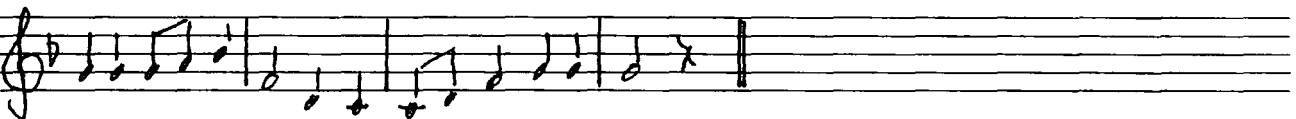


variants: st. 1 bar 1.

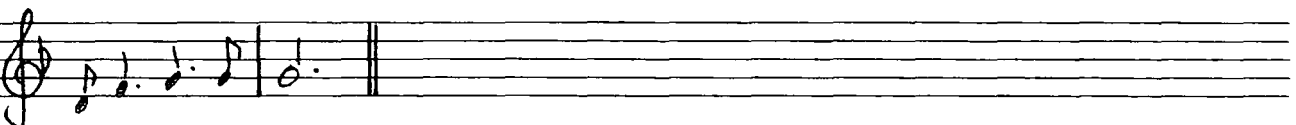
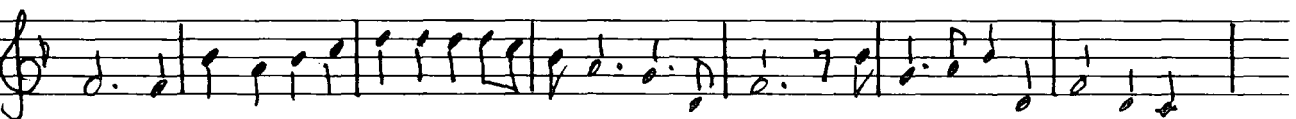
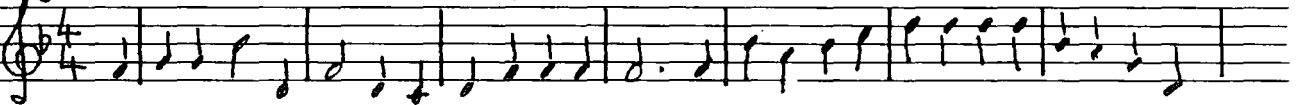
st. 8 bars 5-6



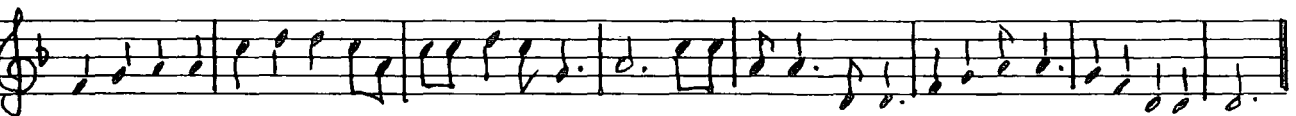
GROUP D (viii) J. Howat, 1907. Bronson 46.10



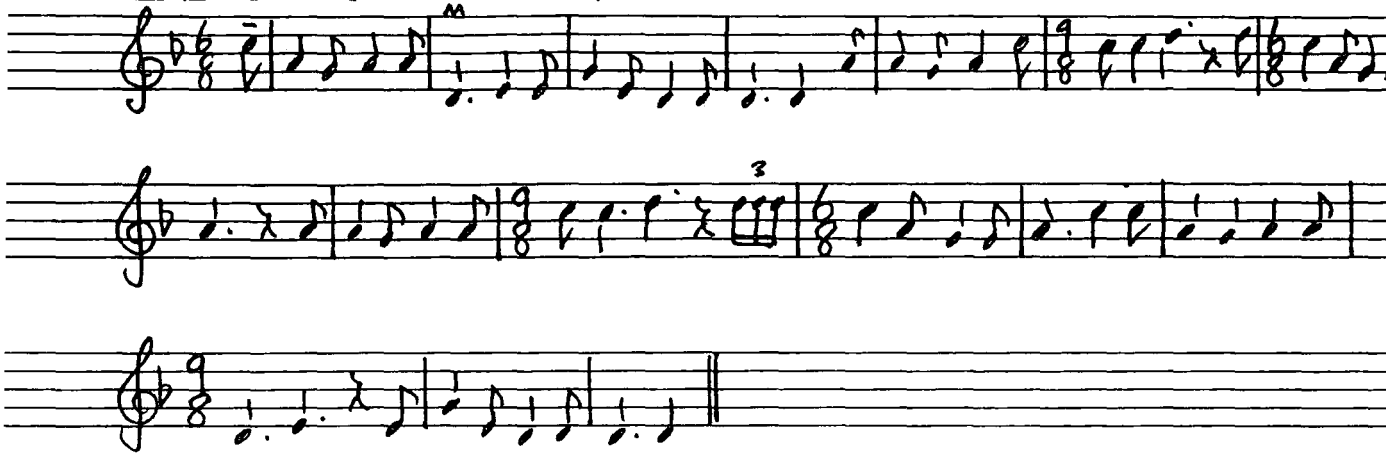
(x) Robb, 1910. (Bronson 46.3) Carpenter MSS.



GROUP E
(xxi) Christie, 1930



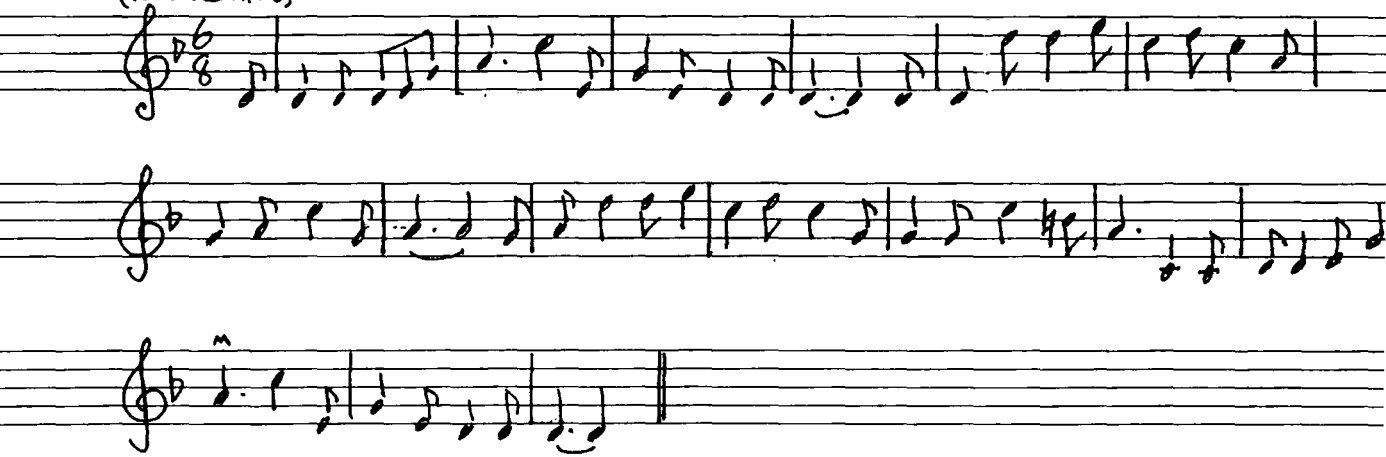
Captain Wedderburn's Courtship
Group E ctd. (xxviii) Sutherland, 1930.



