

less such a version happens to be superior to all others in every stanza, this seems unjust to the reader, who is entitled to see the best text. Usually, therefore, I have combined several versions, choosing the most telling stanzas, or phrases, from each; and where all versions are obviously defective at some point or other, owing to the mutilation of a manuscript, or the poor memory of singers, I have restored the missing lines in the spirit of the original....

Ballads are nobody's property, and if careless singers or illiterate printers have claimed the right to spoil them, who can deny us the right to guess how the originals went? Not even the scholars—though they seldom risk a guess themselves. I have modernised the spelling of words in the older ballads wherever this was possible without spoiling the rhyme or breaking the rhythm; there is little virtue in spelling 'dun doe' as 'dandoo'; or 'Go, fetch me down this false bishop' as 'Goe, ffeitch mee doune thysse ffauss bysshoppe.'

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1. W. B. Yeats (1865-1939):
The Letters of W. B. Yeats, ed. by Allan Wade. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954.
Essays and Introductions. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1961.
Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats, Vol. 1, ed. by John P. Frayne. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1970.
2. Edwin Muir (1887-1959):
Autobiography. London: The Hogarth Press, revised ed. 1954.
The Estate of Poetry. London: The Hogarth Press, 1962.
3. T. S. Eliot (1888-1965):
The Sacred Wood. London: Methuen, 1920.
A Choice of Kipling's Verse. London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1941.
On Poetry and Poets. London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1957.

the words have sunk to the degrading position of unpaid drudges. But modern ballad poetry has meanwhile specialized on its own and come to do without the help of even a drum or tin whistle. The rise of individualism has meant narrower and narrower specialization: so that co-operation between the specialized poet and the specialized musician has become practically impossible. One of the two always insists on dominating the other.

EDITORSHIP

1. Robert Graves ¹⁵⁾

Most ballad anthologies published nowadays are 'scholarly', which means that the editors feel obliged to print each ballad exactly as it occurs in one of the many variant versions still surviving. But, un-

15) *English and Scottish Ballads* (London: Heinemann, 1957), pp. xxiv-vi. In *The English Ballad* Graves refers to Thomas Percy (see **LITERARY BALLADRY-1**) and Joseph Ritson, two representative eighteenth century ballad collectors, and says: "Percy was probably not profoundly attached to these ballads as poetry: rather he was an amateur antiquarian, and the success of his publication surprised him a good deal. But the *Reliques* enabled him to change his name from Piercy to Percy and to win an acknowledgment of kinship from the great Northumberland family whom the *Battle of Otterbourne* glorifies, and in the end brought him a bishopric. The only trouble was that he had rewritten the ballads to suit the taste of his time and had been somewhat disingenuous when challenged to produce the true text. The antiquary Ritson, himself not very careful with texts, denounced Percy as a forger and forcibly gave it as his opinion that chicanery and falsehood are always detestable, but never so detestable as when they can be charged against a cleric of high standing. This conflict is only instructive as showing how far both parties were from appreciating the spirit of the ballads, Ritson trying to scholasticize them, and Percy to give them the literary polish of a highly individualistic age" (pp. 32-33).

In *Poetic Craft and Principle* (pp. 11-15; the 1964 lecture at Oxford) Graves, referring to Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Oxford Book of English Verse* (1900; revised 1939), says that "Anthologists and others have every right to print what version they prefer of an anonymous ballad, or to take the best of a worse version and patch a better one with it. Quiller-Couch has often availed himself of this right, but in his version of *The Queen's Maries*, he has... spoiled the poetic pattern by omitting several essential stanzas, and including others irrelevant to it," and shows how the ballad should, in his judgement, go.

MUSIC

1. Robert Graves ¹⁴⁾

The ballad is incomplete without an exciting and repetitive music.... No lover of these ballads should fail to acquaint himself with the collections of ballads with their music made by the late Cecil Sharpe for the English Folk Song Society and similar compilations of the Welsh, Scottish and Irish Societies, and should, if possible, have a real singing familiarity with them. It is probable that the drum was the first musical accompaniment of the primitive ballad, but whether drum or harp or the voice of the chorus leader is used, the power of the music lies in subordinating the individuals to the group rhythm, after which the singing and elaboration of the ballad becomes a communal act: the group gets worked up to a fertile creative state, the repetition of the musical refrain being a spur to further efforts. Now as we have observed the gradual breakdown of the communal ballad when the group leader begins to specialize as a poet, so also with the music of the ballad. The more the bard (who is musician as well as balladist) elaborates his musical accompaniment, the less suitable does it become for its purpose: the group-singing becomes subservient to the musician's skill with the harp or lute. The balladist soon gets outside the group and sets up as a professional: the refrain becomes perfunctory and then disappears altogether. Though at first the bard combines both trades, music and poetry, after a time poetry and music begin to specialize on their own. We can see the turning-point in the magnificent lutanist songbooks published between 1590 and 1643 (the exact period which saw the differentiation of the Blank Verse drama from the old interludes and morality plays) where the lute gradually takes the greater share of the partnership to itself: with few exceptions the words of the songs verge on the trivial, yet seldom are quite worthless. They are still performing a useful part, but they suggest the faithful friend of the hero in a novel or epic, a foil to greatness. In what are still called 'ballad-concerts' to-day the emphasis is entirely on the music;

14) *The English Ballad*, pp. 17-19.

[The literary ballad] is merely one of the many varieties of verse developed in cultural centres, distinguishable from the lyric, the epic, the satire, the poetic drama by its form rather than by its psychology. It will be a narrative poem in short stanzas and without music. Cowper's *John Gilpin*, Hood's *Eugene Aram*, Browning's *How they Brought the Good News*, are literary ballads in this sense. But these, which are merely well-written developments of the broadsheet, are distinguishable from the mock-antique ballads written in the style of the ballad-proper and mostly based on a study of Percy's *Reliques of English Poetry*, in some ways the most important book of poetry published in the eighteenth century. In 1765, when the *Reliques* appeared, serious poetry had practically been limited to the heroic couplet, correctly-scanning blank verse and a few other metres of iambic base; politeness and decorum had limited also the possible subject-matter of poetry, so that these "gusty verses of a ruder age" which Percy had edited from an ancient folio manuscript of ballads-proper and early metrical romances, came as a revelation and a relief to jaded readers of Pope and his school. The communistic feeling of the ballad-proper was recognized, and the cult of the ballad in England went hand in hand with a liberal feeling towards the French Revolution. The Romantic revivalists—Burns, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth—were all profoundly indebted to Percy's collection. When the second revolutionary wave came on Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century, the beginning of modern socialism, the ballad was again revived by the young English revolutionaries of that day, the chief poet of whom was William Morris.

literary ballads, see for instance *On English Poetry* (London: Heinemann, 1922) on Keats' 'La Belle Dame sans Merci' (pp. 50-52), *Poetic Craft and Principle* on Coleridge's 'The Ancient Mariner' (pp. 93-94), and *The Crowning Privilege* on Coleridge and Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads* (pp. 284-85), and on Keats' 'Meg Merrilies' and 'La Belle Dame sans Merci' (pp. 316-17).

About Read's interest in literary balladry, we have independent works of his study on English Romantic Poetry: cf. *Wordsworth* (1930; revised 1949) and *The True Voice of Feeling: Studies in English Romantic Poetry* (1953).

rhythm. A poem whose poetic force is not spent in the process of achieving these technical feats is to be distinguished from a ballad like *Sir Patrick Spens* that has no such technical ambitions, but does what it attempts very finely. This specialization in technique, which is generally known as 'cultural progress,' is in the first instance a means of winning the admiration of a prince or noble patron where there are other less skilled competitors. But once a technical standard is set and competition is keen it is extremely difficult to return to the rougher forms without antagonizing the audience. So the advance continues in proportion to the social distinction or payment which skilful technique can earn; until it culminates in forms like the Welsh four-line *Englyn* which is guarded by scores of inhibitive rules and which does not sound very pleasing to the uninitiated ear even when it is triumphantly achieved.

The specialization in form is matched by a specialization in treatment of the subject. The cultural ballad is used didactically to express some religious or philosophic point. It is even sometimes allegorical: the ballad-proper does not moralize or preach or express any strong partisan bias. The song and the story alone are considered. The singers identify themselves with the characters, and the only comment on the story is the tone in which each character speaks. Moralizing or preaching in a ballad is a sign that the bard is definitely outside the group and is in touch with culture. A partisan bias is incompatible with group-action.

The ballad-proper begins in the last act of the drama and moves to the final climax without stage directions. This tendency disappears in the cultural narrative, because the method of education is to arrange the poetic meal in logical sequence from the soup to the savoury and to connect each course with the next by due announcement.

LITERARY BALLADRY

1. Robert Graves¹³⁾

13) *The English Ballad*, pp. 31-32. As to his reference to individual

Fire and sleet and candle-lighte;
And Christe receive thy saule.

When thou from hence away art past,
—Every nighte and alle,
To Whinny-muir thou com'st at last;
And Christe receive thy saule. [The rest is omitted.]

