



Culik, J. (1983) *Folk song – the collectors, the scholars and the public. The development of English, Scottish and Czech folk-song scholarship: A comparison.* *Scottish Slavonic Review*, 1(1), pp. 85-112

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Deposited on: 4 September 2015

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3. This portrait too is in the possession of the family of the writer; unfortunately there is no visible signature.
4. See Felicity Ashbee, 'William Carrick: A Scots Photographer in St. Petersburg' in *History of Photography*, vol. 2, no. 3, Pennsylvania State College, 1978.
5. This is almost certainly Prince Nikolai Sergeevich (1848-1910).
6. See Felicity Ashbee, 'Nevill Forbes, 1883-1929: Some Family Letters from Russia' in *Oxford Slavonic Papers, New Series*, vol. IX, 1976, pp.79-90.
7. Title of an old sea-shanty.

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"FOLK SONG - THE COLLECTORS, THE SCHOLARS AND THE PUBLIC."
 THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH, SCOTTISH
 AND CZECH FOLK-SONG SCHOLARSHIP : A COMPARISON

BY

JAN ČULÍK

It is the aim of this article to compare the development of public interest in the folk tradition in England, Scotland and Bohemia, where the 'social' role of the folklore tradition in the life of the community has differed a great deal. It can be said that, with the exception of the period of romanticism, the role of the folklore tradition in British cultural life has been relatively small. Rather the opposite is the case in Bohemia, where the folklore tradition has been mostly regarded as an important part of the national cultural heritage.

In deciding to compare the history of folk-song scholarship in Britain and in Bohemia I intended to try to find out whether differences in perception of the folklore tradition have had any impact on the interpretation of the folk-song heritage and on the development of folk-song scholarship in these countries.

I

The discovery of the folk culture is commonly associated with the emergence of romanticism, but in many European countries the origins of the interest in popular culture can be traced much earlier. In Britain, the beginnings of folklore studies coincide with the rise of antiquarianism in the 17th century. Initially, there was little specific interest in the folk song.² The dominant attitude towards the folk song among the educated appeared to have been one of condescension. No clear distinction was made between the

various genres of folk song and other kinds of popular poetry. Usage of the term *ballad* was very lax: it was used to designate all kinds of popular song.

Nevertheless, a certain amount of collecting of both folk songs and broadsides (printed songs, often crude and sensational, that were hawked in the streets) was done. Around 1640-50, a number of popular ballads were gathered together in the Percy Folio MS and a major collection of broadsides was made by Samuel Pepys. From Elizabethan times onwards, both the folk song and the broadside gradually filtered through into poetic miscellanies.

In Scotland, the popular tradition was very much alive, and much of Scots literary poetry written in the 15th and the 16th centuries was to a certain extent influenced by it.³ However, with the arrival of Presbyterianism and after the moving of the Scottish court to England in 1603, Scots literary poetry ceased to be seriously cultivated, although the popular tradition continued to flourish unhindered.

By contrast, the origin of Czech folklore studies can be traced as far back as the mid-14th century.⁴ Three centuries later, the first author to take any marked interest in Czech folk culture was the 17th century educational reformer Jan Ámos Komenský (Comenius; 1592-1670). In 17th- and 18th-century Bohemia the distinctions between 'high' and 'low' cultures became blurred to a considerable degree and the folk culture came to be viewed without condescension. In the 1780s, several men of learning⁵ began to take a genuine interest in folk songs and started collecting them; they made it their aim to show that these songs reflected a distinctive Czech national identity and national character.

This primarily baroque interest in folk poetry lingered on outside large cultural centres throughout the enlightenment era, in spite of the fact that mainstream rationalists generally looked down on folk culture as unworthy of comparison with 'high' art. Thus, the romantic school of the 1820s, when the folk song attained a very high standing, grew to a considerable extent from the old, baroque, pre-enlightenment sources.

In fact, in spite of the rationalists' condescension towards popular culture, some attention had been given to the study of folklore during the enlightenment era: Czech scholars started studying everything they saw as back-

ward, irrational and superstitious in order the more efficiently to stamp it out. A concerted campaign was launched in booklets and periodicals⁶ against 'superstitions among the country people'. The campaign inevitably made wide use of folkloristic material and, paradoxically enough, helped to foster folklore studies.

In 1819, the Austrian authorities⁷ initiated the collecting of folk songs in Bohemia and Moravia on a limited scale. A selection of these was later published by Jan Ritter z Rittersberku (1780-1841) as *České národní písně* (*Czech National - i.e. Folk - Songs*; 1825). The collection contained not only the texts of the songs, but also their melodies. (This was very advanced for that time, though the musical notation was not very accurate.) Ritterberk viewed the songs as 'historical material' and deliberately refrained from applying aesthetic criteria when selecting them for publication. This sober, objectivist point of view provoked passionate protests from Czech romantic scholars,⁸ who condemned the collection as crude and as an insult to the national heritage.

II

The impact of Scandinavian studies of antiquities, old literary relics and ballads to some extent stimulated interest in folk song in Britain towards the end of the 17th century. Throughout the 18th century, prevalent aristocratic attitudes in England were slowly becoming influenced by middle-class values. The rising upper-middle classes accepted the literary values of the aristocracy, but gradually tried to change them by introducing onto the scene, where classicism then ruled supreme, a touch of piety and emotion and an awareness of English national identity. Calls for simplicity and naturalness of style were to be heard with increasing frequency. Antiquarianism and an interest in the ballad were to play an important role in the gradual transformation of classicism into sentimentalism.

What made the English literary public particularly aware of the ballad was the controversy around Addison's *Chevy Chase* papers.⁹ Addison's ballad papers were a complement to his essay on 'true' and 'false' sty-

les in literature¹⁰ and a continuation of a classicist's attack on 'Gothic', 'metaphysical' verse. Against the excesses of various 'past ages' in literature, Addison advocated the simplicity of popular poetry. However, his critics completely rejected the idea that vulgar ballads could be treated as literature.¹¹ Nevertheless, public interest in the folk tradition continued to grow. Popular traditions had the attraction of naive simplicity, which was a welcome contrast to the embellishments of classicist literature.

Macpherson's Ossianic 'fragments' appeared in 1760-63, in response to the emergence of the ideals of pre-romanticism.¹² They were warmly welcomed, although discussion on their authenticity began almost immediately.

Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) included traditional ballads, broadsides and ballad imitations by both Percy and some of his contemporaries. Since, however, Percy had made extensive changes in the texts, the *Reliques* were a compromise, their tone was apologetic and their form was such as to please the classically minded and the sentimentalists alike.