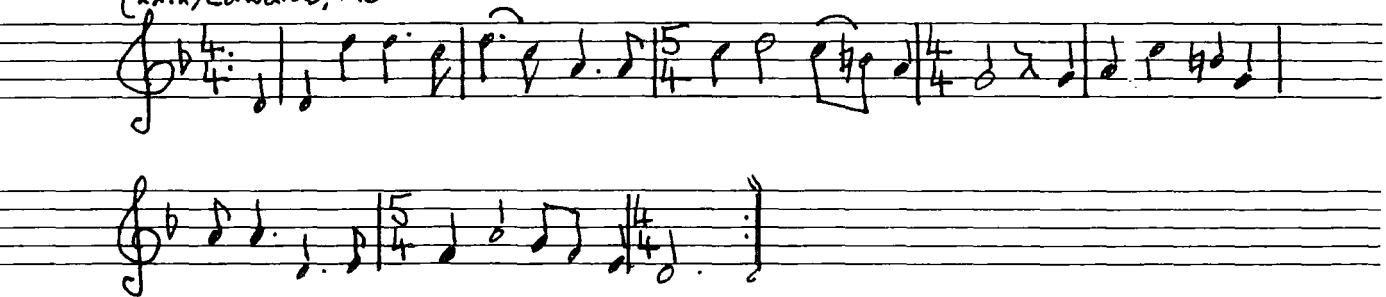
(xxx) Mason, 1930



(xxvi) Durno, 1930



(xxix) Edwards, 1930

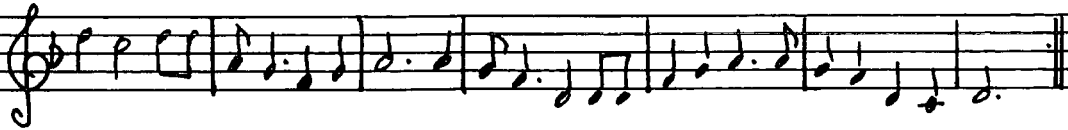
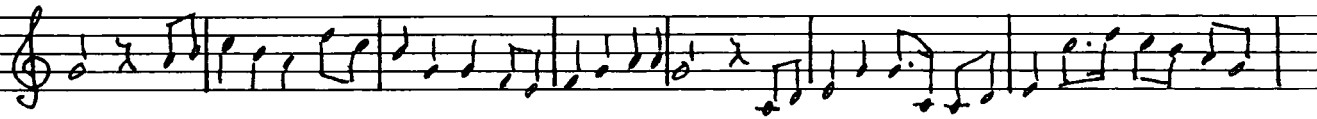


(lv) Richter, 1946. Bronson 46.25



Captain Wedderburn's Courtship

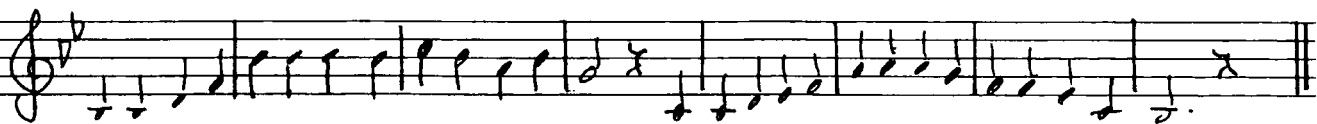
Group E ctd. (ixii) Cazden, 1958

UNCLASSIFIED TUNES (xiii) Clements, 1911. Bronson 46.11

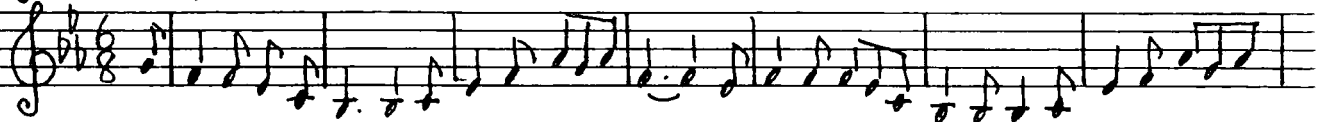
(xi) Ford, 1938 Bronson 46.26



(xliii) Burditt, 1939



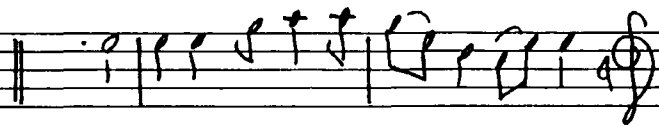
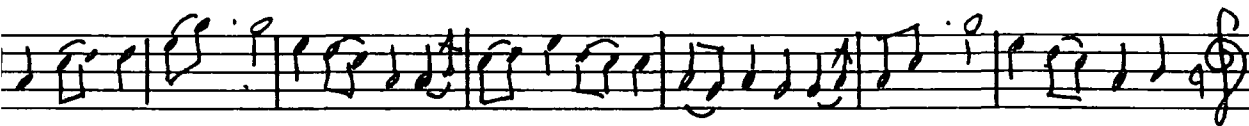
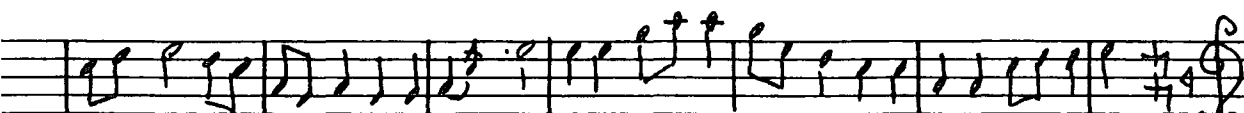
(lix) UFM 68/19



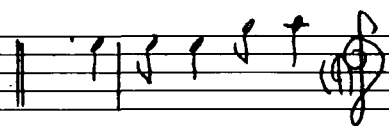
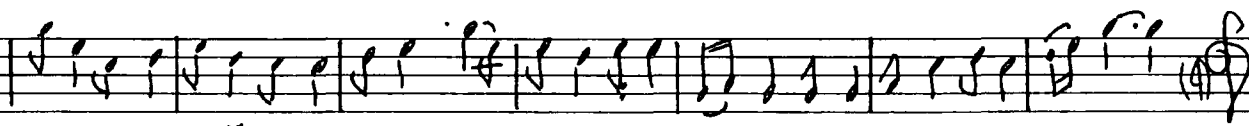
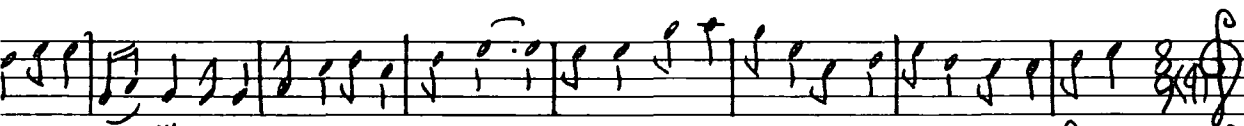
Captain Wedderburn's Courtship

UNCLASSIFIED TUNES CH.

(1k) McCaffin UFM 70/4, also (1k) Cunningham, 1970 UFM 70/2



(1v1) Clancy, 1967 : also Topic, FSB 'The Claila Ballads I', Seamus Ennis (see 1viii)



(1xix) Gunn, 1969



APPENDIX F: CHILD 47, 'PROUD LADY MARGARET': DESCRIPTION
OF TEXTS.

Key to Description of Texts.