To get the full effect of this dirge, one must take into account not only the scene, which is eerie enough, but also the beautiful and mournful dialect in which it used to be sung. This ballad brings out well the basis of superstitious dread common to so much Northern folk-poetry, and the repeated refrain works up this dread by gradual stages to a climax.

2. Robert Graves ¹²⁾

It has been noted that the ballad-proper is not highly advanced in technique: by 'advanced technique' is meant complicated verse-forms, the ingenious use of metaphor and allegory, and a presentation of ideas which is 'poetical' before it is poetic, 'artistic' before it is imaginative, 'musical' before it is intended for singing. The complicated training which ancient court bards had to undergo did in most cases no doubt stifle the poetic impulse. It is recorded that in ancient Ireland the bardic students had among other rigorous tasks to lie all night in a coffin-like box with heavy weights resting on their body, or for hours in a bath of cold water, and with these aids to concentration were set to compose formal odes in metres of a complication seldom since rivalled. Yet the greater spirits were not broken by even this apprenticeship and could write poems of great force and integrity even within the rigorous bonds of consonantal sequence, chain-rhyme and difficult

12) *The English Ballad*, pp. 20-21. In *The Crowning Privilege: Collected Essays on Poetry* (Penguin Books, 1959; first pub. by Cassell, 1955) Graves takes up examples of epitaphs and elegies, and criticizes their "hollow rhetoric" in comparison with the poetic seriousness of balladry (pp. 111-13); he says "I expect poems to say what they mean in the simplest and most economical way; even if the thought they contain is complex. I do not mind exalted language in poetry any more than I mind low language, but rhetoric disgusts me" (p. 117).

about the mystery of the sea; and the ship appears—this is most important—on St John's Day, namely Midsummer Day, when one should expect magical apparitions. The helmsman will have been Herne the Hunter, whose oak occurs in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*—or Herne's Spanish equivalent; and he was tempting Arnaldos the hunter with melodies of a pagan fairyland. Herne and Hermes Trismegistos, who conveyed souls to the paradise of the mystics, are the same divine character.

TECHNIQUE

1. Herbert Read ¹¹⁾

There is...the device of repetition or refrain, which is a very curious and effective feature of early poetry. Originally it may have been a chorus or chanty sung by the audience to the "solo" of the bard or *trouvère*, just as the chorus is taken up by the audience in the modern music-hall. But as the ballad evolved, this chorus took on a poetic function of its own; it became a more or less meaningless formula whose function was almost entirely abstract. It became a musical incantation, a series of syllables or symbols whose effect was to hypnotise or enthral the audience who repeated it, or perhaps merely to lull them into a state of enhanced sensibility, or even of no sensibility at all. Many of these refrains have become quite meaningless, such as, "Hey go bet, hey go bet, hey go howe," "Hey, nonny, nonny," "Terly, terlow"; or divorced from any rational context, like "Follow, my love, come over the strand," in *The Fair Flower of Northumberland*, and "Sing Annet, and Marret, and fair Maisrie, as the dew hangs i' the wood, gay ladie!" in *The Cruel Brother*.

But the ordinary traditional use of the refrain is well illustrated in the *Cleveland Lyke Wake Dirge*, a watch-song sung over dead bodies which continued in use in North Yorkshire until as late as 1800:

This ae nighte, this ae nighte,
—*Every nighte and alle,*

11) *Phases of English Poetry*, pp. 25-28.

to curb his New England corniness, and written a translation of the ballad closer to the traditional English style than his famous *Schooner Hesperus*, it would have run something like this:

O the bold Lord Arnold, what did he hear
That midsummer day in the morning clear?

Lord Arnold rode with hawk upon hand
And down he coursed to the salt sea strand,

He saw a galley—I tell no lies—
Was making the beach before his eyes!

Her sails were silk, of sandal her gear,
And a practised mariner took the steer.

He trolled so wild and he trolled so well
He fetched all nature under a spell,

The winds were bated and no more blew
That calm as a mere the salt sea grew.

O, the fish schooled up, it was thick and fast,
And sea-cobs perched on the galley's mast.

'O mariner good who has ta'en the steer
And trollest a song that I love to hear,

'Do but teach me to sing that same, pardie,
And a chest of treasure thou's earn in fee.

'Nay, songs there are that a helmsman sings
May never be boughten with bright shillings,

'And mine's a ditty of worth, pardie,
Taught only to who dare sail with me.'

You will observe that Longfellow's memories of the ballad have played him false. In the original there are no sailors but only a helmsman; and not a single gull perches on the mast, but flocks of them; also the winds and seas are calmed, and the fish swim up in shoals. The helmsman is not ancient, nor does he make any moralistic remarks

With his hawk upon his hand,
Saw a fair and stately galley,
Steering onward to the land;—

How he heard the ancient helmsman
Chant a song so wild and clear,
That the sailing sea-bird slowly
Poised upon the mast to hear.

Till his soul was full of longing,
And he cried, with impulse strong, —
'Helmsman! for the love of heaven,
Teach me, too, that wondrous song!'

'Wouldst thou,'—so the helmsman answered, —
'Learn the secret of the sea?
Only those who brave its dangers
Comprehend its mystery!'

What a second-hand way of telling the story! Pleasant visions haunt Longfellow sometimes as he gazes on the Atlantic Ocean from Casco Bay, Massachusetts; literary reminiscences, especially of a Spanish ballad—he spent a few months in Spain in the late 1820s—echo in his ears. But he records only a sentimental gist of the ballad, not the ballad itself.

Ropes of sandal such as gleam in ancient lore...
Haunts me oft and tarries long...

The pay-off: *Only those who brave its dangers Comprehend its mystery!* is in the pure style of *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*. The reader doesn't care a button for Longfellow's feelings; he wants to hear the original ballad or, if he can't read Spanish, its equivalent in English.

I have taken the trouble to look up the ballad, which was originally written in twelfth-century Catalan—*Cancó del Compte l'Arnau*; but the version Longfellow recalled was a Castilian one, published in the 1550 edition of the *Cancionero de Romances*. If Longfellow had contrived

Another characteristic of most of the ballads is well illustrated by *Hugh of Lincoln*; I mean the introduction of a supernatural element. The rendezvous made by the dead corpse, the mysterious ringing of the bells, the still more mysterious reading of the books—these are characteristics not merely of the ballads, but of the people who produced them. Remember that the ballads are almost all of northern origin, for in that fact lies the explanation of their character and form.

2. Robert Graves ¹⁰⁾

An important rule of craftsmanship in English Verse is that a poet should never tell his readers how romantic, pathetic, awe-inspiring, tragic, mystic or wondrous a scene has been. He must describe the details himself in such powerful but restrained language (nouns and verbs always outnumbering the adjectives), that it will be the reader who catches his breath, looks up from the page and says: 'How romantic, how pathetic, how awe-inspiring, how...!'

Longfellow, a sweet, simple, loving but poetically ineffective New Englander, often breaks this rule:

Ah! what pleasant visions haunt me
As I gaze upon the sea!
All the old romantic legends,
All my dreams come back to me.

Sails of silk and ropes of sandal,
Such as gleam in ancient lore;
And the singing of the sailors,
And the answer from the shore!

Most of all, the Spanish ballad
Haunts me oft, and tarries long,
Of the noble Count Arnaldos
And the sailor's mystic song.

Telling how the Count Arnaldos,

10) *Poetic Craft and Principle* (London: Cassell, 1967), pp. 41-44. This is from a lecture originally delivered in 1964 as Professor of Poetry at Oxford.

much as it is anonymous and has been handed down for centuries as an oral tradition. The characteristics which it typifies are these: First, a clean directness of narrative. No time is lost on details which serve no purpose in forwarding the action; there is no comment, no criticism, no probing into motives. There are certain repetitions (we are twice told, for example, that Our Lady's well "was fifty fathom deep"), but these are probably survivals of the refrain—a feature of early poetry to which I shall refer in a moment. It is only necessary to note here that to repeat a phrase for effect is not the same thing as an aimless expatiation.

Secondly, we cannot help noting a certain fierce realism. A squeamish age will bark at this, and call it callous. It is, of course, nothing of the sort. If you want to be callous you should be pathological; you should work on the nerves of the reader. But good slaughter-house butchery, such as delights children in the tale of "Jack the Giant Killer" or "Bluebeard," has the effect of fantasy. It may thrill, but it does not sicken or excruciate. But this realism is not confined to the bloody happenings in these ballads:

He kicked the ba' with his right foot,
And catch'd it wi' his knee,

is every bit as realistic as

She's laid him on a dressing-table
And stickit him like a swine.