In this collection, Percy presented his own theory of ballad origins:¹³ they had, he argued, been composed by ancient bards who recorded history and sang and accompanied themselves on the harp. Later, these records of historical events became fictionalised. The old bards' art of ballad composition was taken over by their successors, the minstrels. Percy's theory was attacked by the Scottish writer and ballad editor Joseph Ritson (1752-1803), who also accused him of falsifying the texts included in the collection.

The *Reliques* were not a very original collection, nor was the standard of the editor's work very high. However, coming at the right time, they fulfilled a need and therefore were a great success, exercising a major influence in several European countries, especially in Germany. In Britain, Percy's *Reliques* stimulated the imitation of folk songs,¹⁴ encouraged the publication of numerous poetic miscellanies and collections of popular songs and provoked theoretical discussion.

III

(i)

In Germany there was also a gradual move away from classicism towards pre-romantic ideals and a greater national awareness. The most important representative of this new mood was Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). Inspired by Rousseau, Herder thought much more highly of folk songs than did his counterparts in Britain. He saw the folk song as the product of the unspoiled rustic culture and an expression of the national spirit. Under the influence of Macpherson's and Percy's work, Herder published *Volkslieder*,¹⁵ which contained specimens of folk songs of different nations. The aim of the collection was to point to a new, fresh, unaffected and lively poetic inspiration. According to Herder, the features of each nation's folk poetry had been determined by the nation's circumstances, by its history and religion, even by the country's climate. Herder coined the expressions *Volksdichtung*, *Volkspoesie* and *Volkslied* to emphasise the ethnic idiosyncrasies of folk poetry and its difference from established literature. His interest was primarily aesthetic and literary - he intended to establish a new, alternative poetics which was to place special emphasis on sensibility and imagination.¹⁶ *Volkspoesie* was for Herder not merely the oral tradition, it was a timeless *agens* which could be found in all real poetry. A *Volkslied* was any song written by an author, whether known or anonymous; it was vivid, fresh and tuneful, had some national content and was sung by people untouched by education, and it manifested their idiosyncrasies both in form and content. *Volkspoesie* was a consciously created artefact which absorbed only those elements of the folk tradition which met the standards of the new poetics.

(ii)

German pre-romanticism, appropriately modified, soon came to dominate the Czech literary scene. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815 an atmosphere of political conservatism spread over the Austrian Empire.

The Austrian authorities were wary and ready to suppress any voices calling for changes or reform. Nevertheless, after the recent experience of the Napoleonic Wars, the young Czech intellectuals felt they were witnessing the rise of modern nations which started to exercise their influence on the European scene. This was why they began to feel a patriotic awareness of their own national community which one day could also play an important role in the world. However, since there was no distinct Czech territory,¹⁷ the only distinguishing mark of nationality was the Czech language. Thus the Czechs turned their attention to their language and 'found' inherent in it features of the Czech national psyche. It was during this time that the idea of pan-slavism was born. No political activity being possible under Metternich the Czechs turned inward to pre-romantic reveries and recreated in their minds what they saw as the glorious Slavonic past. These young Czech intellectuals, much as the Germans and the other Slavonic nations, also soon discovered the folk song to be a distinctive aesthetic, literary and spiritual entity that could very well be used in their efforts to revive modern Czech poetry.

The first major Bohemian collection to be published in line with the new poetics was František Ladislav Čelakovský's *Slovanské národní písně* (*Slavonic National Songs*, 3 vols., 1822-27). They included only songs which had obviously originated among country people and which created a positive image of the Czech national character.¹⁸

The discovery that many folk songs, much more than most contemporary Czech poetry, met the aesthetic postulates of the day provoked numerous Czech authors of the 1820s and 1830s¹⁹ to experiment with the folk-song technique. But most of these experiments were somewhat mechanical: poets strove to produce close replicas of what in current perceptions was seen as typical Czech folk poetry. This method was only briefly capable of expressing the moods, aspirations and feelings of the new Czech society, and when it started to be felt constrictive, it was rejected.²⁰

IV

(i)

In Germany, the emphasis in the definition of the folk song shifted in the early 19th century from aesthetic criteria to investigations of its origins. Herder's expression *Naturpoesie*²¹ came to be widely used, often synonymously with his earlier term, *Volkspoesie*. In the view of the Brothers Grimm, *Naturpoesie* was of non-individual origin. However, neither was it of communal origin: it had come into being 'of itself'. Its origins were veiled in mystery, a mystery which one was expected to accept on trust.²² For the Brothers Grimm the terms *Volkspoesie/Naturpoesie/Nationalpoesie* came to mean poetry that expressed the timeless spirit of the nation. Jacob Grimm saw all ancient national epics as records of a nation's earliest history and they had come into being 'of themselves', they had been created collectively (though not deliberately) by each nation. In his view, the oral culture had preserved the wisdom and the mythology of pre-Christian civilisations. By collecting and studying not only folk songs, but all aspects of folk culture, it was possible to piece together at least part of the world-view of ancient nations.

The Brothers Grimm further developed Herder's ideas about the differences between *Volkspoesie* and established 'art' literature. The Christian civilisation, they held, produced a new kind of poetry, reflecting the new Christian values. It was *Kunspoesie*. *Kunspoesie* and *Naturpoesie* were opposite poles of an antithesis. *Kunspoesie* was governed by principles totally different from those governing *Naturpoesie*: it was an artefact, created intentionally and consciously.²³

The folklorism of the German romantics exercised a certain negative influence: for a time the attention of scholars was diverted towards vague unfounded theories which were much closer to the realm of poetry than to sober scholarly enquiry. At the same time, however, the Brothers Grimm made the scholars aware of hitherto neglected areas of the folklore tradition. The emphasis shifted from a mere aesthetic interest in the folk song to more extensive research into many areas of the folklore culture.

(ii)

From the 1830s onwards, many Czech scholars absorbed the German folklore theories. The German view of folklore as the source of the sacred national heritage was precisely what was needed in Bohemia at this time to encourage the Czechs and strengthen their national confidence. Czech scholars also tried to piece together an image of the ancient national mythology.

The poet Karel Jaromír Erben (1811-70) was the most important Czech follower of the Brothers Grimm. In his view²⁴ genuine folk songs had to be imbued with the national spirit, that is, they had to express concrete physical and spiritual features, characteristic for a particular nation at a particular time. Folk songs were presumed to have originated in the nation (he probably meant the rural population), a proof of this being the anonymity of their authors. The importance of his collection *Prostonárodní české písně a říkadla* (*Czech Folk Songs and Rhymes*, 1862-64) lay in its unprecedented scope: it included over 2,200 Czech folk songs. Sixty-one texts were of a narrative character, some of them very beautiful. This created a stir: it had been believed there were no narrative folk songs in the Czech language.²⁵

Erben's method of editing was relatively advanced. He had compared his collection with 11 other collections of Slavonic folk songs, subordinated the texts to the tunes, but still tried to reconstruct the best versions from the surviving variants, making minor linguistic changes in his texts. When selecting material for publication he was guided by aesthetic criteria.