- A. Lady Margaret/Janet walks up and down one night,
 looking over her castle wall.
- A¹. A lady walks in a 'garden green' at night.
- A². A knight comes to Archerdale and sees a lady looking
 over a castle wall.
- A³. 'Fair Margret' is described as a high-born, proud young
 lady, who spends her time and her ample fortune
 'adorning her fair bodye'. She sits in her hall one
 night, combing her yellow hair.
- B. She sees a knight approach the gate.
- B¹. She sees a knight ride over the down.
- B². A knight appears in the lady's hall.
- C. She challenges his rank as a gentleman.
- C¹. He asks her why she is alone: she replies she is 'In
 her sport'. He asks if she wants a gentle knight to
 lie with her: she questions that he is worthy of the
 title. He dismounts.
- D. She asks him his will.
- D¹. She asks his birth: he says he was born in a greenwood
 at the foot of a tree, and sent to Archerdale 'to
 foster and to fee'.
- E. He says he seeks her love, or will die.
- E¹. He says he wants to be her lover till he dies.
- E². He accuses her of immodesty.
- F. He assures her he is a gentleman, and will put smiths
 in her smithy, tailors in her bower, cooks in her
 kitchen and butlers in her hall, and plant corn in her
 father's land.
- G. He turns to go, and she detains him.
- G¹. She says many have died for her.

- H. She asks him questions which (or, some of which) he answers.
- H¹. She questions him about Archerdale, and he replies.
- I. She describes her inheritance.
- I¹. She remarks on his likeness to her dead brother, William.
- I². She says that if he stays and talks, she will lie with him.
- J. He reveals his identity as her brother.
- K. She says she will go with him and he refuses her: she is too unclean. He describes his grave.
- K¹. She asks if there is room in the grave for her: he replies there is not.
- L. He explains that he cannot rest because of her pride.
- L¹. He has come to humble her haughty heart.
- M. He admonishes her vanity and warns her of her mortal fate.
- N. He vanishes.
- N¹. He leaves her mourning, though he found her adorning her hair.
- N². Dawn comes and he is forced to leave, waving his 'lilly han''. She is left watering the garden with her tears.

DESCRIPTION OF TEXTS.

(i) 'Twas on a night, an evening bright'

Place: Edinburgh

Date: 1803

Source: Sir W. Scott, Minstrelsy, III p.275: 'Communicated by Mr. Hamilton, music-seller... with whose mother it had been a favourite'.
Child 47A.

Description: 19 stanzas, + 2 added by Scott.

A B C E G¹ H I J K L.

The questions: Wherein leems the beer?(in a horn)

Wherein leems the wine? (in glasses fine)

Wherein leems the gold? (between two kings
fighting)

ctd..

Wherein leems the twine? (between a lady's hands)
What is the first flower? (primrose)
What is the bonniest bird? (thristlecock)
How many pennies make 3 times £3,000?
How many fish in the sea?

(ii) 'Archerdale'

Place: Glenbuchat, Aberdeenshire

Date: 1818

Source: Glenbuchat MSS II No,13 (King's College Univ. Library, Aberdeen): collected by Rev. Robert Scott, minister of Glenbuchat, and one of his daughters.

Description: 25 stanzas

$$A^1 \ B^1 \ C^1 \ E^2 \ D^1 \ G \ H^1 \ G \ H^1 \ G \ H^1 \ I^2 \ J \ L \ M \ N^2.$$

Questions:

What learning did you get? - (to keep us free from sin,
that we might go to Heaven).

What was your meat and drink? - (Black was our bread; brown was our ale; red was our wine).

What do the ladies wear there? - (Green is their clothing; milk-white are their cowls)

(iii) 'There cam a knicht to Archerdale'

Place: Perthshire

Date: c.1820

Source: Mrs. Harris. Learned in childhood from an old nurse, who learned the songs in her own childhood, transcribed by her daughter. Harris MS fol.7, No.3. Child 47D.

Description: 15 stanzas

$$A^2 \quad C \quad E^2 \quad G \quad H^1 \quad G \quad I^1 \quad J \quad L \quad M \quad N^1.$$

Questions: What goes in a speal? (Ale)

What goes in a horn green? (Wine)

What goes on a lady's head? (Silk)

Tune: Bronson 47.1

(iv) 'There was a Knight, in a summer's night'

Place: N. Scotland

Date: 1827

Source: Peter Buchan, Ballads of the North I p.91.
 Motherwell, Minstrelsy, p.lxxxii, and MS. p.591,
 both from Buchan. Child 47B.

Description: 32 stanzas

A B² D E G¹ C F H I J K L M N.The Questions:

What is the fairest flower? (primrose)

What is the sweetest bird? (mavis)

What's the finest thing a king or queen can wale?
 (yellow gold)

How many pennies in £100?

How many fish in the sea?

What's the seemliest sight you'll see on a May morning?
 (A milk-white lace in a fair maid's dress)

..... (Berry-brown ale and a birken speal)

..... (and wine in a horn green)

(v) 'Once there was a jolly hind squire'

Place: N. Scotland

Date: c.1828

Source: Buchan MSS. II 95 (British Museum Add.29408-9)
 Child 47C.

Description: 21 stanzas

A B² D E G¹ C H K J K M N.Questions:

What is the first flower? (primrose)

What bird sings next unto the nightingale? (thistle-
 cock)

What's the finest thing a king or queen can wale?
 (yellow gold)

How many pennies in £100?

How many fish in the sea?

What's the seemliest sight you'll see on a May morning?

..... (Ale in a birken scale)

..... (Wine in a horn green)

..... (gold in a king's banner)

- (vi) 'Fair Margret was a young ladye'

Place: Angus

Date: 1829

Source: Alexander Laing of Brechin, Ancient Ballads and Songs from the recitation of old people (unpublished) p.6. Child 47E.

Description: 12 stanzas

A³ B² D K¹ J L M N¹.

- (vii) 'When ye gang in at yon church door'

Place: New Deer, Aberdeenshire

Date: 1907

Source: Mrs. Gordon, a cottar woman, aged 60. Greig MS. IV 39; Greig and Keith, Last Leaves, p.37.

Description: 1 stanza: M.

Tune: Bronson 47.3

- (viii) 'What is your will with me young man?'

Place: New Pitsligo, Aberdeenshire

Date: Jan. 31, 1914

Source: Bell Robertson, 'got when a girl from another girl about her own age'. Duncan-Greig MSS. LX 101; id., Ballad Book III (778), between pp.63-64; Last Leaves, p.37. David Buchan, A Scottish Ballad Book, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1973) p.151.

Description: 6 stanzas.

D E¹ G¹ K J K¹.

- (ix) Tune only

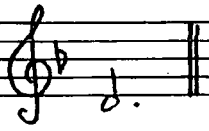
Place: N. E. Scotland

Date: 1876

Source: W. Christie, Traditional Ballad Airs procured in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff & Moray, I p.28. Printed with text after Scott. Bronson 47.2

Proud Lady Margaret

(iii) Harris, 1820. Bronson 47.1



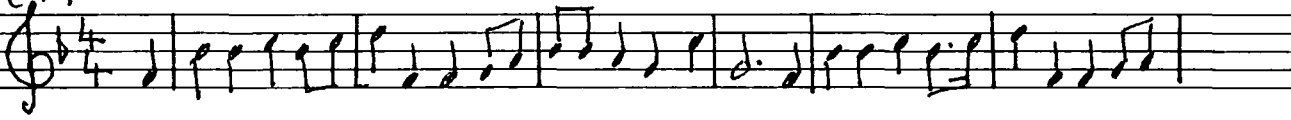
(ix) Christie, 1876. Bronson 47.2



Variant:



(vii) Gordon 1907. Bronson 47.3



BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bibliography is arranged in the following sections:

1. Sources of the texts

excluding those reproduced in Child, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, and Bronson, The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads, and including other ballads and songs referred to in the thesis.

a. Unpublished sources

b. Published sources

2. Ballad and folksong studies

3. Riddle studies and collections

4. The historical background: medieval and 16th century

5. The Scandinavian background

6. Studies and collections of folklore and related traditions

7. Miscellaneous

References for peripheral items referred to only once are given in full in the Notes to each chapter. Double-barrel surnames are listed by the last name.