What, inheriting the jargon of our fathers, we call realism is no more than definiteness. To the directness of the narrative (that is, of the action) corresponds the definiteness of the visualisation (that is, of the details). Definiteness is a most striking characteristic of the ballads; note, for example, that the Jew's daughter led Sir Hugh through, not several, but *nine* doors. And there were *four and twenty* bonny boys playing ball, and the well was *fifty* fathom deep. All effective fantasy is marked by extreme definiteness.

seventeenth centuries loses its objectivity, concreteness, and communal mind, and falls into subjectivity, allegory, metaphor, symbolism, and individual mind.

mow, went to mow a meadow, both ancient cumulative songs, and the American Civil War ballad, *John Brown's Body*. The new ballads were composed nobody remembers by whom. In a battalion of the 1st Division with which the writer was serving in the spring of 1915 there were a number of ballads sung which with variants both of music and words spread through the New Army and Territorial Divisions as they came over. Most of these were subversive of military discipline, such as the well-known *I want to go Home* and *The Top of the Dixie Lid* ballad. When the line held by these brave but (from the Staff's point of view) unsoldierlike troops was finally consolidated, and discipline restored in a stricter sense, the ballad changed. Comforts of all sorts were arranged for men resting behind the line, among them regular entertainments. Men who had been foremost in improvising additions to the new ballads were chosen to form brigade and divisional concert parties for permanent duty. The chorus leader, in fact, became a bard. At this stage the ballad became far more sophisticated; the ballads of *Tickler's Jam* and of the *Jolly old Sergeant Major*, sung in Y. M. C. A. and Church Army huts to piano accompaniment, are readily distinguishable from their ruder predecessors. They were censored by authority, and the singer seldom wanted to be returned to trench duty for expressing in his compositions any feeling of despondency or weariness of war. Then came a whole flood of cultural balladry of a patriotic nature from England and gramophones and even, a few miles behind the line, concert parties of civilians, male and female. The ballad-proper retreated to the less-centralized theatres of war in the East, and only lingered in France in a few battalions or corps where disciplined moral was not particularly strong.

STYLE

1. Herbert Read⁹⁾

Hugh of Lincoln [or *The Jew's Daughter*] is a true ballad in so

9) *Phases of English Poetry*, pp. 21-23. See also pp. 57ff. for Read's interesting lecture on the close similarity between the early divine poetry and the ballad style, and on how the divine poetry of the sixteenth and

noticed in the general history of the ballad. In the winter of 1914-1915, when the greater part of the original expeditionary force had been put out of action, when the next Kitchener divisions had not yet come out and the ranks of the original units had been filled with old reservists and raw troops, discipline in the Old Army sense was considerably weakened. The non-commissioned officers were newly promoted and the junior officers untrained, so that, hardships and dangers being excessive and the smaller units thrown very much on their own resources, there was for a time a fraternization of all ranks which was inconceivable in the old regular army, and sternly discouraged in all regiments at a later stage in the War.

This temporary change in the structure of the military group led to remarkable instances of communal action, as opposed to action organized by orders from above: fortunately this communal action took the form of attack and defence more often than that of flight. At this stage appeared the ballad, both the 'forebitter,' so to speak, for singing in billets, and the 'chanty' for marching. Musical instruments there were none beyond the mouth organ or a rare concertina, nor were there *Liederbüchchen* available like those supplied by the thoughtful German Higher Command. *Tipperary* soon palled, and there was a scarcity of other suitable ballads; perhaps the three most popular marching songs of that date were *Who Killed Cock Robin?*, *One man went to*

one's individuality is by most Englishmen, at any rate of the educated classes, considered to be somehow a greater thing than good citizenship. This is the fundamental difference between primitive and modern society, that under civilization the community has broken up into a number of individual centres loosely bound by bureaucratic administration and settles its disputes or common policy by majority-voting or bayonet-superiority. In politics this individualistic idea is expressed by the general horror of socialism and communism, in religion by profuse sectarianism, while in poetry and music, which is the point to which this argument has been moving, about the only quality which modern critics agree to acknowledge necessary for great art is this 'individuality,' which usually implies the poet's bid for personal ascendancy over the slower-moving part of the community." (*The English Ballad*, pp. 10-11.)

See also Graves' metaphorical reference to modern literary ballad-writers who, admiring anonymous ballads' smoothness of pebbles rounded in a stony stream, "cannot in their own compositions achieve the same smoothness even with grindstone and file." (*Ibid.*, p. 13.)

women betrayed and discarded. The much-abused word 'primitive' may have to serve once more. The ballad-proper seems, then, to have the greatest appeal to members of a closely-bound community, and to those who while experiencing the greater freedom of individualism have no great love of it. So it is no use regretting the decline of the ballad from its first great apple harvest through a 'crab-apple stage' of broad-sheets (Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's phrase) to its final extinction. The ballad's loss is the gain of the lyric and other individualistic forms. Sir Arthur is of opinion that the ballad cannot be compared with the lyric, as children cannot be compared fairly with grown-up people; but he certainly sets most store by the lyric. And this will, of course, be the opinion of nine out of ten readers of poetry in a modern state, even while making blushing admission, as Sir Philip Sidney did in his *Defence of Poesie*, that the ballad of *Percy and Douglas* (that is, *The Battle of Otterbourne*) moves their heart like a trumpet.

3. Robert Graves ⁸⁾

A remarkable revival of the ballad-proper in modern times, not a literary or sentimental revival, took place in the trenches in the early part of the late War. The history of the revival is interesting because these ballads went in a short period through the various stages we have

8) *The English Ballad*, pp. 29-31. Read pays attention to this report as a possibility of ballad improvisations. (See *Phases of English Poetry*, p. 16.)

Graves' experience of the ballad revival is, however, rather exceptional in modern society. He himself recognizes it well enough to say in a different place that "The diversity of religion, politics, occupation, class, wealth, education makes it all but impossible for the individuals to have a whole-hearted respect for the small community of which they are, by residence or other qualification, members. When surprising circumstances occasionally do bind the civilized local group strongly together (but this will imply a partial breakdown of civilization and a weakening of class and other distinctions in face of a common danger or calamity), and when therefore the group-mind does momentarily appear and the individuals formerly out of touch do act in concert as a single unit, this phenomenon is afterwards accounted for with great difficulty by the individuals re-established as individuals. One of the chief reasons why people talk so little now about the surprising social changes that temporarily appeared during the late War, is that they are bewildered and ashamed to think how often they sank their individualities in the national, local or regimental group-mind: for to keep

our very conceptions of the poet and the poet's activity presuppose a condition of pride and of isolation. Inwardly I feel that this life of the intelligence is the only reality, and that the art of poetry is the difficult art of defining the nature of mind and emotion—a veiled activity, leading the poet deep into the obscurities of the human heart. But this is my personal attitude; more dispassionately I recognise that poetry can never again become a popular art until this research is abandoned and the poet gives himself wholly to “the cadence of consenting feet.”

2. Robert Graves ⁷⁾

Perhaps the greatest appreciation of the ballad-proper comes from schoolboys and schoolgirls. It is not only that the simplicity, directness and often the brutality of the narratives please, with absence of the moralizing which they are apt to find insupportable in Wordsworth, a severe handicap to Coleridge and most unfortunate in Shakespeare: but that the communal spirit is strongest in school society, and individualists cannot really appreciate the ballad-proper in its first sense. This last is, I think, what Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch means when he writes in an introduction to his *Oxford Book of Ballads* that the ballad appeals to something childish in the national character. ‘Childish’ is not quite the most suitable word, perhaps, because a great number of the ballads he includes refer to experiences beyond the child's understanding; brutal revenge on unfaithful wives, unhappy childbirth,

7) *The English Ballad*, pp. 33-34. The ballad of *Percy and Douglas*, which is popularly called *Chevy Chase*, is perhaps the most important ballad in the history of ballad appreciation. It is not only that Sir Philip Sidney happened to be moved by it as is mentioned here, but that Joseph Addison paid through this ballad the first serious attention of the sophisticated poet to the literary quality of the traditional balladry. (Cf. *The Spectators*, Nos. 70 & 74, 1711.) And Émile Legouis goes so far as to say that “*Chevy Chase* was one of the medieval poems which induced Romanticism” (É. Legouis & L. Cazamian, *A History of English Literature*, London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., revised 1971, p. 178). Graves, in his autobiographical *Goodbye to All That* (Penguin Books, 1960; first pub. by Cassell 1929, revised 1957), records his own impressive encounter with this ballad: “At Penrallt [one of his ‘several’ preparatory schools] I found a book that had the ballads of ‘Chevy Chase’ and ‘Sir Andrew Barton’ in it; these were the first real poems I remember reading. I saw how good they were” (p. 22).

aspires to write for the masses, to write poetry with the intention that it shall be read and adopted by the people at large, will find himself in the falsest of positions. Coppée or Jammes in France, Whitman and Sandburg in America, Edward Carpenter and Rudyard Kipling in England—these are our so-called popular poets. But how much does the populace care for them? Their poems sell well, no doubt, especially in the case of Coppée, Whitman, and Kipling. But the market is middle-class or bourgeois—students, teachers, and all the half-educated and palpitating devourers of tendentious literature. The real populace—the populace which sings “Tipperary” and “Keeps the home fires burning”—this populace ignores its self-appointed bards.

