"Thritti Platen", Robyn Hode, and the Cherry Tree:

The Appearance of Religion in the Medieval English Ballad Canon

Dorottya Cseresnyés

I. Introduction

Since Francis James Child's five-volume collection *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*—often referred to as the *Child Ballads* (Simpson, Roud, 2000)—, the research of this part of the English language folklore has produced numerous studies by folklorists and literary scholars. This paper also deals with medieval English ballads; however, this time the focus is on religious, notably Christian-themed ballads. The matter is particularly intriguing to investigate due to its ambivalent nature: religious ballads showcase the intersection of two cultural and social layers. I will aim to examine this overlooked segment of the ballad canon, highlighting its history, development, and unique themes through the analysis of three pieces of Child's collection, namely *Judas* (No. 23), *The Gest of Robyn Hode* (No. 117), and *The Cherry-Tree Carol* (No. 54). I chose these ballads to demonstrate my topic from three angles: from the documented English ballad literature's starting point (*Judas*) through an outlaw's dual attitude towards religion (*The Gest of Robyn Hode*) to an apocryphal carol (*The Cherry-Tree Carol*).

In the first part, the essay will attempt to illustrate the theories and questions regarding the English ballad's origin by looking at Louise Pound and Gordon Gerould Hall's theory on the matter. Then it will examine another significant group of Child's collection: the carol. Here, I will argue with R. L. Greene on whether the connection between ballads and carols is possible. This will lead to the analysis of the selected ballads of Child's collection in view of the formerly presented arguments. Finally, I will conclude with the attempt to answer the questions that have been raised beforehand.

II. Hypotheses Regarding the Origins of the English Ballad

It is difficult to come to a sole conclusion regarding the genesis of the English ballad. While the word 'ballad'—originating from the Latin 'ballare'—etymologically means 'dance song' (Pound, 1920), there is still a strong disagreement among scholars whether the genre was connected to dancing at all. Pound argues that the term 'ballad' was applied to "the traditional

lyric-epic" (Pound, 1920) in the eighteenth century, and thus associating ballads with dancing is not adequately supported. However, Pound does not consider the undocumented lyric-epics and rejects the connection of ballads and dancing altogether. She originates English ballad literature entirely from religion. I partly agree since the earliest ballads in the Child corpus resemble religious genres—such as the mystery play, miracle play, and sermon—more closely. However, the denial of secular development in ballad literature in the absence of sufficient documents is a very hasty argument. For instance, some of these religious ballads, in many ways, crucially differ from their biblical sources: they often utilize apocryphal stories. This results in questions such as: is not Christianity just an influence on English ballad literature rather than its origin? Were the religious ballads modified versions of folksongs, used for the edifying endeavor of the Church? However, according to Elizabeth Phillips McConathy's study, the English Church had unusual freedom to hold masses in the native tongue and use apocryphal stories relatively freely as well. Nonetheless, the above-mentioned deviation from canonized stories and the addition of folkloric elements could also showcase the process of rebellion against Christian traditions, and thus, hypothetically, one may regard these ballads to root in religion—though we must be careful with such conclusions since there is so little data available from early times. It is also important to mention that there are folkloric elements in these ballads that we do not know the date of. Louise Pound, in her essay titled "The English Ballads and The Church" suggests that English ballads, as well as many other primarily religious genres, were slowly secularized and disintegrated into subgenres during medieval times. I would argue that the ballad's development in Pound's theory is far too linear and lacks natural irregularities. Gordon Gerould Hall, author of *The Ballad Of Tradition* disagrees with Pound on the origin of the ballad as well: he represents an ethnographic standpoint, recognizing tribal practices as the core of the ballad's development. He also makes a critical distinction, separating the practice of dance and song. Hall presumes that dance, though it shaped ballad literature, was not the main factor in its evolution. He presupposes the idea of dance and song evolving separately and together at the same time, the latter sometimes joining the former, adhering to the rhythm of the dance.