1. SOURCES OF THE TEXTS

1a. Unpublished sources

Aberdeen, King's College University Library: Glenbuchat MSS.

Arkansas University Library: Folklore Collection.

British Library: 1078 m 24 7 k. James Mitchell, 'Curious Tracts', bound Aberdeen 1828.

Cambridge University Library: Madden Broadside Collection (microfilm in Vaughan Williams Memorial Library).

Dublin, National Library of Ireland. Broadside collection.

Dublin, University Library. Archives of the Department of Irish Folklore.

Library of Congress: James Maddison Carpenter MSS (microfilm in Vaughan Williams Memorial Library).

London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: Gardiner MSS; Hammond MSS; Carey MSS; Broadwood MSS; general correspondence; microfilms of Madden collection; James Maddison Carpenter MSS.

Middlebury College, Vermont: Helen Hartness Flanders Collection of Ballads.

Sheffield, University Library; Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language: Charles Harding Firth collection of broadsides.

St. John's Memorial University of Newfoundland: Folklore and Language archive.

Ulster Folk and Transport Museum: Department of Non-Material Culture folksong archive.

Virginia University Library: Folksong archive.

Western Kentucky University: Montell collection; Boswell collection.

1b. Published sources.

Barbeau, Marius. *Jongleur Songs of Old Quebec*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1962.

Barry, Phillips, Eckstorm, Fannie H. and Smyth, Mary W. *British Ballads from Maine*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929.

Belden, Henry Marvin. *Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folklore Society*. Columbia, University of Missouri Studies, 1940.

Boette, Marie. *Singa Hipsy Doodle: and other folk songs of West Virginia*. Parsons, McClain, 1971.

Botkin, Benjamin A. *A Treasury of American Folklore*. New York, Crown Publishers, 1944.

Brewster, Paul G. *Ballads and Songs of Indiana*. Bloomington, Indiana University Publications, 1940.

Broadwood, Lucy and Maitland, J. A. Fuller. *English County Songs*. London & New York, 1893; facsimile, London, Cramer, n.d.

Bronson, Bertrand Harris. *The Traditional Tunes of the Child ballads with their texts*. Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1959-1972. (4 vols)

Bruce, J. Collingwood and Stokoe, John. *Northumbrian Minstrelsy*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Society of Antiquaries, 1882.

- Brown, Frank C. The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore. Durham, N. Carolina, Duke Univ. Press, 1952.
- Buchan, David. A Scottish Ballad Book. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Campbell, Olive Dame and Sharp, Cecil J. English Folksongs from the Southern Appalachians. New York, G. P. Putnam's, 1917.
- Cazden, Norman. The Abelard Folksong Book. New York, Abelard Schumann, n.d. (c1958).
- Chase, Richard. American Folk Tales and Songs. New York, New American Library, 1956.
- Cherry, J. L. Life and Remains of John Clare. London & Northampton, Frederick Warne, 1873.
- Child, Francis James. The English and Scottish Popular Ballads. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1882-98; reprinted, New York, Dover, 1965. (5 vols.)
- Coffin, Robert P. Tristram. Lost Paradise: a boyhood on a Maine coast farm. New York, Macmillan, 1947.
- Collinson, Francis. Four Songs Remembered by Miss Margaret Eyre. Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society IX No.3 (1962) 155-158.
- Cooke, Elizabeth Johnstone. English Folktales in America: 'The Bride of the Evil One'. JAF XII (1899) 126-130.
- Copper, Bob. A Song for Every Season. London, Heinemann, 1971.
- Cornelius, Roberta D. A New Text of an Old Ballad. PMLA XLVI (1931) 1025 ff.
- Creighton, Helen. Maritime Folk-Songs. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1961.
- Dauney, William. Ancient Scottish Melodies from a MS of the Reign of King James VI. Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1838.
- Davies, Gwilym. A Hampshire Collection. n.d.
- Davis, Arthur Kyle. Traditional Ballads of Virginia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard Univ. Press, 1929.

- Davis, Arthur Kyle. *More Traditional Ballads of Virginia*. Chapel Hill, N. Carolina Univ. Press, 1960.
- Dearnley, Dorothy. *Seven Cheshire Folksongs*. London, Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Dobie, J. Frank. *Tone the Bell Easy*. Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1932.
- Ebsworth, J. W. *The Roxburghe Ballads*. Volume VI Part 3. Hertford, Ballad Society, 1888.
- Emrich, Duncan. *American Folk Poetry*. Toronto, 1974.
- Fansler, Dean S. *Filipino Popular Tales*. New York, American Folklore Society, 1921.
- Flanders, Helen Hartness. *Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England* (critical analyses by Tristram P. Coffin). Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960. (2 vols.)
- Flanders, Helen Hartness and Olney, Marguerite. *Ballads Migrant in New England*. New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953.
- Fowke, Edith Fulton and Johnston, Richard. *Folk Songs of Canada*. Ontario, Waterloo Music Co., 1954.
- Foxworthy, Tony. *Forty Long Miles: Twenty-three English Folksongs from the collection of Janet Heatley Blunt*. London, Galliard, 1976.
- Gainer, Patrick. *Folk Songs from the West Virginia Hills*. Grantsville, W. Virginia, Seneca Books, 1975.
- Gardiner, George B. *Songs collected in Hampshire*. Journal of the Folk Song Society III No.13 (1909) 247-317.
- Gerould, Gordon Hall. *An Irish Version of the False Knight upon the Road*. Modern Language Notes LIII (1938) 596-597.
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *Die Fischerin, ein Singspiel*. Weimar, J. M. C. de Bruhl, 1782.
- Gould, Rev. Sabine Baring-. *A Book of Nursery Songs and Rhymes*. London, Methuen, 1895.
- Gould, Rev. Sabine Baring-. *Songs of the West: Folksongs of Devon and Cornwall collected from the mouths of the people*. Revised edn., London, Methuen, n.d. (c1905).

- Gould, Rev. Sabine Baring-. Strange Survivals: Some Chapters in the History of Man. London, Methuen, 1892.
- Gould, Rev. Sabine Baring- and Sheppard, H. Fleetwood. A Garland of Country Song. London, Methuen, 1895.
- Greig, Gavin. Folksong in Buchan and Folksong of the North East. Hartboro, Pennsylvania, Folklore Associates, 1963.
- Hamer, Fred. Green Groves: More English Folksongs collected by Fred Hamer. London, EFDSS Publications, 1973.
- Hammond, H. E. D. Songs Collected in Dorset. Journal of the Folk Song Society III No.11 (1907) 59-136.
- Henderson, Hamish and Collinson, Francis. New Child Ballad Variants from Oral Tradition. Scottish Studies IX Part 1 (1965) 1-33.
- Herrick, Mrs. R. F. Two Traditional Songs. JAF XXIX (1906) 130-131.
- Hogg, James. The Jacobite Relics of Scotland. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1821.
- Hubbard, Lester and Robertson, Le Roy J. Traditional Ballads from Utah. JAF LXIX (1951) 37-53.
- Jameson, Gladys V. Sweet Rivers of Song. Berea, Kentucky, Berea College, 1967.
- Jekyll, Walter. Jamaican Song and Story. London, Folklore Society, 1907.
- Joyce, P. W. Old Irish Folk Music and Songs. Dublin, Longman, Green & Co., 1909.
- Karpeles, Maud. Cecil Sharp's Collection of English Folksongs. London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1974.
- Leach, MacEdward. Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast. Ottawa, National Museum of Canada Bulletin No.201, 1965.
- Lindfors, Bernth. Three Elfin Knights from Kentucky. New York Folklore Quarterly I (Winter 1975) 183-202.
- Linscott, Eloise Hubbard. Folksongs of Old New England, 2nd edition. Hamden, Archon Books, 1962.
- Lyle, Emily B. Andrew Crawford's Collection of Ballads and Songs. Edinburgh, Scottish Text Society, 1975.