The only literature which is at the same time vital and popular is the literature of the music-hall. I am not going to suggest that such literature as it at present exists is in any sense poetry. That would be a perverse and snobbish attitude. There is no poetry in “Tipperary” and “Keep the home fires burning”—there is only sentimentality. But it is just a possibility—and no more than a possibility—that the music-hall song and its allied forms—music-hall patter and revue libretto—contain the germ of a new popular poetry. (It is significant that the only poems which suggest such an art are some of Mr Eliot’s recent poems.) The danger of such a poetry is that it should be too derivative from the art which it should transcend—a criticism which I do not apply to Mr Eliot’s poems, which are surely a sardonic comment on the whole situation. I do not mean, however, that the poetry I am envisaging should take the elements of something which already exists in an immature state and give them the form and polish of a preconceived culture. That is quite the wrong method. The poet must instead divine the group-feeling or emotional complex out of which the music-hall song proceeds and which the music-hall song imperfectly satisfies (imperfectly because only temporarily). He must then create a poetry which not only satisfies the immediate emotional needs of the populace, but which also possesses those universal elements of harmony or beauty which ensure permanency. It will not be an easy victory for any poet: it means a surrender of every personal standpoint, and a sacrifice of all pride of knowledge and intelligence. And at present

ANONYMITY

1. Herbert Read ⁶⁾

We are left with only one more question. It is this: How can the modern poet, in face of a hostile world, and with his doctrine of sincerity, find a means of reconciling his world and his art? How can he once more resume his function as the explorer and the educator of human sensibility?

It seems that there is only one ideal solution: it is that the poet should enter again into the first phase of the historical development of poetry, and become the insidious inspirer of a fresh communal poetry. There is no possibility of assuming the *rôle* of the humanist poet, who is the germinating point or nucleus of a renaissance world: the world of the poet is no longer in a state of cultural germination. Nor can he assume the *rôle* of the religious poet; his world is no longer religious in any profound or accepted sense. Nor can he assume the *rôle* of the idealistic or transcendental poet, for to renounce the world and aspire to unity with the spirit of nature or of the universe seems to be the vanity of vanities. How can he with any more hope expect to resume the original *rôle* of the poet, the *rôle* of the ballad-maker?

Not, at any rate, in the obvious way. The poet who nowadays

6) *Phases of English Poetry*, pp. 155-58. About Read's sense of gap between the poet and his world in those days, he reports in his autobiographical *Annals of Innocence and Experience* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1940; revised 1946) as follows: "The poetic sensibility is especially vulnerable, and especially in England. Socially the poet is despised: for the great majority of people he is merely a comic figure, the butt of *Punch* and the music-halls. Poetry as an art has become a secret and shamefaced activity: People are even shy of being seen reading poetry in a train, whereas the public declamation of poetry, as it was practised even in the nineteenth century, and as it is still practised in Russia, is quite unknown" (p. 92).

As to the controversy between communal and individual authorship Read stands for neither, and explains himself as follows: "The [significant thing about all folk-songs is, not how or by whom they were composed, but that they appealed to and were adopted by the community, and once adopted, that they were handed down from generation to generation and from century to century. The really interesting question is: What are the elements in the folk-songs that determine their survival? What, in other words, are their invariable characteristics?" (*Phases of English Poetry*, p. 17).

it derive all other so-called 'ballads,' arising from many different organizations of society, and only bound to the ballad-proper and to each other by the most capricious of ties: indeed it is the common ancestor of all varieties of verse.

The dictionary is the best place to go for a good highest-common-factor definition of the whole ballad family: Dr. Murray gives "a simple spirited poem in short stanzas in which some popular story is graphically told." But a definition wide enough to include poems so far apart as *Lord Randal*, *The Ancient Mariner* and *Felix kept on Walking* is almost valueless. Let us therefore first discuss the features of what literary historians agree to call the "early ballad in English," which is really the ballad-proper if these historians would admit that an early ballad may under certain circumstances be contemporary with civilized literature.

1. The ballad-proper has no known author.
2. There is never an authoritative text of such a ballad.
3. It is incomplete without music, music of a repetitive kind that excites and sustains.
4. Though it may treat of Kings and Queens and notable figures in history, it is local, not cultural.
5. It is oral, not literary.
6. It is not highly advanced technically.
7. It does not moralize or preach or express any partisan bias.
8. It "begins in the last act" of the drama and moves to the final climax without stage directions.

Other common features are perhaps discoverable, but they will all be found intelligible in the light of the eight here detailed, and of this ninth which includes the other eight, that the *ballad-proper is best understood not primarily as a narrative poem or as a song, but as a song and chorus evolved by the group-mind of a community, a group-mind which is more than the sum of the individual minds that compose it, more than the conviction of the strongest or most active clique.* [Graves' italics.]

Douglas Tragedy and *Lord Randal* and *Childe Maurice* and things of that sort.'” But a more hopeful approach to the subject than either intuition or a bare examination of the form and size and geography of the ballad will be that of relating its development to social psychology: that is, discovering what organizations of society produce what sort of ‘ballad.’

The actual word ‘ballad’ came to England comparatively late in our ballad history and comparatively late in its own continental history. It is connected with the word ‘ballet’ and originally meant a song or refrain intended as accompaniment to dancing, but later covered any song in which a group of people socially joined; after transplantation to England it soon came to mean practically any song. So the *Song of Solomon* or *Song of Songs*, which is not a sociable refrain at all but a personal love-lyric, was once called *The Ballad of Ballads*. So also Shakespeare speaks of the “Lover sighing like furnace, With a woeful ballad made to his mistress’ eyebrow.” Let us therefore remember that any specialized use that we make of the word ‘ballad’ is unhistorical; that is, distinctions between the song and the narrative ballad, and between the oral and the literary ballad, or similar distinctions, though convenient for our purposes, did not exist until recent times. Let us also note that to treat of what we are now calling the English ballad-proper as if it had necessarily the same general history as the continental ballad-proper is not permissible. There is no evidence that dancing has been a popular pastime or social ceremony in these islands as long as it has been on the warmer shores of the Mediterranean Sea: the English ballad-proper has thriven most in the drinking-hall to the clattering accompaniment of horn and pewter, and in field, yard and ship as an encouragement for hard group-labour: and labour songs even in the South are as ancient as the dancing ballads. When the word ‘ballad’ was adopted by English singers, though the association with dancing did not survive, there remained latent in it the sense of *rhythmic group action* whether in work or play. Wherever this sense of group action remains in a ballad, let that ballad be distinguished as a ballad-proper; where it does not remain, other labels must be found. For this ballad-proper is earliest in poetic succession; from

it seemed rather to complete the spiritual condition of the Northern races, expanding just those aspects of belief most evident to them—the state of original sin, the transitoriness of earthly joys, and the reality of the supernatural world. The art of such a spiritual condition is an art of escape; an art of the dancing throng or the intoxicated mead-hall; an art of the enthralling narrative or of the quieting lullaby:

Moder, white as lily flour,
Your lulling lesseth my languor.

But though it is an art of escape, it is not an art of deceit or self-deception. Just as in the corresponding plastic or graphic art the tendency is towards an abstraction which nevertheless is always based on, or returns to, the living forms of animals and plants, so in this verbal art of poetry the tendency all the time is to seek the abstraction of the refrain, but always to embroider it with the vitality and vivacity of an eager sensibility.

2. Robert Graves⁵⁾

[This brief survey] is an attempt to trace the gradual development of the ballad from its earliest to its most advanced stages, and to discuss the causes of each differentiation. This is no easy task, as a moment's reflection will show, for such discussion implies a general agreement as to the true meaning of the word 'ballad.' And that is hard to arrive at, principally because most historians of the ballad have attempted to define it merely in terms of subject, length, metre, language, structure, or to confine it geographically and between certain dates in history. This method has involved so many contradictions and exceptions that confidence in it is now waning, and recent editors, though assuming that there *is* a consistent meaning to the word, have admitted that they rely rather on their intuition than on any formula in deciding what is a ballad and what is not; or else evade the issue by agreeing with the late Professor Ker that "In spite of Socrates and his logic we may venture to answer the question 'what is a ballad?' by saying—'Ballad is the *Milldams of Binnorie* and *Sir Patrick Spens* and *The*

5) *The English Ballad*, pp. 7-9.

this very cursory examination of Early English poetry, so that we may see whether they fall into any comprehensive form. Some of these characteristics may be distinguished as external. Firstly, there is the very striking fact of anonymity, and the general absence of an egotistic view-point that goes with it. Whether or not early poetry is written *by* the community, there is no doubt that it is written *for* it.

Secondly, we have the fact that the community accepts the poetry, makes it part of its life, and hands it down as a lively tradition. Poetry—and this is so difficult to realise nowadays—was part of daily life; it was not an esoteric mystery, not something to be hidden in the privacy of the library, not cabinet literature, but a social instrument, an open celebration, a common possession.

Internally, within the form of the poetry itself, we find these distinctive qualities: directness of statement (absence of metaphor); realism or visual definiteness; absence of sentimentality; a tragic conception of life. Implied by these qualities is an extreme simplicity in the mechanism of verse: the verse is not artificial; the rhythms are instinctive, and metre a simple progressive beat devoid of artifice and elaboration....