Apart from folk songs, Erben also recorded folk customs and fairy tales, which he used for his mythological 'studies', inspired in this by the theories of the Brothers Grimm. He believed that most Slavonic mythological fairy tales were related to the winter equinox and, in accordance with Müller's solar theory (see below, p.95) he conceived of them as the struggle of the sun with the darkness of winter.

Some of the views of the poet Jan Kollár (1793-1852) were exceptionally advanced for their time. In 1827 he came very close to giving a definition of the folk song as those texts of tunes which had, irrespective of their

origin and due to some special feature of the song which had appealed to the folk, been assimilated by the oral tradition and circulated in it for a time.²⁶ Like several other authors of his time,²⁷ he ascribed much importance to the melodies. He was interested not only in rural folk songs, but also in broadsides and popular songs from other social strata.

(iii)

The response to German romantic views was much more muted in Britain than in Bohemia. Nevertheless, at the end of the 18th century, interest in popular poetry had reached its peak. It was concentrated in Scotland, where folklore enthusiasts lived much closer to the oral tradition than was the case in England. Nationalistic undertones could occasionally be detected in the enthusiasm of Scottish editors and commentators. This was, however, nothing like the heightened nationalism in Germany or Bohemia: in Scotland the cause of national independence had already been lost. In England, the ballads were viewed with interest, but usually only as mutilated relics of a past age. Ballads were never viewed as sacred enough not eventually to fall victim to parody.

Sir Walter Scott was the first British poet and scholar to be influenced by German thinking on the folklore tradition. Some of the folk songs that he and his assistants collected were published in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* in 1802-03,²⁸ a collection with a predominantly literary flavour. When editing the material, Scott could not make up his mind whether to deal with it as a poet or as a scholar. The *Minstrelsy* contained genuine ballads, often retouched and improved, contaminations made up of different ballad variants and also ballad imitations. According to Scott, additions to and emendations and imitations of the ballads were perfectly permissible, as long as the authors and editors admitted to it. Not unlike the Brothers Grimm, Scott argued that the history, laws and religion of early nations had been captured in verse, and in this respect all ballads were important as historical documents. Scott had no clearly defined general theory of the evolution of the ballad, but inclined to the opinion that the ballads were written by individuals. He commented on what he saw as the crude effect of oral transmission and agreed with Ritson that oral transmission caused the ballads

to disintegrate. But he did not really understand the structure and style of the ballads, confining himself largely to remarks on their crudeness and inelegance. Scott, incidentally, also collected and studied local legends and customs.

There were several other folklore enthusiasts in Scotland at the beginning of the 19th century;²⁹ some of these were Sir Walter Scott's assistants. Interest in the romantic vision and romantic theme had been gaining momentum throughout the 18th century. The publication of Wordsworth's and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798 gave this interest a further significant impetus. Much of the inspiration for this collection had come from the folk song and the broadside ballad.

It was mainly the first romantic generation - Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey - who had drawn their inspiration from popular poetry. But all the English romantic poets experimented with the folk-song tradition at some stage during their careers.

By the mid-19th century a considerable amount of folklore material had been collected and published in Britain (albeit often in a haphazard and unscholarly manner). But apart from some relatively shallow speculations, many of which had been provoked by the example of the Brothers Grimm, no one had attempted to undertake an analysis of the collected material.

v

By this time, several of the younger Czech authors adopted a more thoughtful approach towards the folklore tradition. Václav Bolemír Nebeský (1818-82) formulated his views on the origins of popular literature and the folk tradition as follows:³⁰ after the originally homogeneous nation had split into separate strata, the more sophisticated strata of society produced, due to the general advancement of learning and foreign influences, a new kind of art and literature. However, the folk conservatively adhered to the old cultural modes, although in the course of time these modes also changed, if slowly. Whenever the folk accepted elements of the sophisticated culture, it transformed, remoulded and recreated those elements until they became indistinguishable from other aspects of folk culture. Only those elements of

the sophisticated culture which had some special appeal for the folk were assimilated into the oral tradition; that is, those elements which roughly conformed to the tenets of folk poetics. Later in his life, Nebeský believed that folk songs were being created or re-created by individuals from the folk out of a large stock of ready-made turns of speech, images and motifs that shared certain typical features and had a wide currency among the folk. These comprised a particular set of symbols and tropes and a particular style. The innovative contribution by Nebeský was his emphasis on the reception of the material by the folk and the material's special features, magnified and enhanced in the oral tradition.

Karel Havlíček Borovský (1821-56) was the first Czech author to write a detailed study of the formal aspects of Czech and Slovak folk songs.³¹ He defined the basic folk-song rhythmical patterns and studied the principles of folk-song rhyme and the mechanics of folk-song dialogue. He stressed that if an editor collected and published his material for folkloristic reasons, he assumed a task equal to that of a historian and had no right whatsoever to make even the minutest changes.

František Sušil's (1804-68) collection *Moravské národní písně* (*Moravian Folk Songs*; 1860) was a companion piece to Erben's folk-song collection. Due to its authenticity and the richness of the material it contains it has come to be regarded as one of the most significant Slavonic folk-song collections: it comprises over 1,500 texts, including a number of beautiful legends and narrative songs.

In the second half of the 19th century, two distinct anthropological theories were formulated in Britain. The first was that of Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900). He argued³² that after the Indo-European peoples had spread from Asia throughout Europe, their parent Aryan language and mythology split up into fragments. The latter was forgotten and survived only in fragmentary mythical phrases and proverbs of uncertain meaning. New tales then developed to explain these obscure traditional sayings. The original, forgotten meaning of the Aryan myths could be traced back to natural phenomena, to metaphorical expressions denoting the sky, the dawn, the sun. These myths had arisen from poetic metaphors deriving from linguistic confusion in the mythopoeic ('myth creating') age, when language

was as yet incapable of expressing abstract concepts. This was Müller's solar theory, which he tried to substantiate with a large amount of comparative philological argumentation.

According to the other theory, that of cultural evolution, there had been an uninterrupted line of such an evolution from the beginning of man until the present. Contemporary cultures could, however, be at differing stages of development. According to Sir Edward Burnet Tylor's (1832-1917) doctrine of survivals, the folklore traditions of the European peasantry had preserved fragments of the culture of primitive man. In Tylor's view, these fragments confirmed the theory of continuous development and invited scholars to search for connections between the contemporary European folk culture and the primitive cultures in the more exotic parts of the world.³³

In 1878 the Folk-Lore Society was founded by a group of folklorists influenced by Tylor's theories. They set out to reconstruct the world-view of prehistoric savages from contemporary folklore. To a certain extent theirs was an updated version of the theories of the Brothers Grimm. The comparative study of modern survivals and savage customs could help, it was argued, to piece together the earliest stages of the evolution of man.