- MacColl, Ewan and Seeger, Peggy. Travellers' Songs from England and Scotland. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977.
- Manny, Louise and Wilson, James Reginald. Songs of Miramichi. Fredericton, Brunswick Press, 1968.
- Mason, M. H. Nursery Rhymes and Country Songs. London, n.d. (c1877); reprinted, London, Metzler, 1908.
- Merrick, W. Percy. Songs collected in Sussex by W. P. M. Journal of the Folk Song Society I No.3 (1901) 63-138.
- Moore, Ethel and Chauncey O. Ballads and Folksongs of the Southwest. Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964.
- Niles, John Jacob. The Ballad Book of John Jacob Niles. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Riverside Press, 1965.
- O'Lochlainn, Colm. More Old Irish Street Ballads. Dublin, The Three Candles, 1965.
- Ord, John. Bothy Songs and Ballads. Paisley, Gardner, 1930.
- O'Shaughnessy, Patrick. More Folksongs from Lincolnshire. London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1971.
- Oxford Book of Carols, edited by Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Martin Shaw. 30th impression. London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1974.
- Parler, Mary Celestia. An Arkansas Ballet Book. Norwood Editions, 1975.
- Peacock, Kenneth. Songs of the Newfoundland Outports. Ottawa, National Museum of Canada Bulletin No.197, 1965.
- Randolph, Vance. Ozark Folksongs. Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1946.
- Reeves, James. The Idiom of the People. London, Heinemann, 1958.
- Roberts, Leonard. Sang Branch Settlers: Folksongs and tales of a Kentucky Mountain Family. Austin, Texas Univ. Press, 1974.
- Rye, Walter. Songs, Stories and Sayings of Norfolk. Norwich, A. H. Goose, 1897.

- Scarborough, Dorothy. A Song Catcher in the Southern Mountains. New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1937.
- Scott, Tom. The Penguin Book of Scottish Verse. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1981.
- Senior, Doreen H. and Creighton, Helen. Folksongs collected in the Province of Nova Scotia. Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society VI No. 3 (1951), 83-91.
- Sharp, Cecil J. and Karpeles, Maud. Eighty English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians. London, Faber & Faber, 1968.
- Shields, Hugh. Old British Ballads in Ireland. Folklife X (1972) 68-103.
- Thompson, Harold W. and Cutting, Edith E. A Pioneer Songster: Texts from the Stevens-Douglas MS of Western New York, 1841-1856. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1958.
- Williams, Alfred. Folk Songs of the Upper Thames. London, Duckworth, 1923. Reprinted, Wakefield, S. R. Publishers, n.d.

2. BALLAD AND FOLKSONG STUDIES

- Abrahams, Roger D. and Foss, George. Anglo-American Folksong Style. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1968.
- Anderson, Walter. Kaiser und Abt. Helsinki, Folklore Fellows Communications, No.42, 1923.
- Brice, Douglas. The Folk-Carol of England. London, Herbert Jenkins, 1967.
- Bronson, Bertrand Harris. The Ballad as Song. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of Carolina Press, 1969.
- Buchan, David. The Ballad and the Folk. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- Buchan, David. The Wit-Combat Ballads, in Narrative Folksong: New Directions. Ed. Carol L. Edwards and Kathleen E. B. Manley. Bloomington, Indiana, Trickster Press, forthcoming 1985.

- Buchan, David. The Scottish Ballads, in Oral Tradition: Literary Tradition: A Symposium, pp. 56-68. Odense, Odense University Press, 1977.
- Cameron, David Kerr. The Ballad and the Plough. London, Futura, 1979.
- Chambers, G. B. Folksong-Plainsong: A study in Origins and Musical Relationships. London, Merlin, 1972.
- Chambers, Robert. Popular Rhymes of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1826.
- (Child, Francis James). Letters on Scottish Ballads from Professor F. J. Child to W.W. (William Walker), Aberdeen. Aberdeen, Bon-Accord Press, 1930.
- Cowan, Edward J. The People's Past. Edinburgh, Polygon Books, 1980.
- Coffin, Tristram Potter. The British Traditional Ballad In North America, 2nd edition, with supplement by R. de V. Renwick. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1977.
- Dronke, Peter. Learned Lyric and Popular Ballad. Studi Medievali XVII (1976) 1-40.
- Emmerson, Geroge S. Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music. London, Dent, 1971.
- Entwistle, William J. European Balladry. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939.
- Fowler, David. A Literary History of the Popular Ballad. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1968.
- Friedman, Albert. The Ballad Revival: Studies in the influence of popular on sophisticated poetry. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Gerould, Gordon Hall. The Ballad of Tradition. New York, Galaxy Books, 1957.
- Goldstein, Leba. The Elfin Knight: Another Examination. Folk Review September 1976, 4-6.
- Henderson, Hamish. The Ballad, the Folk and the Oral Tradition, in The People's Past, ed. Edward J. Cowan. Edinburgh, Polygon Books, 1980.

- Hodgart, Matthew. *The Ballads*. London, Hutchinson, 1950.
- Hodgart, Matthew. *The Faber Book of Ballads*. London, Faber & Faber, 1965.
- Johnson, David. *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*. London, Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Karpeles, Maud. *Cecil Sharp: his life and work*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967.
- Lindfors, Bernth. A Fraudulent 'Elfin Knight' from West Virginia. Western Folklore XXVII (April 1968) No. 2, 107-111.
- Mackenzie, W. Roy. *The Quest of the Ballad*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1919.
- McCabe, Mary Diane. 'A Critical Study of Some Traditional Religious Ballads.' (Durham University M.A. thesis, 1980).
- Montgomerie, William. 'Bibliography of the Scottish Ballad Manuscripts' (Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1954).
- Muir, Willa. *Living with Ballads*. London, Hogarth Press, 1965.
- Müller, Wolfgang. *Die englisch-schottische Volksballade*. Francke Verlag, Bern & Munich, 1983.
- Opie, Iona and Peter. *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*. London, Oxford University Press, 1951; reprinted with corrections, 1980.
- Philips, Ambrose (attributed). *A Collection of Old Ballads: copied from the best and most ancient copies extant*. London, J. Roberts & D. Leach, 1723.
- Rabin, Ruth. *Nineteenth Century Yiddish Folksongs*. JAF LXV (1952) 227-254.
- Röhrich, Lutz. Rätzellied, in *Handbuch des Volksliedes* I, pp. 205-233. Munich, 1973.
- Rollins, H. E. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*. Studies in Philology XXI (1924) 1-324.
- Sharp, Cecil J. *English Folk Carols*. London, Novello, 1911.