As we can see, theories are diverse when it comes to the genesis of the English ballad. In my view, neither the folk, nor the Church shall be excluded from the discussion. I believe that arguments should firmly distinguish documented data from undocumented data to create a more precise theory. If examining the Child corpus only, Pound's argument is solid; if, however, we investigate the unknown, only assumptions and no clear answers are provided. Hence, I do not think that it can be stated with certainty that the English ballad literature is

rooted in religion. Nevertheless, the early English ballads may be greatly influenced—both in form and content—by contemporary religious literature. It is also possible that the religious ballads in Child's collection represent some poetic innovations which could have affected ballads of later origin.

III. The Carol and the Ballad

Another significant group is carols, which are crucial to mention along with ballads since they show many similarities with the latter. In fact, Child also included carols in his ballad collection, implying that the two genres are indeed related. However, most carols lack the narrative structure, which is a significant trait of ballads. Furthermore, R. L. Greene, author of *The Early English Carols* points out another, rather structural difference: in carols, there is a couplet repeated after every stanza, which may rhyme with the stanza but is usually independent from it, e. g. "The Twa Magicians", Child No. 44 (Greene, 1935). "Ballads, on the other hand, usually have refrain-lines alternating with narrative lines" (Gerould, 1932). Objectivity is a further aspect that defines ballads and is generally absent from carols. It is difficult to differentiate early, religious ballads from carols though as they may share a similar or even the same narrative structure and may also possess a sense of objectivity. Only regarding later ballads and carols can we make a clearer distinction between the two genres based on the aspects mentioned above. Greene strongly separates carols from ballads, mostly based on their differing metric system and refrain structure, but I would argue that the dissimilarities of early carols and ballads are so minor that it is more effective to examine the likenesses.

The coexistence and interplay of other medieval genres is another element to consider here: Child provides the reader with extensive headnotes before each piece, indicating the presence of a particular story in many other genres besides the ballad. Nevertheless, Greene suggests that the term 'carol' was mistakenly applied to pieces No. 22, 54, and 55 in the collection: he strictly considers them ballads. I believe that we could assume the possibility of the merging of genres during the early times of English ballad and carol literature. This argument can be supported by one of Greene's observations, namely that some ballads in the collection possess the same choral element as carols. For instance, this can be seen in the ballad "The Twa Magicians", mentioned before. The notion of choral element includes the refrain structure as well, which in terms of the ballad canon, is quite ambivalent: the first group consists of the refrain line-narrative line alternating type while the second includes the ones which do not have any refrain pattern at all. (Gerould, 1935). This may lead to the assumption that the refrain structure of ballads and carols was not yet fully developed and distinct in the early times

of ballad and carol literature. Thus, the partial intersection of the two groups may be likely, at least in the early stages of the genres' development. It is also crucial to mention that not all early English carols were sung during Christmas and not all possessed a religious theme (Greene, 1935). This leads to the suggestion that the fusion of early carols and ballads was not only formal but thematic as well.