VI

(i)

The fact that in the 1860s the Czechs were granted certain basic liberties created hitherto non-existent opportunities for the expression of Czech national feeling. These nationalistic feelings, now openly connected with political aims, drew most of their inspiration from the romantic mood and attitudes of the earlier part of the century. A section of the populace opted for an idealised, sentimentalised image of national life, centred around the patriarchal folk traditions which for them constituted the sacred Czech national heritage. The traditionalists were interested primarily in the surviving remnants of the old folklore tradition which they saw as being destroyed. The aim of the so-called *svěrázové hnutí* (the movement for national idiosyncrasy) of the 1890s was to reintroduce the old

folklore culture into contemporary life (wearing folk costumes in everyday life, introducing folk-art motifs into industrial design, etc.) and give day-to-day living a 'national aspect'.

The leading figure amongst the traditionalists was Čeněk Zíbrt (1864-1932). His most significant contribution was as editor of the journal *Český lid* (*The Czech Folk*), which he turned into an important nation-wide ethnographic review with a large circle of regional contributors. Another important traditionalist was the Moravian scholar František Bartoš (1837-1906), who collected a considerable amount of folk songs and other ethnographical material in Moravia. In 1900-01 he published the final edition of his *Národní písně moravské* (*Moravian Folk Songs*). Since his aim was to make the collection mainly educational, he did not hesitate to improve the texts of his songs, though he did point out the changes he had made. Bartoš wrote the first Czech monograph on broadside ballads. Although he summarily rejected the popular culture of the townspeople on aesthetic and moral grounds, he nevertheless recognised the importance of the broadside for the research into the psychology of Czech folk songs and the Czech national spirit. His views on the origins of folk songs were close to those of Nebeský, but his other theories were later rejected³⁴ and he was sharply criticised by the 'realists' (see below) for idealising the true picture of the folklore tradition.

Jan Jakubec (1862-1936) was a member of the realist group, who was trying to introduce new, sober, sceptical approaches to all scholarly disciplines. Jakubec demanded that contemporary popular life be studied in its entirety, so that an objective picture of all national features, 'good' and 'bad', could be drawn and the causes for the 'bad' aspects be identified and eliminated. However, it was very difficult to put these very broad objectives into practice. So far from achieving concrete results, this broadly sociological approach was able to produce only vague generalisations.

Since it gradually became evident that there was much interaction between the oral tradition and written literature, the positivist realists rejected the dichotomy of *Naturpoesie* and *Kunstpoesie* and placed the oral folk heritage firmly within the literary tradition. Towards the end of the 19th century, positivist literary historians started to study folk songs with literary methods of research. They subjected them to comparative analysis and

tried to trace both the international connections and interactions between folk themes and motifs.

A major contribution to folk-song scholarship was made by the musicologist Otakar Hostinský (1847-1910), who defined as a folk song any song which, whatever its origin, had lived in the oral tradition for at least two generations.³⁵ Thus, for the first time in the history of Czech folk-song studies, the area of study was clearly and unambiguously mapped out. Hostinský analysed several folk-song tunes and their variants, showing how these had developed from one original tune.³⁶ Hostinský's definition was quickly accepted by most Czech students of the folk song.

(ii)

A major contribution to British folk song scholarship was made by the American Francis James Child (1825-96), who set out to publish a definitive scholarly edition of all English and Scottish ballads. The product of his work was a ten-volume collection, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882-98). Regrettably, Child never clearly formulated his criteria for selecting the ballads for his collection. It came to be regarded as a kind of practical guide to typical ballad features. However, closer inspection³⁷ has shown that *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* include a wide variety of material for which it is impossible to find a common denominator. Nor was Child's ballad corpus definitive: since the publication of his collection, other, as yet unknown, narrative folk songs have been recovered in Britain.

In fact, large areas of the English and Scottish folk-song tradition had remained untapped. The last three decades of the century witnessed an unprecedented growth of interest in the living English folk song. The collectors³⁸ were primarily interested in the melodies: their objective was to record the folk musical tradition and to bring it into middle-class life. Standards of editing varied considerably: songs were selected for publication on subjective, aesthetic grounds; the published texts were frequently bowdlerised and retouched. The melodies were reproduced more faithfully than the texts.

In 1898 the *English Folk-Song Society* was founded, its aim being the collection and preservation of the pure old folk music before it was destroyed by the popular songs of the day. The most important member of the society was Cecil Sharp (1859-1924). In 1907 he published his theoretical work *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*, based on his studies of the 1,500 songs that he had collected. In certain aspects, Sharp's view of the folk song was very similar to the theoretical concept of the folk song that had been slowly evolving in Bohemia. Sharp saw genuine folk song as the spontaneous expression of the people, and the communal nature of the songs resulted from the process of transmission, which he broke down into three aspects:

1. *continuity*, which was a necessary condition of the transmission process;
2. *variation* of the song by individual singers, which was more or less unconscious. Variation was individual and could be sterile, while
3. *selection* was communal and it made sure that, in those instances that appealed to the common folk consciousness, variation would produce creative results.

However, Sharp did not believe that broadsides could be transformed by oral tradition into genuine folk songs.

His theory became the official creed of the Folk-Song Society. Much of the material collected by its members was published in the society's journal. At first, little comment was published along with the songs, but a more systematical comparative study of the songs was undertaken from 1906 onwards.

Several independent folk-song collectors worked in Britain in the first half of the 20th century. Alfred William's *Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames* (1923) is the only existing English collection to document fairly well the scope of the English folk-song tradition at the turn of the century. Some seamen's shanties were published, both by the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* and independently. Collections of British industrial folk songs were published by A.L. Lloyd and by Ewan McColl as late as the 1950s.

Some of the Scottish collector Gavin Greig's material was printed in his *Folk Song of the North East* in 1914 and by Alexander Keith in 1925. What is left of Scottish folk songs is now being collected by the School of Scottish

Studies at Edinburgh University, which does this work in a scholarly and methodical manner.

VII

Towards the end of the 19th century, the legacy of the Grimms' theories had, in symbiosis with Tylorian evolutionism, produced a new, 'communalist' theory of the origins of the ballad. This provoked bitter controversy on the origins of the ballad between 'communalists' and 'individualists' on both sides of the Atlantic. It was to rage for several decades. Unfortunately, most of the discussion was narrowly scholastic. Very few of the participants actually took the trouble to study the living folk-song tradition before making up their minds about the ballad origins.