- Sharp, Cecil J. English Folksong: Some Conclusions. 4th edn., ed. Maud Karpeles. London, Heinemann, 1965.
- Simpson, Claude. The British Broadside Ballad and its Music. New Brunswick, Rutgers Univ. Press, 1966.
- Smith, Margaret Dean-. A Guide to English Folksong Collections, 1822-1952. Liverpool, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1954.
- Steenstrup, Johannes C. H. R. The Medieval Popular Ballad. Transl., Edward Godfrey Cox. Seattle, Washington Univ. Press, 1968. (first published 1914, by Ginn, Boston, Mass.)
- Thomson, Robert S. 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs.' (Cambridge Univ. Ph. D. thesis, July 1974).
- Toelken, J. Barre. Riddles Wisely Expounded. Western Folklore XXV (1966) 1-16.
- Walker, William. Peter Buchan and other papers on Scottish and English ballads and songs. Aberdeen, Smith & Sons, 1915.
- Wells, Evelyn Kendrick. The Ballad Tree. London, Methuen, 1950.
- Whiting, B. J. Proverbial Material in the Popular Ballad. JAF XLVII (1934) 22-44.
- Wilgus, D. K. Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898. New Brunswick, Rutgers Univ. Press, 1959.
- Wimberly, Lowry C. Folklore in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads. Chicago, 1928; reprinted, New York, Frederick Ungar, 1959.

3. RIDDLE STUDIES AND COLLECTIONS.

- Abrahams, Roger D. and Dundes, Alan. Riddles, in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard Dorson. Chicago & London, Chicago Univ. Press, 1972, pp.129-143.
- Amos, Dan Ben-. Solutions to Riddles. JAF LXXXIX (1976) 249-254.
- Baum, Paull F. Anglo-Saxon Riddles of the Exeter Book. Durham, N. Carolina, Duke Univ. Press, 1963.
- Bauman, Richard. The Turtles: an American Riddling Institution. Western Folklore XXIX (1970) 21-25.

- Bhagvat, D. The Riddle in Indian Life, Lore and Literature. Bombay, Popular Prakasham, 1965.
- Blacking, John. The Social Value of Venda Riddles. African Studies XX (1961) 1-32.
- Blauner, D. G. The Early Literary Riddle. Folklore LXXVIII (Spring 1967) 49-58.
- Booke of Merry Riddles, The. London, John Stafford, 1660
J. O. Halliwell, London 1866.
- Burns, Thomas. Riddling: Occasion to Act. JAF LXXXIX (1976) 139-165.
- Butsch, A. F. Strassburger Räthselbuch. Strassburg, K. J. Trübner, 1876.
- Carter, Isabel G. Mountain White Riddles. JAF XLVII (1934) 76-80.
- Davenport, William H. Fourteen Marshallese Riddles. JAF LXV (1952) 265-6.
- Evans, David. Riddling and the Structure of Context. JAF LXXXIX (1976) 166-188.
- Frazer, Sir J. G. The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion, 3rd edition. London, Macmillan, 1913. (12 vols.)
- Georges, Robert A. and Dundes, Alan. Towards a Structural Definition of the Riddle. JAF LXXVI (1963) 111-118.
- Glazier, Jack and Phyllis Gorfain. Ambiguity and Exchange: the double dimension of Mbeere riddles. JAF LXXXIX (1976) 189-238.
- Goldstein, Kenneth. Riddling Traditions in North Eastern Scotland. JAF LXXVI (1963) 330-336.
- Hart, Donn. Riddles in Filipino Folklore: an anthropological analysis. Syracuse, New York, Syracuse Univ. Press, 1964.
- Hartshorne, Charles Henry. Ancient Metrical Tales printed chiefly from original sources. London, Pickering, 1828 (Demaundes Joyous, 1-8).
- Hoffman, Yoel. The Sound of the One Hand. St. Albans, Granada, 1977.
- Huizinga, Johan. Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture. Transl. R. F. C. Hull. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949.

- Jolles, André. Einfache Formen (Legende, Sage, Mythe, Rätsel, Spruch, Casus, Memorabile, Märchen, Witz). Halle, Forschungsinstitut für neuere Philologie, 1930; 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1956.
- Maclean, Colum and Sanderson, Stewart F. A Collection of Riddles from Scotland. Scottish Studies, IV (1961) 150-186.
- Maranda, Elli Köngas, ed. Riddles and Riddling: a special edition of the Journal of American Folklore, LXXXIX (1976).
- Maranda, Elli Köngas. Theory and Practice of Riddle Analysis. JAF LXXXIV (1971) 51-61.
- Maranda, Pierre and Elli Köngas. Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Univ. Press, 1971.
- Maranda, Pierre and Elli Köngas. Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays. The Hague, Mouton, 1971.
- Opie, Iona and Peter. The Lore and Language of School-children. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959; reprinted, 1967.
- Potter, Charles Francis. Riddles, entry in Funk & Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, ed. Maria Leach. New York, Funk & Wagnall, 1950.
- Ranke, Kurt. Einfache Formen. Journal of the Folklore Institute IV (1967) 17-31 (translated by W. Temple and E. Allen).
- Redfield, W. A. A Collection of Middle Tennessee Riddles. Southern Folklore Quarterly I Part 3 (1937) 35-50.
- Rolland, Eugène. Devinettes, ou Enigmes Populaires de la France. Paris, 1877.
- Scott, Charles T. On Defining the Riddle: The Problem of a Structural Unit, in Folklore Genres, ed. Dan Ben-Amos. Austin & London, Texas Univ. Press, 1976, pp.77-90.
- Scott, Charles T. Some Approaches to the Study of the Riddle, in Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later, ed. E. Bagby Atwood & Archibald A. Hill. Austin, Texas Univ. Press, 1969, pp.111-127.

- Simrock, Carl. Der Wartburgkrieg. Stuttgart & Augsburg, 1858.
- Taylor, Archer. American Indian Riddles. JAF LVII (1944) 1-15.
- Taylor, Archer. A Bibliography of Riddles. Helsinki, Folklore Fellows Communications No. 126 (Vol. LIII), 1939.
- Taylor, Archer. The English Riddle Ballads, in Studies in Language and Literature in honour of Margaret Schlauch, eds. M. Brahmer, S. Hellsztynski, J. Krzyanowski. Warsaw, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Nankowe, 1966, pp.445-451.
- Taylor, Archer. Problems in the Study of Riddles. Southern Folk-Lore Quarterly II (1938) 1-9.
- Taylor, Archer. Riddles and Poetry. Southern Folk-Lore Quarterly XI (1947) 245-247.
- Taylor, Archer. The Riddle as a Primary Form, in Folklore in Action: Essays for discussion in honor of MacEdward Leach, ed. Horace P. Beck. Philadelphia, American Folklore Society, 1962, pp.200-207.
- du Toit, Brian. Riddling Traditions in an isolated South African Community. JAF LXXIX (1966) 471-475.
- Tupper, Frederick. The Riddles of the Exeter Book. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968.
- Vatuk, Ved Prakash. Panjabi Riddles from the West Coast. Western Folklore XXIX No.1 (1970) 35-46.
- de Vries, Jan. Die Märchen von Klugen Rätsellosern. Helsinki, Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 73, 1928.
- Williams, Thomas Rhys. Form and Function of Tambusan Dusun Riddles. JAF LXXVI (1963) 95-110; 141-181.
- Wossidlo, Richard. Mecklenburgische Volksüberlieferungen I, 'Rätsel'. Wismar, 1897.
- Zug, Charles. The Non-Rational Riddle: the Zen Koan. JAF LXXX (1967) 81-88.

4. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: MEDIEVAL AND 16th CENTURY.