IV. Analyzing *Judas*

Judas (No. 23 in Child's collection) is the earliest documented English ballad, dating back to the thirteenth century. It is preserved in MS B 14, 39 folio 34r2 at the Trinity College Library, and it was first printed in 1845 (Child, 1904). Before analyzing the narrative, however, I shall demonstrate some intriguing philological issues regarding the ballad. "Thritti platen of selver thou bere up othi rugge", says the fourth line of *Judas*. There are two words in this line that I would like to highlight: 'platen' and 'rugge'. The line could be translated as: "Thirty coins (?) of silver thou bear up on thy back." However, translating 'platen' as 'coins' is not as evident as it may seem. According to the Middle English Dictionary by the University of Michigan, there are approximately eight meanings of the word 'plăt(e'. I do not intend to list them all, but I believe it is crucial to mention four of them. I shall start off with the meaning associated with the ballad, according to the dictionary: "A gold or silver coin; ~ of gold (silver), gold (golden) ~, silver (silveren) ~; plates of moneie (penies), money, coins; penies and ~, coins, pieces of silver." If we only accept this meaning, then 'coins' instead of 'platen' is adequate. Also, the next data—Genesis and Exodus, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 444—with 'plate' possessing the same meaning is from cc. 1250 (it was copied in 1325 though), which may indicate that 'plate' was used to refer to money at the time. However, this kind of usage is mainly present in ecclesiastical material from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, which could lead to the assumption that it may be particular to religious use. 'Plate' is used in secular context too, mainly from the beginning of the fourteenth century: this meaning referred to the plate armor worn by knights. According to the third meaning, 'plate' is: "A flat piece of metal or other substance; esp. a sheet of metal, a metal plate or disk." This meaning is also shown in the words used in present day English and German, such as the noun 'plate', the adjective 'flat' (which might have developed from 'plat'), and the German verb 'platten', which means 'to flatten.' The fourth meaning refers to a unit of measure: "gold or silver plate or buillon." The latter meaning is logical regarding the ballad since Judas must bear the silver on his back, and thirty silver plates are physically heavier than thirty silver coins. Although it seems to be an adequate explanation, this usage of the word only appears in texts from the fifteenth century

onwards. In my view, the first meaning is the most suitable ('platen'—'coins'), but it only seems to occur in religious texts, indicating the assumption I mentioned before: it may be a characteristically ecclesiastical form.

The other word I would like to focus on is 'rugge'. According to the Middle English Dictionary, the first meaning is "the back of a person". This appears in texts dating back to the twelfth century or even earlier (e.g. Peri Didaxeon, London, British Library, Harley 6258b). It is particularly intriguing that this use is present in another piece from MS B 14, 39 as well—the manuscript including *Judas*. The piece is titled *Seint Maregrete and Body and Soul* and it tells the legend of Saint Margaret of Antioch. I do not know if the scribe of *Seint Maregrete* and *Judas* was the same person—the texts are very close in the manuscript though, *Judas* being on folio 34 and *Seint Maregrete* on folio 22—, but it could be possible that the use of 'rugge' influenced 'rugge' in *Judas*. The other meaning that the Middle English Dictionary lists is the phrase "behind a person' back". This definition already occurs in the beginning of the thirteenth century, in texts such as *St. Juliana of Cumae* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 34). Thus, it is possible that this meaning is symbolically present in the cited line from *Judas*, referring to Judas's betrayal of Jesus.

To sum up the story of the ballad, Christ gives Judas thirty pieces of silver to buy food and he also warns him that he will meet one of his kinsmen on the way. Judas meets his sister who calls him to account for following Christ. She then tells him to sit down on a nearby stone, where Judas lays his head in her lap and falls asleep. When he wakes up, the money is gone. Judas, upset about the happenings, rushes to Pilate where he betrays Jesus for those thirty pieces of silver and then buys provisions for the Last Supper. Christ forewarns the apostles of Judas's act. Judas tries to prove his innocence, but Jesus ignores him. Peter also speaks, saying that he will, at all costs, be faithful and loyal, but Jesus silences him foretelling that Peter will deny him three times.

The ballad is loosely based on Matthew 26:14-16. The similarities between the biblical passage and the ballad are the following: 1. they contain the act of betrayal, 2. Jesus foretells the betrayal of Judas, 3. in Matthew 26:34-35, Jesus predicts the denial of Peter (which Peter refuses to believe), and 4. both refer to Judas as the one who is responsible for the apostles' money. In the ballad, however, the money is stolen from Judas, and to keep up appearances, he betrays Jesus in return for the thirty coins. His supposed sister could also play a role in the disappearance of the money, assuming that she is the one who took it. Furthermore, she seems suspicious due to her attitude towards Jesus too: "Judas, thou were wrthe me stende the wid ston, / For the false prophete that tou bilevest upon." According to the Gospel of Luke and the

Gospel of John, Judas betrayed Jesus because he was possessed by Satan. It is possible then, that the ballad combines the three Gospels, presenting the image of thirty silvers and Satan as well, the latter disguised as Judas's sister.