Around the turn of the century, the communalist theory was formulated by the American scholar Francis Gummere.³⁹ He pointed to what he saw as the surviving idiosyncratic features of the original ballads, namely the existence of refrains and what he called 'incremental repetition'. He proclaimed that the presence of these elements proved that the original ballads were created by a 'throng' of early men gathered to celebrate memorable events in their community. While singing and dancing, various members of the throng would compose verses and the rest would join in the chorus. A narrative element would be introduced into the ballad only later, when a singer, separated from the original situation, would elaborate on the song by adding new stanzas. The structural idiosyncrasies of the ballad were produced by communal composition, but they later ceased to be functional and became mere mannerisms.

Gummere claimed that only some of the songs that had survived were genuine examples of the ballad genre. This is why he felt free to select only songs which corroborated his theory and to reject others as 'literature'.

His opponents, the individualists (the most militant among them was the American scholar Louise Pound⁴⁰) attempted to prove that the ballad was a literary, and not a popular, genre. Having come down from literary sources, the corrupted themes were cast in the ballad metre by unknown individual

poets. Since the ballads were intended for a primitive audience, they had to be presented in a striking, dramatic form. The music was usually superior to the lyrics, which led to the formation of refrains. No changes in the ballads were ever caused by oral transmission: people only remembered and mechanically repeated what had come down from the literary culture.

Both in Britain and in America, the new wave of interest in the living folk song brought several scholars directly into contact with the authentic folk-song tradition. These collectors brought some common sense on to the scene and thus managed somewhat to defuse the controversy.

By the 1920s, some orthodox communalists adopted the position of the 'moderate' G.L. Kittredge. Gordon Gerould's *The Ballad of Tradition* (1932) sought to present an objective assessment of the ballad problem. He formulated a concrete definition of the ballad, based on the features common to all European narrative folk song, namely: emphasis on action, dramatic tendency, impersonal attitude. Gerould outlined what he saw as the three most important problems to be tackled by the scholars, namely the search for the origin of 1. the narrative ballad form, 2. the melodic and poetical form of some European ballads and 3. individual ballads. In Gerould's view, the ballad form had been created by individuals, but he ascribed to the oral tradition an important role in the creation of new ballads.

The controversy had finally exhausted itself in the 1930s. Scholars had gradually accepted that it was futile to devise speculative theories based on minimal evidence. It was much more important to devote one's attention to a detailed synchronic and diachronic study of existing folk-song material. Conclusions could only be drawn on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the folk-song tradition.

VIII

(1)

In the late 1920s, two Russian scholars living and working in Prague, Petr Bogatyrev and Roman Jakobson, founder-members of the Prague Linguistic Circle, drew up a precise theoretical definition of folklore study⁴¹, formulating clearly the ideas that had been slowly crystallising throughout the previous

decades. Bogatyrev and Jakobson pointed out that there were fundamental structural differences between literary culture and folk culture. They stressed that, due to its complete dependence on oral transmission, the survival of each particular element of the folk culture depended at all times on its being sanctioned and approved by the folk community. For a literary work of art, preserved in print, it was irrelevant whether or not any of its elements were rejected by the literary community of the day. Although some aspects of the work might at one time have been unpopular, the printed work survived intact and its rejected aspects could be appreciated and used as an inspiration in other epochs when tastes might differ.

In the folk culture, on the other hand, it was impossible to revive elements that had once been unpopular, because they would not have been accepted into the oral tradition in the first place. Thus the taste of the community exercised a strict censorship over folk culture. It perpetuated only those of its forms which were in some way of enduring relevance and fulfilled a certain function or functions for the community. This is how the taste, beliefs and views of the folk community imprinted themselves indelibly on folk culture and gave it an idiosyncratic, uniform, communal appearance. In Jakobson's and Bogatyrev's view there was a close parallel between the folk tradition and particular folk compositions and between the Saussurean linguistic concepts of '*la langue*' and '*la parole*'. The folklore tradition was impersonal and existed in the singer's mind as a set of certain constraints or habits, like the Saussurean '*la langue*'. The folk author realised these norms in '*la parole*', when filling them with a particular content. If his composition disregarded the norm and was too individual, like a personal speech deviation which did not fit the linguistic system, it was ignored by the oral tradition and forgotten.

Jakobson and Bogatyrev revived the romantic concept of a fundamental difference between literature and folk culture. The romantic idea of folk culture as an independent entity had seemed wrong to positivist scholars because they had concentrated on the origins of folk motifs and themes and had discovered that many of these had been taken over from the sophisticated culture. But the literary-historical methods used in folklore studies since the late 19th century seriously distorted the folklore material: examining it as lit-

erary texts, they failed to examine it from the point of view of its function and meaning within the folklore tradition proper. The origins of the folklore material were completely irrelevant for folklore study. What mattered was the choice, the transformation and the new interpretation of the accepted material in its new environment.

Bogatyrev and Jakobson argued that folklore research ought once more to become a discipline separate from literary research. It ought to discard the methods of the literary historian and develop its own methods for elucidating the structural principles and peculiarities of the folklore tradition.

In the 1930s, the literary critic Bedřich Václavek undertook a study of the characteristics which the material was supposed to acquire when circulating in the oral tradition. He analysed over 150 19th-century songs by known authors that had been assimilated by the folk tradition.⁴² Václavek compared the songs recovered from the oral tradition, fifty years or more after they had entered it, with their originals preserved in print. His description of the transformation of the texts in the oral tradition can be summarised as follows:

First the order of the stanzas in the songs was changed, then stanzas were omitted or contaminated. The songs were almost always shortened. Individual verses became stock phrases which turned up independently of context. Parts of 'literary' songs became conjoined with parts of folk songs. Lines with literary, poetic or abstract words could either become garbled, or the poetic words could be replaced by ordinary words. Poetic names were replaced by commonplace ones. Things which were too individual were omitted, as were contemplative passages. Verbosity was removed and abstract depictions were complemented by concrete features. Frequent repetitions were introduced, often under the influence of the melodies.

On the whole, Václavek concluded, thematically the songs were not changed much, but there were considerable changes of style, expression and structure. His analysis showed that the material which had entered the folk tradition did not merely disintegrate and become garbled; it was really being structurally remoulded to fit the poetics of the folk culture.

Jakobson and Bogatyrev's and Václavek's work was accepted in pre-war Czechoslovakia as a theoretical framework for further folklore research. In

the first post-war years several studies of the structure and style of folk-song melodies and texts were published,⁴³ indicating perhaps that, given sufficient time, a systematic structural and functional examination of the folk-song tradition would have been undertaken. However, in the 1950s conditions in Czechoslovakia were unfavourable to structuralism. It is only since the mid-1960s that more serious and more detailed studies of some aspects of the style and structure of the folk-song and broadside traditions have been attempted.⁴⁴ Comparative historical research, tracing the migration of folk-song motifs and themes from country to country, trying to discover inter-connections between the literary and the folklore tradition has also been conducted.⁴⁵

(ii)

Folk-song collecting continued in the 20th century. In 1908-10 Čeněk Holas published his 6-volume collection *České národní písně a tance* (Czech National Songs and Dances). Many extensive regional collections were published, the most memorable probably being the 9-volume *Chodský zpěvník* (The Chod Songbook) which comprises some 4,000 texts and 1,400 melodies, collected by Jindřich Jindřich in South Western Bohemia, and Karel Weiss's 15-volume *Český jih a Šumava v písní* (The Czech South and the Šumava region in Song, 1928-41). Since the 1950s, collections and studies of Czech working-class songs have been published by V. Karbusický, Z. Tichá and others.