- Amours, Frederick J. Scottish Alliterative Poems (for The Awntyrs of Arthure). Edinburgh, Scottish Text Society, 1897.
- Bartholomaeus Anglicus. On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum. A Critical Text, ed. M. C. Seymour. Oxford, Clarendon, 1975. (2 vols.)
- Baskervill, Charles Read. The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1929.
- Bloomfield, Morton W. The Seven Deadly Sins. East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1952.
- Brook, G. L. The Harley Lyrics; The Middle English Lyrics of MS Harley 2253, 3rd edition. Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1964.
- Brown, Carleton. English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century. Oxford, Clarendon, 1932.
- Brown, Carleton. Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century. 2nd edition, ed. G. V. Smithers, Oxford, Clarendon, 1957.
- Brown, Carleton. Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century. Oxford, Clarendon, 1939; reprinted, 1962.
- Brown, Carleton and Robbins, Rossell Hope. The Index of Middle English Verse. New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1943.
- Bukofzer, Manfred F. Popular and Secular Music in England, in the New Oxford History of Music III pp.107-133. London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1960.
- Cantelupe, Eugene B. and Griffith, Richard. The Gifts of the Shepherds in the Wakefield 'Secunda Pastorum': an iconographical interpretation. Medieval Studies XXVIII (1966) 328-385.
- Chadwick, Hector Munro and Nora Kershaw. The Growth of Literature. Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1932-1940.
- Chambers, Sir Edmund Kerchever. The Medieval Stage. Oxford, Clarendon, 1903. (2 vols.)

- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd edition. Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1966.
- Crum, Margaret. *First-line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in MSS of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford. Oxford, Clarendon, 1969.
- Dronke, Peter. *The Medieval Lyric*. London, Hutchinson, 1968.
- Dunbar, William. *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. James Kinsley. Oxford, Clarendon, 1979.
- French, Walter Hoyt and Hale, Charles Brockway. *Middle English Romances*. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1930.
- Frisk, Gösta. *A Middle English Translation of Macer Floridus de Viribus Herbarum*. Uppsala, Univ. of Uppsala Press, 1949.
- Furnivall, F. J. *Three Middle English Poems*. Englische Studien XXIII (March 1897) 444-445.
- Green, Richard Leighton. *The Early English Carols*, 2nd edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977.
- Greenhill, E. *The Child in the Tree*. Traditio X (1954) 350-371.
- Hanna III, Ralph. *The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn*. Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1974.
- Herbert, John Alexander. *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III. London, British Museum, 1910; reprinted, 1961-1962.
- Herrtage, Sidney J. *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*. London, E.E.T.S. (Extra Series No.33), 1879.
- Jusserand, J. J. *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*. 4th edition, transl. Lucy Toulmin Smith. London, Ernest Benn, 1950.
- Lancashire, Ian. *Two Tudor Interludes: the Interlude of Youth; Hick Scorne*. Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1980.
- Loomis, C. Grant. *Sir Cleges and Unseasonable Growth in Hagiology*. MLN LIII (1938) 591-594.
- Merrill, Elizabeth. *The Dialogue in English Literature*. New Haven, Yale Studies in English, 1911. Reprinted, New York, Archon Books, 1969.

- Morris, Richard. *Legends of the Holy Rood*. London, E.E.T.S. No. 46, 1871.
- Owst, G. R. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*. Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1933.
- Robbins, Rossell Hope. *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, 2nd edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Robbins, Rossell Hope and Cutler, J. L. *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse*. Lexington, Kentucky Univ. Press, 1965.
- Sands, Donald B. *Middle English Verse Romances*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.
- Silverstein, Theodore. *Medieval English Lyrics*. London, Edward Arnold, 1971.
- Somerset, J. A. B. *Four Tudor Interludes*. London, Athlone Press, 1974.
- Tubach, F. C. *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*. Helsinki, Folklore Fellows Communications, No.204, 1969.
- de Voragine, Jacobus. *The Golden Legend*, translated by William Caxton, ed. F. S. Ellis. New York, AMS Press, 1973. (first published 1900).
- Vargyas, Lajos. *Researches into the Medieval History of the Folk Ballad*, translated by Arthur Whitney. Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, 1967.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. *Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and its Middle English Poems*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Medieval Academy of America, 1978.
- Wilson, Richard M. *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*, 2nd edition. London, Methuen, 1970.
- Woolf, Rosemary. *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Wright, Thomas. *Songs and Carols from a Manuscript in the British Museum of the 15th Century*. London, Warton Club, 1856. (Sloane MS 2593)
- Wright, Thomas. *Songs and Carols of the XVth Century, in Early English Poetry*, London, Percy Society XII, 1847. (Bodl. MS Eng. Poet. e.1)

5. THE SCANDINAVIAN BACKGROUND

- Bellows, Henry Adams. *The Poetic Edda*. London & New York, Oxford University Press, 1926.
- Boberg, Inger M. *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*. Copenhagen, Bibliotheca Arnamagnaeana, Vol. 27, 1966.
- Grundtvig, Svend and Olrik, Axel. *Danmarks gamle Folkviser*. 5 vols, Copenhagen, Samfundet til den danske Litteraturs Fremme, 1853-90
- Hammershaimb, V. U. *Faerøsk Anthologi*. Copenhagen, Møller & Thomsen, 1891.
- Hammershaimb, V. U. *Faeroiske Kvaeder*. Copenhagen, Nordiske Oldskrifter, 1855.
- Hollander, Lee M. *Old Norse Poems: The most important non-skaldic verse not included in the Poetic Edda*. New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1936.
- Johnston, George. *The Saga of Gísli*. London, Dent, 1963.
- Jones, Gwyn. *A History of the Vikings*. Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1968.
- Jonsson, Bengt R., Solheim, Svale and Danielson, Eva. *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad: A descriptive catalogue*. Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1978.
- Jónsson, Guðni. *Fornaldar Sögur Norðurlanda. Íslendingasagn aútgáfan*, 1959.
- Kershaw, Nora. *Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*. Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1921.
- Neckel, Gustav. *Edda: Die lieder des Codex Regius*. Heidelberg, revised H. Kuhn, 1962. (2 vols.)
- Nordal, Sigurður, ed. *Völuspá*, translated with glossary by B. S. Benediktz & John McKinnell, 1978; reprinted, Durham & St. Andrews Medieval Texts, 1980.
- Oxenstierna, Eric. *The Norsemen*, translated by Catherine Hutter. Greenwich, Connecticut, New York Graphic Society, 1965.
- Pálsson, Hermann and Edwards, Paul. *Gautrek's Saga and other Medieval Tales*. London, London Univ. Press, 1968.

- Petre, E. O. G. Turville-. Myth and Religion of the North: The Religion of Scandinavia. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.
- Philpotts, Bertha. The Elda Edda and Scandinavian Drama. Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1920.
- Prior, R. C. Alexander. Ancient Danish Ballads translated from the originals. London & Edinburgh, Williams & Northgate, 1860.
- Schlauch, Margaret. Romance in Iceland. London, Allen & Unwin, 1934.
- Tolkien, Christopher. The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise. London, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1960.
- Þórólfsson, Björn K. and Jónsson, Guðni. Gísla Saga Súrssonar. Reykjavik, Íslenszk fornrit, VI, 1943.

6. STUDIES AND COLLECTIONS OF FOLKLORE AND RELATED TRADITIONS.

- Beck, Horace P., ed. Folklore in Action: Essays for discussion in honor of MacEdward Leach. Philadelphia, American Folklore Society, 1962.
- Brody, Alan. The English Mummers and their Plays. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Campbell, J. F. Popular Tales of the West Highlands. 2 vols, Edinburgh, Edmonston & Douglas, 1860.
- Dorson, Richard, ed. Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction. Chicago & London, Chicago Univ. Press, 1972.
- Dundes, Alan. The Study of Folklore. New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Dyer, T. F. Thiselton. The Folklore of Plants. London, James Duncan, 1826; reprinted, London, Chatto & Windus, 1889.
- Gomme, Lady Alice Bertha. The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland. London, David Nutt, 1894. Reprinted, London, Thames & Hudson, 1984.