There is only one more observation to make: the internal characteristics of early poetry are a direct reflection of its external characteristics, and these in their turn are a direct reflection of the social environment within which this early poetry was shaped. A community, as opposed to an individual, is comparatively incoherent; it can only express itself, or receive impressions, by means of a narrow range of symbols. These symbols must be simply constructed, easily apprehended, and so of a wide "community" of appeal. These considerations amply explain the simple structure of early verse. The remaining characteristics are determined by the mentality of the early Northern peoples among whom this poetry arose. This mentality was itself determined by the bitter struggle against the hostile forces of nature. That envying hostility made men not only hardy and courageous in action, but also superstitious and gloomy in belief. The elements they faced were endowed with supernatural attributes, and were only to be exorcised by magic rites. Christianity did little to enliven the prevailing gloom;

of *Usher's Well* and *Hugh of Lincoln*, a distinct Gaelic touch; sometimes, as in *Wednesbury Cocking* and *The Old Cloak*, an obstinate Saxon strain. Sometimes there is a curious intertwining of strands, as in *Loving Mad Tom*, where Saxon and Gael dispute possession of Tom's soul; in the *Demon Lover* there is a curious soft Southern stanza in the rude companionship of the Norse, which heightens the poem strangely. The South has made a considerable contribution to the English ballad. For four hundred years, in the Roman occupation, England was ruled from the South. The Norman Conquest made French the official language in England for three hundred years. And until the end of the Middle Ages the fountainhead of the national religion was at Rome. The ballad stanza itself is from the South; it occurs first, it is said, in the camp songs of the Roman Legionaries. It is by this blending of humours that English poetry, ballad, lyric and all, has won its great renown, for where the air and fire of the Gael, the sea and fire of the Norse, the earth and fire of the Saxons can be reconciled in amity with other lesser contributions, that fifth essence or quintessence of poetry appears, which is variously known as the spirit of wonder, as genius, as divine inspiration. It is clear that the communal authorship of the ballad-proper will produce this harmony more often than the individualistic poet.

DEFINITION

1. Herbert Read ⁴⁾

Let me now gather together the various characteristics revealed by

4) *Phases of English Poetry*, pp. 32-35. For further discussion on the internal characteristics, see **STYLE-1** and **TECHNIQUE-1**. In the second lecture 'Poetry and Humanism' Read refers to Chaucer's complexity, quoting *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV, 116-121, and says "The complexity I have in mind is not one of diction, but of emotion. *The Unquiet Grave* is as sorrowful and more superstitious; "Lollai, lollai, lilit chil" is as tragic and far more fatalistic. But in the lament of Criseyde we have something more—*self-hatred and spiritual sickness*. The mood is subjective, the emotion self-regarding. It is, in Chaucer, a rare phenomenon, but it was eventually to involve *the whole difference between a classical conception of life and the new ideals of humanism.*" (*Ibid.*, pp. 40-41; italics mine.)

advance yet succeeded in killing the negro ballad. Though the white man seldom finds in these ballads much poetic distinction he can hardly deny their musical strength. They were chiefly composed in pre-Abolition days when the plantation gangs were bound together closely by a stringent slavery and a common Christian fervour. They are ballads-proper in every sense and mostly begin with a simple religious statement such as "Good News! The Chariots are coming," or "Ezekiel saw a wheel," from which the loose structure of the communal ballad develops in the usual way.

3. Robert Graves³⁾

A survey of the ballad in English would be incomplete without a study of the different national strains that blend in it. The Gaelic Celts are now reckoned to have been among the earliest inhabitants of this country. The British Celts did not push these out to Ireland and the Scottish Highlands so much as absorb them and give them their own language and culture. The British Celts in their turn were not so much pushed out to Wales and Cornwall as absorbed by the Angles and the Saxons. The Danes who settled on the East Coast soon began intermarrying with the Anglo-Saxon Celts. But if we examine the ancient poetry and romance of the contributory peoples where these have lived more or less unmixed with each other, it is surprising to find what absolutely different temperaments they have. *Beowulf* for the Scandinavians, the *Nibelungen Lied* for the Teutons, the *Mabinogion* for the British Celts, *The Cuchulain saga* for the Gaelic Celts, the *Romaunt of the Rose* for the Norman-French; they seem continents apart. The old mediaeval theory of the four humours that compose man may be conveniently used as an analogy in discussing these various strains.

As warlike peoples they all have the element of fire in their race, but the Saxon compounds it with earth, the Gael with air, the Briton with earth and air, the Norse-man with water, a salty water. In the English ballad, where all these strains are in fusion, we get sometimes, as in the border ballads, even though the subjects are not usually concerned with the sea, the Norse sea-taste; sometimes, as in the *Wife*

3) *The English Ballad*. pp. 35-36.

topical appeal, and seïdom did, while recent researches of the Folk Song Societies show that the old oral ballad has surprisingly survived in the countryside to our day and versions are found most unexpectedly in places like the East End of London, and the Appalachian Mountains of America where the early settlers brought them. But, the ballad minstrel being gone, few pieces in the old vein were composed after Elizabethan times: the towns had their topical verses, and in the country there were few events of dramatic importance to be celebrated. Common danger appears to be one of the chief formative influences of the ballad-proper: and danger, except the dangers of sickness, tempest and famine, had largely been ruled out of country life. There remained only the humorous ballad: and the great Nonconformist religious movements in the early part of last century swept away a good deal of the broader pieces. The ones that survived popularly were witty rather than humorous. But the humorous ballad no less than other varieties was influenced by the broadsheet; there are few later pieces of the type of *The Old Cloak* or *Get out and Bar the Door, Oh!* Though *Wednesbury Cocking* is unusually free from Grub-street influence, it has characteristics obvious enough which prevent it from being called a ballad-proper. Clearly it is written by a cynic who has no real part in the community and is hardly a song which would be popularly accepted.

So for more recent examples of the ballad-proper in English we must look outside England to the new territories in America and Australia, where groups of English-speaking colonists bound together by common dangers and interests and separated by the sea from civilization are able to form an intense communal life. The south-west of the United States fifty years ago was especially rich in ballads; but well-planned and standardized towns have now sprung up where the cowboy then built his camp fire, and national American culture has triumphed both in music and poetry. In Australia the up-country ballad has likewise been killed by the gramophone and other missionaries of culture. But the trappers in the far north-east of Canada still sing their long melancholy ballads in English and Colonial French. Nor has the emancipation of the American negro and his recent great educational

alone. A circle has been completed—completed only within the last generation or two. But the complete circle is a very forbidding metaphor. What exactly does it imply? It might imply that no further development is possible; that poetry has reduced itself to a condition of stalemant. I shall not resort to Goethe's subterfuge of a spiral; rather I shall suggest that extremes meet—that the most significant types of modern poetry have elements in common with the earliest poetry, and if a metaphor or image of our present condition is wanted, you will find it in one of the most representative of modern poems:

Here we go round the prickly pear,
Prickly pear prickly pear
Here we go round the prickly pear
At five o'clock in the morning.

[T. S. Eliot, *The Hollow Men.*]

We must begin our examination of English poetry at a point far removed from its actual origins. In Anglo-Saxon poetry we find certain formal characteristics which were to become a part of the native tradition; but even Anglo-Saxon poetry is already a highly developed art-form. For direct poetic evidence—that is to say, poetry which still has a direct appeal to the common reader—we cannot go beyond Chaucer; and Chaucer represents a very high level of culture—a level which has not been surpassed very obviously by any poet since Chaucer. But, luckily, there is one body of material which, though not necessarily prior in the historical sense, does in the general sense, the only sense that matters for our purpose, offer reliable analogies to primitive poetry. It is sufficient, at any rate, to provide us with a starting-point. I mean the traditional ballad.

2. Robert Graves²⁾

The broadsheet seller put the ballad minstrel out of trade, but that is not to say that the old oral ballad itself was thereby killed. The journalistic or political broadsheet was never intended to outlast its

2) *The English Ballad: A Short Critical Survey* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1927), pp. 27-28.

STUDY MATERIALS
ON THE LITERARY BALLAD

APPENDIX: POETS ON THE BALLAD (2)

—Herbert Read and Robert Graves—

Mitsuyoshi Yamanaka

HERITAGE

1. Herbert Read ¹⁾

My general thesis will be, that poetry has developed from the widest possible appeal—an appeal commensurate with the community itself—to the narrowest possible appeal—the poet appealing to himself

1) *Phases of English Poetry* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1928; rpt. by The Folcroft Press Inc., 1970), pp.10-12. Though Read traces the phases of development throughout the lectures, it should be noticed, he is critical about “an absolute dualism between poetry with a verbal or oral tradition... and poetry with a written tradition,” because, he says, “The act of writing poetry, even when that poetry is most stilted and artificial, is actually a method of representing sound by symbols....The means...is always in essence the same, differing only in degree of refinement or subtlety; it is the men that change, by enlarging their categories” (pp. 36-37).