In 1905 the Austrian authorities set up an official institute for the study of folk songs in Austria-Hungary. After the disintegration of Austria in 1918, the Czech and the Moravian-Silesian committees of this institute became the nucleus of the new Czechoslovak Folk-Song Institute.

In 1953 it became the Ethnographic and Folklorist Institute and a branch of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Its archives comprise over 70,000 Czech and Slovak folk songs.

IX

Even in the 20th century the British folk-song tradition has been given scant treatment. Not much serious theoretical work has been done. Most British research has been conducted along traditional comparative literary-historical lines and concerned primarily with attempts to trace the origins and international connections of the Child ballads. Most research into the British folk-song tradition has come from American scholars. Since the 1960s, American scholars have ceased to concentrate merely on the origin of folk songs and on their historical interrelations, and they have also started to study the idiosyncratic features of folk-song material.

Some attempts have been made to arrive at a definition of the ballad. Several authors tried to separate the Child ballads into categories or to draw a division between the ballad and other forms of folk song. There have been a number of notes and articles on the history and background of the Child ballads, two important comparative studies being P. G. Brewster's *The Two Sisters* (1953) and H.O. Nygard's *The Ballad of Heer Halewijn* (1958).

Until quite recently there have been few synchronic analyses of the idiosyncratic features of the collected folk-song material. Some pioneering research of the thematic elements of the Child ballads was made by the American L.C. Wimberley.⁴⁶ Wimberley showed that the mythology of the ballads was popular rather than literary. His study pointed out the non-metaphorical character of ballad poetry and the pagan nature of ballad philosophy. In the 1930s several scholars developed Wimberley's line of research,⁴⁷ but the study of ballad motifs as a system was limited to occasional articles. It was only in the 1960s that a more systematic analysis of some motifs in the Child ballads was attempted.⁴⁸

Very little work was also done until recently on the language and style of the ballads and on ballad metre. Some work has been published on the nature of textual variation,⁴⁹ mostly by American scholars who analysed the native American folk-song tradition, but most of these authors do not clearly distinguish between folk songs retained purely in the oral tradition and songs that circulate in print. Very little work was done on folk songs and popular songs outside the Child collection. Malcolm Laws, another American,

has undertaken an analysis of broadside techniques.⁵⁰ In Britain, Leslie Shepard has published two accounts of the history of the broadside ballad,⁵¹ but he has spent very little time on analysing the broadsides themselves. However, a number of broadside collections has been published both in Britain and in the United States.⁵²

Non-narrative British folk song remained for long a more or less uncharted territory. Lucy Broadwood published an article on sailors' shanties⁵³ and A.G. Gilchrist studies on religious folk songs.⁵⁴ Tristram Coffin undertook a tentative analysis of lyrical folk songs;⁵⁵ A.L. Lloyd was the first British scholar to attempt a study of all areas of British folk songs. His *Folk Song in England* (1969) was written from a fairly traditional, literary historical point of view. Nevertheless, he did attempt an analysis of both the tunes and texts of the songs.

Several American anthropologists have recently been using structuralist methods in their analyses of the oral tradition of exotic cultures.⁵⁶ At the same time, attention has in the United States increasingly been paid to the study of folk-song techniques and stylistic and functional idiosyncrasies.⁵⁷

In 1972 the Scottish folklorist David Buchan published a pioneering study of major importance.⁵⁸ He analysed the folk-song material collected in isolated areas of the North-East of Scotland, Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. (These areas used to be the richest ballad region in Britain: many Child ballads were collected there.) Until about 1830, the people in the North-East of Scotland lived in a homogeneous, illiterate, agricultural community. Buchan analysed different versions of ballads obtained on separate occasions from a member of this community at the time when its contacts with the rest of Britain were still minimal.⁵⁹ He showed that each time she sang the ballads they were being newly composed. In the variant that Buchan examined, story-line, stock phrases and clichés remained roughly the same while the structures of the successive renditions differed radically from one another, although all versions had obviously been created by the same method of composition. By comparing all variants obtained from the singer, Buchan managed to isolate a sophisticated set of devices which the folk singer had at her dis-

posal, enabling her to compose the songs as she went along.

Buchan further found out that when the Industrial Revolution reached the North-East of Scotland and the growth of literacy taught the local people to use the immutable printed word, the techniques of oral re-composition died out. From that time onward, members of the folk sang only fixed versions of ballads, as they had learnt them by heart. These fixed versions then tended to become garbled or corrupted by outside literary influences.

X

To sum up: until recently, there has not been much systematic study of the folklore tradition in Britain. At best, the folklore tradition was regarded as a quaint relic of the past, but was more frequently either ignored or viewed with condescension. In the second half of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century popular ballads were becoming quite fashionable due to a romanticist interest in relics of the past and in curiosities which stirred the imagination. Throughout the 19th century several ballad collections were published, most of them unscholarly, and some recording of folk tales, customs and superstitions was undertaken; however, large areas of the folk-song tradition were overlooked until the early 20th century. But folk songs were even then being selected for publication on exclusively subjective aesthetic grounds. Little theoretical work was done, and what was done was largely speculative. A more serious study of the style and structure of the folk-song texts was embarked upon only in the 1960s and 1970s.

In Bohemia, the folklore tradition played throughout a central role in the cultural life of the nation. From the beginning of the 19th century this tradition came to be regarded as a sacred part of the national heritage. Initially, the folklore tradition was stylised and remoulded to fit conceptions of what constituted the national heritage. However, the Czechs became very familiar with the folk-song tradition through constant contact with it. Unfounded speculative theorising on the origins of folklore accordingly ceased relatively early. The beginnings of the serious scholarly study of Czech folklore can be traced back to the early decades of the 19th century. Nevertheless, it was only in the 1920s that a precise theoretical definition of

the mechanisms of the oral tradition was formulated. As in Britain, the systematic study of the style and structure of the folk-song texts did not begin until the 1960s and 1970s.