- Gregor, Walter. Notes on the Folklore of the North-East of Scotland. London, Folklore Society, 1881.
- Gregory, Lady Isabella Augusta. Cuchulainn of Muirthemne. London, John Murray, 1902; 5th edition, reprinted, Gerrards Cross, Smythe, 1973.
- Hazlitt, William Carew and Brand, John. Dictionary of Faiths and Folklore. London, Reeves & Turner, 1905. (2 vols.)
- Henderson, William. Folklore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1866; reprinted, Wakefield, EP Publishing, 1973.
- Hunt, Robert. Popular Romances of the West of England, or the Drolls, Traditions and Superstitions of old Cornwall. London, Hotten, 1865.
- Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone. A Celtic Miscellany; Translations from the Celtic Literatures. Revised edn., Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971.
- Krohn, Kaarle. Folklore Methodology - formulated by Julius Krohn, expanded by Nordic researchers. Translated by Roger L. Welsch. Austin & London, Univ. of Texas Press, 1971.
- Larminie, William. West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances. London, Camden Library, 1893.
- Lehrer, Ernst and Johanna. Folklore and Symbolism of Flowers, Plants and Trees. New York, Tudor, 1960.
- MacPherson, J. M. Primitive Beliefs in North East Scotland. London, Longman, 1929.
- Propp, Vladimir. Morphology of the Folktale. 2nd edition, transl. Laurence Scott. Austin & London, Univ. of Texas Press, 1968.
- Rees, Alwyn and Brinley. Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales. London, Thames & Hudson, 1961.
- Rowland, Beryl. Birds with Human Souls. Knoxville, Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1978.
- Sebeok, Thomas A., ed. Myth: A Symposium. Bloomington & London, Indiana Univ. Press, 1965.
- Spicer, Dorothy Gladys. Yearbook of English Festivals. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1954.

- Storms, Godfrid. *Anglo-Saxon Magic*. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1948.
- Thomas, Keith. *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in popular beliefs in 16th and 17th century England*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.
- Thompson, Stith. *The Folktale*. New York, Dryden Press, 1946.
- Thompson, Stith. *Index of Folklore Motifs*. Helsinki, Folklore Fellows Communications, Nos. 39-42; 46-47; 106-109; 116-117, 1965.
- Thompson, Stith and Aarne, Antti. *The Types of the Folktale: a classification and bibliography*. Translated and enlarged from Aarne, Antti, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*. Helsinki, Folklore Fellows Communications, 1928.
- Tiddy, R. J. E. *The Mummings' Play*. Oxford, Clarendon, 1923.

7. MISCELLANEOUS.

- Burns, Robert. *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, ed. James Kinsley. Oxford, Clarendon, 1968.
- Butler, H. E., ed. and translator. *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*. London, Jonathan Cape, 1937.
- Coleridge Samuel Taylor. *Biographia Literaria*, ed. with his aesthetical essays by J. Shawcross. Oxford, Clarendon, 1907.
- Dobson, E. J. *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*, 2nd edn. Oxford, Clarendon, 1968. (2 vols.)
- Éliade, Mircea. *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, transl. by Rosemary Steed. London & New York, Steed & Ward, 1958.
- Grant, William and Murison, D. D. *The Scottish National Dictionary*. Edinburgh, 1929- (in progress).

- Hoban, Russell. Riddley Walker. London, Jonathan Cape, 1980; reprinted, London, Pan Books, 1982.
- Hymns Ancient and Modern, Revised. Colchester, William Clowes, reprinted, 1972 (first published with music 1861).
- Jung, Carl Gustav. Collected Works, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956.
- Jung, Carl Gustav (conceived and edited by) ed. after his death by M.-L. von Franz. Man and his Symbols. London Aldus Books 1964; reprinted, London, Pan Books 1978.
- Kurath, H., Kuhn, S. M. and others. A Middle English Dictionary. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1956- (in progress).
- Powicke, F. M. Stephen Langton. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928.
- Saggio, Peter. Shakespeare's English Kings: history, chronicle and drama. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Simpson, W. Douglas. The Ancient Stones of Scotland. London, Robert Hale, 1965.
- Sperber, Dan. Rethinking Symbolism, translated by Alice L. Morton. Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975.
- Strauss, Claude Lévi-. Structural Anthropology, transl. by Claire Jacobson & Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1977.
- Wedderburn, Robert. The Complaynt of Scotland. Edinburgh, Scottish Text Society, 1979.
- Welsford, Enid. The Fool: His Social and Literary History. London, Faber & Faber, 1935.
- Welsh, Andrew. Roots of Lyric: Primitive Poetry and Modern Poetics. New Jersey, Princeton Univ. Press, 1978.

DISCOGRAPHY

The Child Ballads I: The English and Scottish Popular Ballads Numbers 2 - 95. (The Folk Songs of Britain IV). Collected by Peter Kennedy; Alan Lomax; Seamus Ennis; Sean O'Boyle; Hamish Henderson; Patrick Shuldham-Shaw; Bob Copper.
Topic 12T160, 1961.

Jeannie Robertson: The great Scots traditional ballad singer.
Topic 12T96, n.d.

Singing Men of Ulster: Irish traditional songs from the collection of Diane Hamilton and Sean O'Boyle.
Innisfree/Green Linnet SIF 1005, 1977.

Songs of Ceremony. (The Folk Songs of Britain IX). Collected by Peter Kennedy; BBC Sound Archive; Leslie Daiken; Seamus Ennis; Maud Karpeles and Patrick Shuldham-Shaw; Alan Lomax; Sean O'Boyle.
Topic 12T197, 1961.

Willie Clancy: The Minstrel from Clare. Recorded in Co. Clare by Bill Leader.
Topic 12T175, 1967.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

ABTSNE	Helen Hartness Flanders, Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England (Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1960).
App.	Appendix
Aarne-Thompson	Numbering from Stith Thompson & Antti Aarne, The Types of the Folktale: a classification and bibliography (Helsinki, Folklore Fellows Communications, 1928).
<u>BFSSNE</u>	<u>Bulletin of Folksong and Story of the North East</u>
Bronson	Numbering from Bertrand Harris Bronson, The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1959-72).
Child	Numbering from Francis James Child, English & Scottish Popular Ballads (reprinted, New York, Dover, 1965).
ed.	editor; edited by
edn.	edition
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society (London).
FFC	Folklore Fellows Communications (Helsinki).
<u>FMJ</u>	<u>Folk Music Journal</u> (1965-)
FSB	The Folk Songs of Britain (Topic Records)
Greene	Numbering from Richard Leighton Greene, The Early English Carols (2nd edn., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977).
Grundtvig	Numbering from Svend Grundtvig & Axel Olrik, Danmarks gamle Folkviser (Copenhagen, 1853-1890).
IFC	Irish Folklore Commission (University College Dublin).
<u>JAF</u>	<u>Journal of American Folklore</u>
<u>JFDSS</u>	<u>Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society</u> (1932-1964)
<u>JFSS</u>	<u>Journal of the Folk Song Society</u> (1899-1931).
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
MUNFLA	Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore Archive
N.Y.	New York
OUP	Oxford University Press
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association</u>

ABBREVIATIONS USED (ctd.)

<u>SFQ</u>	<u>Southern Folklore Quarterly</u>
<u>SS</u>	<u>Scottish Studies</u>
S.T.S.	Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh).
Transl.	translated by
UFM	Ulster Folk and Transport Museum
Univ.	University
vols.	volumes