In the last lecture ‘Modern Poetry’ Read illustrates the phases by a series of diagrams as follows: “In the first the poet coincides with his circle; in the second he is a point within the circle; in the third he is a point on the circumference; and finally he is a point outside the circle. These are respectively the positions of the anonymous creator of ballad poetry, the humanist poet, the religious poet, and the romantic poet. The ballad poet is identical with the world he lives in. The humanist poet is the nucleus of his world, the focus of intelligence and intellectual progress. The religious poet lives at the periphery of his world—at the point where his world is in contact with the infinite universe. The romantic poet is in his own universe; the world for him is either rejected as unreal in favour of some phantom world, or is identified with the poet’s own feelings. The four phases complete a cycle, beginning with the world as poet and ending with the poet as world. *My presumption is that the typical modern poet is aware of the completion of this cycle, and as a consequence either despairs of his function, or is desperately anxious to find a way out of the state of eccentricity*” (pp.130-31; italics mine). For his not necessarily hopeful solution of this deadlock of modern poetry, see ANONYMITY-1.

修道僧の、老水夫の、そして鎧の騎士の、この苦悶の内にさまよう姿こそ、ロマン派の詩人たちの象徴的な姿といえよう。既に述べたように、彼らはバラッド世界の人々の精神の自由に飛翔する姿に強く引きつけられて、彼ら自身の現実に妥協しない飛翔する姿を様々に描いてゆきながら、しかしその姿には何処までも、この「苦悩する魂」(‘soul in agony’)から解放されない悲しみがつきまとうのである。

T. S. Eliot が、詩とは感情や個性の表現ではなくそれからの逃避である、と言った言葉の裏で、感情や個性を持ったもののみがそれらから逃避したいということの意味を最もよく知るものである、と言っている言葉の重みが生きてくる。‘Impersonal’であるべしということは、それは要するに‘personal’であることからの脱出の願望であり、願望とは所詮、果たしえないものへの願望であって、バラッドという最も‘impersonal’な世界にむけてその果たしえない願望を投げかけた姿こそ、ロマン派以降今日まで詩人たちがバラッドを模倣した詩—Literary Ballad—を書くときの姿だったと言えるのではないか。

が一人また一人と死んでゆく死の海の唯中で、ただ一人死ぬことの出来ない自分の姿を次のように語る老水夫の苦悶そのものは、Shelley の修道僧の苦悶と同質のものである。

Alone, alone, all, all alone,
Alone on the wide wide sea!
And never a saint took pity on
My soul in agony.

(L1. 232-35)

陸にあがった老水夫は、森の隠者に彼の不思議な経験を語り、「苦しみ」('agony') を解かれるが、しかしそれ以来、'Agony' が訪れる度毎に、この話を人に聞いてもらって苦しみを解かれるために国中をまわっている。老水夫には永遠に、自らの経験を譬えとしてあらゆる神の創造物を愛することを教えてまわる「苦行」('penance') が科せられてしまったわけである。

「苦しむ魂」('soul in agony') のこのようにしてさまよえる姿は、そのまま John Keats の描いた「鎧の騎士」の姿でもある。「つれなき麗しの妖精」('la belle dame sans merci') の魔性の恋に魅入られた鎧の騎士は、永遠にその恋の呪縛を解かれることはない。

O what can ail thee Knight at arms
Alone and palely loitering?
The sedge is withered from the Lake
And no birds sing!

And this is why I sojourn here
Alone and palely loitering;
Though the sedge is withered from the Lake
And no birds sing—

(Sts. 1 & 12)¹⁶⁾

この *La Belle Dame sans Merci* (1820) の最初と最後のスタンザの繰返される円環形式そのものが、このうたを、そして恋に呪縛された鎧の騎士のさまよう姿を、いつまでも続けさせてしまうのである。¹⁷⁾

16) From *The Oxford Book of English Verse of the Romantic Period*, chosen by H.S. Milford (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1928; rpt. 1974).

17) 詳細は、藪下卓郎「ロマン派詩人にとってのバラッド—キーツの 'La Belle Dame sans Merci' を中心に」、『季刊英文学』第11巻第3号(1974), pp. 148-67を参照。

れないのに対し、この修道僧の姿には Shelley という一個の詩人自身の精神の苦悩を重ね合わせざるをえない。この詩がつくられた 1811 年という年は、彼が『無神論の必然性』(*The Necessity of Atheism*) というパンフレットを出版してオックスフォード大学を追放された年であるが、理想に燃えて年わずか 16 才のロンドンの居酒屋の娘 Harriet Westbrook との結婚、その後 Mary Godwin との恋愛、それが為に Harriet の入水自殺、彼自身も 30 才の若さで溺死するという、激しく壮烈な運命をたどった Shelley にとって、詩を書くということは、彼が生涯をかけて闘った愛と革命の理想主義の正に実践に他ならなかった。

そのような魂の苦行を一人の老水夫の世にも不思議な体験を通して語らせた Coleridge の *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798) は、いうまでもなくロマン派を代表する傑作であると共に、バラッドの伝統の中から生まれた、模倣であることと独自の詩であることの両方の点を十二分にそなえた Literary Ballad 中最高傑作のひとつであろう。Coleridge における 'ballad sources' については、既に古く J. L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu* (1927; revised 1930) や、D. R. Tuttle, "Christabel Sources in Percy's *Reliques* and the Gothic Romances," *PMLA*, LIII (1938) 等の研究に尽くされていようが、ロマン派以降の Literary Ballad の殆んどすべてについて言えることは、18 世紀の Tickell の場合にみたように或るひとつの元歌を模倣して作られたというものでは決してない。バラッドの持っている内容と表現、形式の様々な要素をどのように活用しているかということで、詩人それぞれの違いが生じ、Literary Ballad の独自性そのものが生み出されてくるわけである。Friedman の次の言葉を紹介しておこう。

"The great poems inspired by the ballads, those of Coleridge, Keats, and Rossetti, accept the inspiration lightly and transpose the ballad notes into a personal literary key. Paradoxically, the ballad's influence may be least obvious in the poet who has most thoroughly assimilated them into his personal style."¹⁴⁾

さて話を老水夫に戻して、彼の経験した超自然的世界は、今その描写をいちいち紹介する必要もないが、Lewis や Shelley を遙かに越えた 'poetic reality'¹⁵⁾ の世界を顕現していることは確かである。しかし、200 人の乗組員たち

14) *The Ballad Revival*, p. 260.

15) 脚注 9 参照。

迫力が他のロマン派の詩人たちの想像力を大いに刺激したことである。Coleridge はもとより、W. Scott や P. B. Shelley の初期の詩に多大な影響を及ぼしたと言われる。しかも重要なことは、Lewis にあっては単に 'Gothic horror' でしかありえなかった超自然的世界が、他のロマン派詩人たちによって、人間精神の苦悩の場として作品化されていったということであろう。

超自然的世界の迫力の点でも、また、ゴシック風の雰囲気全体からも Lewis に匹敵すると思われる Shelley の *Sister Rosa: A Ballad* (1811) という作品がある。この詩が最早、決して単に Lewis 風の 'Gothic horror' を目的にして書かれたものでないことは一読してわかる。修道僧の愛と孤独と絶望と死をこそ、この詩はうたっている。尼僧 Rosa との間にどのような愛の経緯があったのかはいっさい語られない。バラッド常套の 'Abrupt Opening' は、その Rosa の臨終を告げる鐘が鳴るところから始まるが、全 100 行の間、Rosa を失った修道僧の苦悶がめんめんと続く。

Then his eyes wildly rolled,
When the death-bell tolled,
And he raged in terrific woe.
And he stamped on the ground,—
But when ceased the sound,
Tears again began to flow.

And the ice of despair
Chilled the wild throb of care,
And he sate in mute agony still;
Till the night-stars shone through the cloudless air,
And the pale moonbeam slept on the hill. (Sts. 5-6)¹³⁾

伝統的バラッドの世界では唯事実としてのみ淡々と語られる愛と死が、ここでは最早その事実が問題なのではなくて、その愛と死の中に展開される人間の精神の苦悩こそが問われるのである。その瞬間に Literary Ballad は、形式その他の点がどんなに似たものであっても、その模倣とするバラッドからは精神的な訣別をとげるものである、と言わざるをえない。更にバラッドにおいては、それをつくった人の存在は文字通り 'anonymous' なものとしてまったく問わ

13) From *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. by Thomas Hutchinson (London: Oxford U. P., 1932).

ラッド詩がある。恋人に裏切られた Alonzo の亡霊がかつての恋人 Imogine の婚礼の席に現れるという筋書きは、バラッドお得意の手口で、その意味では忠実であるわけだが、その亡霊の現れ方や現実界の人間の受けとめ方は丸で違う。鎧の下は蛆虫が這いづりまわるというその Alonzo の奇怪な姿は、当然のことながらその場の人たちを一瞬にして地獄の恐怖に落とし込む。例の Harris の恋人 Jane のように、その亡霊を再び愛し始めるなど思いも及ばない。Alonzo の亡霊は Imogine を両腕にかき抱いて消えてゆくが、それでもまだおさまらず、彼の復讐は次のようにこの上もなく恐ろしく続くのである。

At midnight four times in each year does her sprite,
When mortals in slumber are bound,
Array'd in her bridal apparel of white,
Appear in the hall with the skeleton-knight,
And shriek as he whirls her around.