NOTES

- This article is a shortened version of an introductory chapter from a comparative study of folk-song influences in Czech and British literature, on which the author is currently working. He gave a paper on this topic at the Fourth Scottish Slavonic Seminar in Edinburgh in February 1981. The article is based on the following secondary sources: Jan Jakubec, *Dějiny literatury české I., II.*, Prague, 1929, 1934; Arne Novák, *Přehledné dějiny literatury české*, Prague, 1936-39; Jan Mukařovský (ed.), *Dějiny české literatury I., II.*, Prague, 1959-60; Jaroslav Vlček, *Dějiny české literatury II.*, Prague, 1951. Hermann Bausinger, *Formen der 'Volks poesie'*, Berlin, 1968; Bohuslav Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, Brno, 1970; Jiří Horák, 'Národopis Československý' in *Československá vlastivěda II.*, Prague, 1933, pp. 305-472; Vladimír Karbusický, Jaroslav Markl, Václav Pletka, 'Lidová a zlidovělá píseň' in *Československá vlastivěda III.*, Prague, 1968, pp. 301-50; Antonín Robek, *Dějiny české etnografie I.*, Prague, 1975; Bedřich Václavěk, *Přeměnitel a lidová tradice*, Olomouc, 1938; id., *Lidová slovesnost v českém vývoji literárním*, Prague, 1940; Evžen Valový, *Úvod do studia lidové písně*, Brno, 1969. A.C. Baugh, *A Literary History of England*, New York-London, 1948; *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. 9-12, 1912-15; David Craig, *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1830*, London, 1961; Legouis-Cazamian, *A History of English Literature*, London, 1971; *The Oxford History of English Literature*, vol. 7-10, 1959, 1979, 1963; J.H. Plumb, *England in the 18th century*, London, 1950; John Speirs, *The Scots Literary Tradition*, London, 1962. David Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*, London 1972; Richard M. Dorson, *The British Folklorists, A History*, Chicago, 1968; A. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, Chicago, 1961; David C. Fowler, *A Literary History of the Popular Ballad*, Durham, N.C., 1968; G.H.G. Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition*, Oxford, 1932; M.J.C. Hodgart, *The Ballads*, London, 1950; S.B. Hustvedt, *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain during the 18th Century*, New York, 1916; id., *Ballad Books and Ballad Men*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930; Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad*, London, 1962; id., *The History of Street Literature*, Newton Abbot, 1973; D.K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1959. Primary sources are given in the text of the article.
- The early antiquarians (William Camden; 1551-1623; John Aubrey; 1626-97) recorded some Irish folk superstitions, English proverbs, old customs, 'old wives' fables' and personal anecdotes.
- There are popular influences in the work of Robert Henryson (1425-1500), William Dunbar (1460?-1520), Alexander Scott (c.1525-c.1585) and Alexander Hume (c.1560-1609).
- Claretus de Solencia (? - c. 1379), Professor of Theology at Prague University, included examples of Czech folk fairy tales, riddles and proverbs in his works on biology. The earliest full collection of Czech proverbs dates back to c. 1400 (cf. Mukařovský, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.145).
- J.V. Monse, J.P. Cerroni, Jan Jeník z Bratřic (cf. Karel Dvořák in his study appended to the 1946 critical edition of Čelakovský's *Slovanské národní písně*, Prague, 1946, pp.553-4).
- Monatliche Beiträge zur Bildung und Unterhaltung des Bürgers und Landmanns*, 1783-84; *Volkslehrer*, 1786-88; *Prager Wochenblatt für Landleute*, 1793; *Hlasatel český*, 1806-09, 1818-19; *Rozmanitosti*, 1816-19, 1821-22.
- Bohemia and Moravia were a part of the Austrian Empire and were governed by the Habsburg dynasty from Vienna.
- Cf. a review of Rittersberk's collection by J.V. Kamaryt in *Čechoslav*, 7.5, 1825, p. 152; also Jakubec, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.548.
- The Spectator*, Nos. 70, 74, 1711.
- Ibid.*, Nos. 58-63; cf. Friedman, *op.cit.*, p.94-104.
- Cf. inter alia William Wagstaffe, 'Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb', 1711, in W. Wagstaffe, *Miscellaneous Works*, 1726; *The Life*, pp. x-xii.
- Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, 1760; 'Fingal', an Ancient Epic Poem, 1761; *Temora*, 1763.
- 'Essay on the Ancient English Minstrels' and 'On the Ancient Metrical Romances'.
- E.g. the attempts by Thomas Chatterton (1752-70), Michael Bruce (1746-67), W.J. Mickle (1735-88) and James Beattie (1735-1803).
- First edition: *Alte Volkslieder* (1774); second edition: *Volkslieder* (1778-79). After Herder's death the collection was given the title *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*.
- Cf. R. Schmitz, 'Das Problem "Volkstum und Dichtung" bei Herder' in *Neue Forschung*, 31, Berlin, 1937.
- Bohemia was inhabited by both Czechs and Germans.
- Čelakovský was aware of the existence of differing variants of folk songs: he knew that a song was being re-created when it was sung. Nevertheless, he only printed one version of each song, to which he made 'improvements'. He included some of his folk-song imitations in the collection. Apart from examples of Czech, Moravian and Slovak folk songs, the collection contained specimens of other Slavonic poetry, as well as some folk melodies.
- Čelakovský, Hanka, Kalina, Marek, Rubeš, Vacek-Kamenický, Kamaryt, Chmelenský, Píček. The authors of the *Dvůr Králové* and *Zelená Hora* MSS ('discovered' in 1816-18) also used folk-song inspiration.

20. Cf. J.K. Chmelenský, *Časopis českého musea*, 1835, pp.102-03.
21. Herder coined it in his essay *Vom Geist der hebräischen Poesie* to describe the songs of the Orient as genuine 'natural' poetry.
22. Jacob Grimm, *Über den altdeutschen Meistergesang*, 1811, p.5ff., p.170. Cf. a.o. Wilhelm Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, vol.1, p.141.
23. However, even *Kunstpoesie* could attain the qualities of *Naturpoesie* if the individual poets were inspired by *Naturpoesie*, wrote in the national spirit and let their personal voice merge with that of the nation.
24. In the Afterword to the third volume of *Písňe národní v Čechách* (1843); also reprinted in the definitive edition of his folk-song collection *Prostonárodní české písňe a řekadla* (1862-64).
25. Müller, Professor of Aesthetics at Prague University, obliquely accused Erben of having invented the narrative songs. This was why Erben included the names of his sources at the end of the third volume of the collection.
26. Kollár's collection of Slovak folk songs *Písňe světské lidu slovanského v Uhřích*, vol.2, 1827, p.27.
27. Cf. for instance Chmelenský's article in *Květy*, 1835, Supplement 13, p.252.
28. Many folk songs remained unpublished until the advent of F.J. Child.
29. John Leyden, Robert Jamieson, John Finlay, Peter Buchan, Robert Chambers and others.
30. V.B. Nebeský, 'Literatura lidu' in *Časopis českého musea* (1847).
31. The complete edition of Havlíček's folk-song studies was not published until 1939 by Bohuslav Indra: *Havlíčkovy práce o české lidové písni*.
32. Cf. his essay *Comparative Mythology* (1856).
33. Cf. his *Primitive Culture* (1871); *Researches*, 3rd edn., (1878).
34. O. Hostinský, *Česká světská píseň lidová*, 1906, p.11ff.
35. A similar, though vaguer, definition had recently been formulated in Germany by John Meier. Cf. his article in *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos.53, 54, 1898; and his *Kunstlied und Volkslied in Deutschland* (1906).
36. Otakar Hostinský, *Česká světská píseň lidová* (1906), repr. in *Hostinský o hudbě* (1961).
37. Thelma G. James, 'The English and Scottish Popular Ballads of F.J. Child' in *Journal of American Folklore*, No.66, 1933, pp.51-68.
38. M.H. Mason, J.C. Bruce, J. Stokoe, H. Sumner, Sabine Baring-Gould, H.F. Shepard, F. Kidson, W.A. Barret, Lucy E. Broadwood, J.A. Fuller-Maitland.
39. Cf. his *Old English Ballads* (1894), *The Handbook of Poetics* (1885), *The Popular Ballad* (1907), *Democracy and Poetry* (1911).
40. Cf. her *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* (1921).

41. 'Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens' in *Verzameling van Opstellen door oud-leerlingen en Bevriende Vakgenooten*. Donum natalicum Schrijnen, Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929, pp.900-13. In English in: Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings IV*, The Hague-Paris, 1966, p.1-15. In Czech in: Petr Bogatyrev, *Souvislosti tvorby*, 1971.
42. In this line of research he followed the example of the German folklorist John Meier. Many of the songs that Václavek examined were early 19th-century folk-song imitations. Cf. his *Písemnictví a lidová tradice*, Olomouc, 1938.
43. A. Sychra, *Hudba a slovo v lidové písni* (1948); P. Eisner, *Tři kapitoly o lidové písni* (1948); id., *Malované děti* (1949).
44. B. Beneš, 'Poznámky k žánru a kompozici kramářských a lidových balad', in *Slovácko*, vol.7, 1965, pp.98-104; id., *Světská kramářská píseň* (1970); B. Beneš (ed.), *O životě písňe v lidové tradici* (1973); O. Sirovátka, 'Vyprávění a dramatická řeč v lidové baladě', in *Slovácko*, vol.6, 1964; id., 'Vypravěčský styl v české a ruské baladě', in *Národopisný věstník československý*, vol.1(34), 1966, pp.102-18; J. Gelnar - O. Sirovátka, 'Faktory variačního procesu v lidové písni', in *Národopisný věstník československý*, vol.2(35), 1967, pp.183-92; et al.
45. Inter alia K. Horálek - Z. Horálková, 'K dějinám našich lidových balad', in *Slezský sborník*, no.54, 1956, pp.211-51; K. Horálek, *Studie o slovanské lidové poezii*, Prague, 1962; id., *Studie ze srovnávací folkloristiky*, Prague, 1966.
46. His best work is *Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads* (1927); repr. in 1965.
47. Anne G. Gilchrist, 'Notes on Herb Refrains' in *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* [hereafter *JFSS*], 7, 1930, p.237ff.; S. Elliott, 'Pulling the Heather Green' in *Journal of American Folklore*, 48, 1935, pp. 352ff.; and chapters in Gerould, *op.cit.*; Hodgart, *op.cit.*; et al.
48. G.L. Tyeryar, *Supernatural Agents in Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Unpubl. Doct. Diss., Univ of Wisconsin, 1966); E. Rogers, 'Clothing as a Multifarious Ballad Symbol', in *Western Folklore*, 34, 1975, pp.261-97; et al.
49. American criticism was summarised in Tristram Coffin, *The British Traditional Ballad in North America*, Philadelphia, 1950, p.3ff.
50. *American Ballads from British Broadsides*, Philadelphia, 1957.
51. *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning*, London, 1962; and *The History of Street Literature*, Newton Abbot, 1973.
52. Probably most important is the work of Hyder E. Rollins; see especially *The Pepys Ballads (1535-1702)*, 8 vols., Harvard, 1929-32.
53. 'Early Chanty Singing and Ship Music' in *JFSS*, 7, 1928, p.55ff.
54. Cf. Anne G. Gilchrist's study of 'Corpus Christi' in *JFSS*, 3, 1910, p.52ff.; cf. also her article, *ibid.*, 4, 1913, p.316ff.

55. 'A Tentative Study of a Typical Folk Lyric: "Green Grows the Laurel"' in *Journal of American Folklore*, 65, 1952, p.341ff.
56. Cf., for instance, P. and E.K. Maranda (eds.) in *Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition* (1971).
57. See *inter alia* dissertations by D.J. McMillan (1963); Fran Thomas (1964); J.B. Toelken (1964); articles by S.J. Sackett (1963); T.P. Coffin (1964); (1965); and R.D. Abrahams (1966); and a study by R.D. Abrahams (1968).
58. *The Ballad and the Folk*, London, 1972.
59. Anna Gordon, 'Mrs. Brown of Falkland' (1747-1810); cf. D. Buchan, *op. cit.*, p. 62-73.



IRENA VRKLJAN - FIVE POEMS

TRANSLATED BY MARY COOTE

Irena Vrkljan, born in Belgrade in 1930 and educated in Zagreb, belongs to the generation of poets that emerged in Yugoslavia in the 1950s. Writing in the Croatian literary tradition, she exemplifies the combination of aesthetic independence and social commitment, characteristic of Yugoslav literature today. Yugoslavia's era of dogmatic Socialist Realism was brief: its end was marked by the return to literary activity of Miroslav Krleža. (The dominant figure in pre-war Croatian literature, Krleža had maintained silence throughout World War and Revolution.) Since then, official tolerance for free choice of style and subject has permitted poetry to flourish, incorporating pre-war trends, such as surrealism, and movements in modern literature elsewhere.

Vrkljan, like her Serbian contemporary Vasko Popa, uses surrealist imagery to express inner states and views of the human condition. Her poems are consistently personal lyrics, though the social setting, such as the life of the Yugoslav *Gastarbeiter* in the *Berlinske pjesme* (*Berlin Poems*; 1981), can be evident. Many are reflections on a woman's lot and outlook. Her earlier collections of poems include *Krik je samo tišina* (*A Scream is Only Silence*; 1954), *Paralele* (*Parallels*; 1957), *Stvari već daleke* (*Matters Already Distant*; 1962), *Doba prijateljstva* (*A Time of Friendship*; 1963), *Soba, taj strašan vrt* (*A Room, that Fearful Garden*; 1966). *Berlinske pjesme* represents her most recent work.

M. C.



*Scottish
Slavonic
Review*

No.1 1983

Edinburgh - Glasgow