While they drink out of skulls newly torn from the grave,
Dancing round them pale spectres are seen:
Their liquor is blood, and this horrible stave
They howl:—"To the health of Alonzo the Brave,
And his consort, the False Imogine!" (Sts. 16-17)¹¹⁾

恐らくこの詩は、このような奇怪な光景と恐怖を描くことだけが目的で書かれたとしか思えないほど、その意味では見事な出来ばえを示していると言えよう。Lewis のこの詩が、この種のゴシック風恐怖譚 (Gothic horror ballad) の代表作といわれる所以である。¹²⁾ Lewis の功績は、彼のこの種の超自然的世界の

11) From *The Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse*, chosen by D.N. Smith (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1926; rpt. 1966).

12) 一般的に Gothic Ballad と「逸脱」の問題については、次の Friedman の言葉参照: "The Gothic ballads were only possible because an era of enlightenment separated them from the period when demons, witches, and miscellaneous apparitions were taken seriously. They could not have been written, and certainly they would not have been read with pleasure, at a time when such supernatural manifestations were felt as a real presence. By the same token, the balladists had no real faith in their ghostly imaginings; indeed, their conscious intention was to create something "spooky," not to inspire their readers with awe. Necessarily, therefore, there is an air of insincerity and self-consciousness about these ballads that makes them totter precariously on the brink of burlesque, and their feverish sensationalism does not help their balance." (A.B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961, pp. 289-90.)

のままにいろいろと話し始める。注目すべきは、今は他人の妻となっている Jane の、亡霊に対する応対ぶりである。女には亡霊に対する恐怖心は微塵もなく、まったく生きた人間としてかつての恋人に應對する。そしてついにはその恋人を再び愛するようになるのである。

When he had told her these fair tales,
To love him she began,
Because he was in human shape,
Much like unto a man.

And so together away they went
From off the English shore,
And since that time the woman-kind
Was never seen no more.

(Sts. 27-28)¹⁰⁾

これこそバラッドの世界であり、幾世紀にもわたってバラッドを口伝えてきた人々にとっては、この超自然性はまったく 'natural' な 'Reality' の世界として信じられ、受けとめられてきたものであった。洗練された詩の世界には無縁であった民衆の、このような精神の自由に飛翔する世界こそ何にもまして 'Poetry' の世界であることに、やがてロマン派の詩人たちは強く引きつけられてゆくわけだが、しかし彼らにとっては、その超自然性は、最早バラッド世界におけるようにどこまでも 'natural' なものとして受けとめられるのではなく、あくまでも自然を越えた特別なものとしての意味を込めて受けとめられるのである。彼らがどんなに自由なる 'Imagination' の世界を強調しても、所詮それは、そのように自覚された意識の世界であることを越えられないという悲しきがつきまってくる。その意味では、Percy の *Reliques* に代表される 'Ballad Revival' を契機にしてロマン派の詩人たちが他のどの時代にもまして数多くの Literary Ballad を書き残していながら、根本的な次元でロマン派の世界はバラッドの世界と次元を異にするとさえ言えよう。むしろその点では、ロマン派以降の詩の中で、例えば D.G. Rossetti や T. Hardy や Yeats の世界でこそ、再び亡霊たちはバラッド世界での 'Identity' を回復してくるのである。

バラッドの超自然的世界をロマン派の詩人たちがどのように逸脱した形で継承してゆくか——この問題は、また別に詳細に論じる機会を得たいが、以下、限られた紙数の内に急ぎ進んでみよう。

M. G. Lewis に *Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogine* (1796) というバ

10) Child 243 A.

二人の恋人の *Metamorphosis* を果たしえないこの逸脱は、いまひとつの重要な逸脱と無関係ではないだろう。それは、共に裏切られた Margaret と Lucy の、恋人との出逢い方である。既にみてきたように、Margaret は亡霊となって William の寝床に現れ(脚注6参照)、彼と会話を交わす。そして William は、「腕に抱かれた栗色の女性より、ベッドの足元に立っている色白の人(即ち、Margaret の亡霊)の方がもっと好きだ」と答えるのである。一方 Lucy の方は、「死体」として Colin の前に運ばれるのである(脚注8参照)。この違いが、殆んど必然的に、同じ死んだ恋人に対面した時の William と Colin の描写を著しく異なったものにしてしている。死んだ Margaret に優しくくちづけする William の姿(st.16)に対して、Colin の方は、

Confusion, shame, remorse, despair
 At once his bosom swell:
 The damps of death bedew'd his brow,
 He shook, he groan'd, he fell. (St. 14)

と表現されているが、'confusion', 'shame', 'remorse', 'despair' といった 'prosaic' に硬直した言葉は、Colin の感情を生き生きと伝えていない。そして何よりも重要な違いは、William には「苦悩」ではなくて接吻の「行為」があるのみなものに対して、Colin には後悔・絶望の苦悶こそが表現されている。この「行為」から「苦悩」への逸脱は、のちほど触れるロマン派詩人たちに繋がる重要な逸脱である。

亡霊となって現れ、生きた姿そのままに話を交わす Margaret と、死体として運び込まれる Lucy は、バラッドの模倣と逸脱の象徴的姿を示していると言いたい。今ひとつ、*The Daemon Lover* という古いバラッドを例にとってみよう。恋人の Jane と Harris は結婚の契りを交わすが、貧しいために Harris は海に稼ぎに出かける。三年待っても帰って来ず、やがて彼が死んだという噂が届く。Jane はとても悲しむが、その内、別の男と結婚して三人の子供ももうけ、幸せに暮らしている。或るとき Harris の亡霊が現れて、生きた人間そ

He prayeth best, who loveth best / All things both great and small; / For the dear God who loveth us, / He made and loveth all." (Ll. 610-17; from Coleridge: *Poetical Works*, London: Oxford U.P., 1912; rpt. 1973.) 勿論この詩の真価は、このような説教調にあるのではなく、Graves のいう 'poetic reality', 即ち、老水夫の物語る経験界そのものの「力」にあることは言うまでもないであろう。(Cf. Robert Graves, *The Crowning Privilege: Collected Essays on Poetry*, Penguin Books, 1959, pp. 284-85.)

Remember Colin's dreadful fate,
And fear to meet him there.

(Sts. 16-18)

恋に裏切られて先に死んだ Margaret の墓の上にはバラが、あと追いついて死んだ William の墓の上には茨が生えて、ふたつが絡みあって「恋結び」(“a true lover's knot”)を結び、そのようにして死んで永遠に結ばれたとあって終わる *Fair Margaret and Sweet William* の最後のスタンザは、このバラッドを草木の精霊譚として最も代表的なものにしている見事なスタンザである。一方の *Colin and Lucy* の方は、この草木の恋結びの点を或る意味では踏襲しながらも、最も大切な点で著しく弱めている。即ち、元歌のテーマは所謂 'Metamorphosis' で、その「恋結び」は、死んで本当の愛で結ばれた彼ら自身の愛の力によるものであるのに対して、*Colin and Lucy* の方では、「恋結び」を結うのは当人の Colin と Lucy の力ではなくて、その墓に詣でる第三者の村の恋人たちになっているのである。皮肉な見方をすれば、その前のスタンザ (st. 16) の「おなじ草葉の蔭で おなじ土をかぶって／いつの世までも コリンはルーシーと一緒に眠っている」というのは、それは要するに単に同じ墓に眠っているだけで、生前の愛の裏切りは死後も決して赦されるものではなく、二人は同じ墓の中に眠りながら冷たく背を向けあっている、ということこそ作者は暗に言っているのかも知れない。

このようながった読み方が許されそうに思えるのは、最終スタンザの「うそつきの若者は誰であろうと／この神聖な場所には近寄らぬこと／コリンの恐ろしい運命を忘れるな／そして 墓場で彼と出逢わぬことだ」という言葉とも関係している。既に第4スタンザのところでも、「お人好しの娘たちよ ルーシーを戒めとして／口上手な若者らには 気をつけるのだ／うそつきの若者たちよ 裏切られた契りにはつきものの／当然の復讐に 気をつけるがよい」(“By Lucy warn'd, of flattering swains／Take heed, ye easy fair:／Of vengeance due to broken vows,／Ye perjured swains, beware.”) といった調子の表現があるのだが、これは明らかに読者 (Broadside Ballad の場合は「聴衆」) に向けられた説教調であり、出来の悪い Broadside Ballad のいってみれば「辻説法」調に他ならない。⁹⁾

9) Cf. Appendix: TECHNIQUE-2 (R. Graves). 興味深いのは、のちほど別の問題から触れる S. T. Coleridge の傑作 *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* できえ、18世紀 Literary Ballad によくみられるこの種の逸脱の伝統をちゃんと踏まえていることである: “Farewell, farewell! but this I tell／To thee, thou Wedding-Guest!／He prayeth well, who loveth well／Both man and bird and beast.／

一方、Tickell の *Colin and Lucy* は、Thomas Gray が “the prettiest in the world” と称えたように、次のような美しいスタンザで始まる。

Of Leinster, fam'd for maidens fair,
Bright Lucy was the grace;
Nor e'er did Liffy's limpid stream
Reflect so fair a face.

Till luckless love, and pining care
Impair'd her rosy hue,
Her coral lip, and damask cheek,
And eyes of glossy blue. (Sts. 1-2)⁷⁾

話の筋そのものは似たようなもので、恋人の Colin に裏切られた Lucy は、やつれ果てて死んでゆく。死ぬ前に村の娘たちにむかって、幸せな花婿の Colin に逢いに行くから死体を運んでくれ、と頼む。⁸⁾ 教会での結婚式の場に運び込まれた Lucy の死体を見て Colin は、激しい後悔の念に襲われ、呻き声をあげて倒れ、死んでしまう。そして Lucy と同じひとつの墓に埋められるわけだが、次に紹介するこちらの方の最後の三つのスタンザと、先の元歌の最後のところを比較したい。

Then to his Lucy's new-made grave,
Convey'd by trembling swains,
One mould with her, beneath one sod,
For ever now remains.

Oft at their grave the constant hind
And plighted maid are seen;
With garlands gay, and true-love knots
They deck the sacred green.

But, swain forsworn, who'er thou art,
This hallow'd spot forbear;

7) *Reliques*, III, 313 (XVII; *Reliques* に収められている詩の表題は *Lucy and Colin* である)。

8) 続くスタンザ: “She spoke, she dy'd;—*her corse was borne,* /The bride-groom blithe to meet.” (St. 12; italics mine.)

分承知していたことが、のちほど触れる草木の恋結びの点からだけでも明らかに窺えるからである。⁴⁾

元歌では、Margaret の恋人であった William が、彼女を裏切って別の女性と結婚する。その二人が教会に向かうのを目撃した Margaret は、“Down she cast her iv’ry comb, /And up she tossed her hair, /She went out from her bowr alive, /But never so more came there.”⁵⁾と語られる。一日が過ぎて、人々が寝静まった夜になって、Margaret の亡霊が William の新婚の夜の床に現れて⁶⁾、“How d’ye like your bed, Sweet William? /How d’ye like your sheet? /And how d’ye like that brown lady, /That lies in your arms asleep?” (st. 8) と尋ねる。すると William は、“Well I like my bed, Lady Margaret, /And well I like my sheet; /But better I like that fair lady /That stands at my bed’s feet.” (st. 9) と答える。やがて夜が明け、William は Margaret の家に出かけて行って、「彼女はどこに？」と尋ねると、家のものは「彼女は柩の中に眠っています」と答える。そのあと最後まで三つのスタンザは次の通りである。

‘Open the winding sheet,’ he cry’d,
‘That I may kiss the dead;
That I may kiss her pale and wan
Whose lips used to look so red.’

Lady Margaret [died] on the over night,
Sweet William died on the morrow;
Lady Margaret died for pure, pure love,
Sweet William died for sorrow.

On Margaret’s grave there grew a rose,
On Sweet William’s grew a briar;
They grew till they joind in a true lover’s knot,
And then they died both together. (Sts. 16-18)

4) Mallet の *William and Margaret* ではこの草木の恋結びを完全に無視している。その上、全68行中36行という半分以上にわたって Margaret の亡霊が綿綿と述べる恋の恨み言は、バラッド本来の語り口にこの上もなく反したものである。

5) F. J. Child (ed.), *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), II, 201 (74 B).

6) “In glided Margaret’s grimly ghost, /And stood at William’s feet.” (St. 7)

(1686-1740) の作品に *Colin and Lucy* (1725) という詩がある。当時、David Mallet (1705?-1765) 作 *William and Margaret* (1724) というバラッド詩が大変な人気を博しており、Tickell はこれに対抗して意識的に模倣しながら、物語の舞台をアイルランドに設定してこの詩を書きあげたわけだが、実は Tickell が対抗した当の *William and Margaret* は、後の詩人・文学史家らの高い評価にもかかわらず、²⁾ いささかいわくつきのバラッドである。当人の Mallet によれば、たまたま彼の目にとまった F. Beaumont と J. Fletcher 共作の *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1609; printed 1613) のなかに引用されていた古いバラッドの一節にヒントをえて、彼がかねて聞き知っていた或る若い女性の不幸な事件を物語り風に仕上げたものである、というわけだが、³⁾ 実際にはこの作品は、かねて *Fair Margaret's Misfortunes* の名で最もよく知られ流布していた *Fair Margaret and Sweet William* という 'anonymous' なバラッドの 'modernised version' であった。従って、*Colin and Lucy* という一篇の Literary Ballad の模倣と逸脱を論じるには二重の元歌があってややこしいが、話をわかり易くするために、そしてまた、バラッド本来の 'ANONYMITY' と 'anonymous' でありえない詩人の意識を対比するために、*Colin and Lucy* の元歌を *Fair Margaret and Sweet William* に絞って論じたい。それは、Tickell 自身この 'anonymous' な元歌を充

ている: "Tickell, in the rest of his work, is an imitator, and indeed better than a mere follower. But his elegy *To the Earl of Warwick, on the Death of Mr. Addison*, is a justly famous poem, sincere in its emotion, which does not dare to be simple, and invests itself in pompous phraseology, but elevates it with the ardour of inspiration; and the music of his sentiment has here found for its suggestion a rhythm which is truly funereal, organ notes one might say, whilst the great images of death are evoked. None of the traits of elegiac Romanticism is absent, not even the avowal of the bitter pleasure the poet finds in grief." (É. Legouis & L. Cazamian, *A History of English Literature*, London, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., revised 1971, p. 741.)
ここに指摘されている「模倣者」としての Tickell の側面のうちにも既に Romanticism に繋がる萌芽が窺えるというのが、この小論の展開になる。

2) 例えば、Thomas Percy は "one of the most beautiful ballads in our own or any other language" と称え [*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, ed. by H.B. Wheatley (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966), III, 309], G. Saintsbury は "Any single copy of verses [does not] deserve so much credit for setting the eighteenth century back on the road of true romantic poetry by an easy path, suited to its own tastes and powers." と述べている。 [*Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. by A.W. Ward & A.R. Waller (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1912; rpt. 1932), IX, 185-86.]

3) Cf. *Reliques*, III, 308-309; A.H. Ehrenpreis (ed.), *The Literary Ballad* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1966), p. 25.

Colin and Lucy—バラッドの模倣と逸脱—

山 中 光 義

はじめに、『文芸と思想』前号より掲載の Literary Ballad 研究資料としての ‘POETS ON THE BALLAD’ シリーズについて。この企画の意図については前号の「序文」に触れた通りであり、最終的にはこれらの資料を通して窺える近代以降現代に至るまでの詩人たちのバラッドに対する意識を総合的にまとめあげなくてはならず、その機会はこのシリーズが進展した先の段階に待つとして、資料編纂項目のなかの ‘ANONYMITY’ ということについて些か触れておきたい。

これについても前号の「序文」でその要点は述べているが、‘ANONYMITY’ の項目がこの ‘POETS ON THE BALLAD’ の中心的項目であることを再度確認しておきたい。そして、「バラッドの匿名性をめぐる近代・現代詩人の意識」（仮称）論は、それ独自のものとして最終的に論じられなくてはならないだろう。これこそ Literary Ballad 研究の基本的要素となるものであると考えるからである。

バラッドの匿名性—ANONYMITY—を詩人がどのように意識しているか——これは、大いなる逆説をこめた問いである。最早どのようにも ‘anonymous’ でありえない詩人—Sophisticated Poet—がバラッドという最も ‘impersonal’ な詩の形式に期待する姿は、そのまま、詩人の極めて ‘personal’ な自己表現の姿である。W. B. Yeats がバラッドに期待したものは、正にこの「自己表現の新しい方法」であった（前号, ANONYMITY-1 及び注参照）。

18世紀以来今日までの Literary Ballad の系譜とは、時代によりまた個々の詩人によって多様でありながら、結局このバラッドの匿名性に託した逆説的自己表現に他ならない。以下、この逆説の濃度を、最も典型的な模倣と逸脱の例を示している 18世紀初期の作品を通して眺めてみたい。

Chevy Chase を論じてバラッドの文学性に初めて本格的な視点をむけた例の Joseph Addison の保護を受け、哀歌 *To the Earl of Warwick, on the Death of Mr. Addison* (1721)¹⁾ でその名を知られている Thomas Tickell

1) 18世紀古典主義の中にあつて既に Romanticism の閃きを示す「例外的」詩人の一人として Tickell を位置づける Louis Cazamian はこの詩を次のように評価し