Child relates the story to popular contemporary legends (mostly apocryphal). Unfortunately, no similar text has been found yet; however, there is a medieval legend about the life of Judas—the *Vita of Judas*—, which is based on the story of Oedipus. According to Paul Franklin Baum, there is no connection between the legend and the ballad (Baum, 1916), but I do believe it is important to mention here. It shows the fusion of two mythologies, using the integrated version of two similar figures. There is also an issue with terminology. David Fowler argues that *Judas* cannot be classified as a ballad: it is rather a folksong. He claims that oral ballad literature only began in the mid-fifteenth century with the leading role of minstrels. Therefore, he classifies *Judas* as a religious folksong (Boklund-Lagopoulou, 1993). I would argue with Fowler as I believe that *Judas* fits most criteria of the genre: it contains dramatic dialogues, only focuses on essential information, contains alternations of time and place, and its narrator does not appear in any form.

I already touched on the relationship between religion and folklore. This is quite relevant if we further examine *Judas*—and its context, the manuscript. Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou analyzed the manuscript, and she concluded that the "Trinity MS follows the common practice of the friars in including items from an oral vernacular tradition that can be turned to didactic use in a sermon". I believe that this could be the case regarding *Judas* as well—it might have been used as an exemplum. The end of the ballad can attest to this assumption as it mentions Peter and alludes to his triple denial of Jesus. The figure of Peter might have provided a contrast to Judas: Peter repented his sins and later became one of the leading figures of the Church, while Judas's act culminated in eternal damnation. Thus, *Judas* could have been used as a prologue to sermons.

V. Analyzing *The Gest of Robyn Hode*

Child lists thirty-seven Robin Hood ballads in his collection of which the second one is *The Gest of Robyn Hode*. The *Gest*, which consists of eight parts (or "Fyttes"), is the collection of several different ballads with the aim of creating a coherent narrative. Its date of composition is uncertain but according to Child's headnote before the text, it is possible that the Robin Hood ballads were popular long before the fifteenth century: the first mention of Robin Hood is from 1362, in the text of *Piers Plowman* (McConathy, 1913). The ballads mainly focus on Robin Hood's attitude towards the Church, which manifests in two ways: in Robin's ridicule of the

Church authorities and in his deeply religious nature in contrast. In this part of the essay, I only intend to detail the aspects of Robin's connection to religion, and thus, I will not cover the complete synopsis of the *Gest*. In the first Fytte, we immediately learn about Robin's religious character:

> 8   A gode maner than had Robyn;
> In londe where that he were
> Euery day or he wold dyne
> Thre messis wolde he here.

> 9   The one in the worship of the Fader,
> And another of the Holy Ghost,
> The thirde of Our derë Lady,
> That he loued allther moste.

> 10   Robyn loued Our derë Lady;
> For dout of dydly synne,
> Wolde he neuer do compani harme
> That any woman was in.

These three stanzas reflect Robin's commitment to religious habits: he hears three masses every day. His devotion to the Virgin Mary is also apparent and mirrors the knightly attitude towards women, relevant in Arthurian romance literature. Robin's view on Churchmen is present in the First Fytte too. When his squire Lytil Johnn (Little John) asks him about their forthcoming journey, he replies: "These bisshoppes and these arche- / bisshoppes, / Ye shall them bete and bynde;" This happens in the Second Fytte of the *Gest*, though not literally: the miserable knight receives money from Robin to pay his mortgage to the abbot. He, supposedly at the suggestion of Robin, decides to trick the abbot who would give one hundred pounds to the knight in return for his lands. The knight pretends to be poor; but at last, he pulls out the money and rushes away. In the Fourth Fytte, Robin encounters a monk from the same abbey the knight visited. He finds the monk's money (eight hundred pounds) and takes it, pretending that he had an earlier agreement with the abbey. Then, he releases the monk. In the Seventh Fytte, we see Edward the king who, in search of Robin Hood, disguises himself as an abbot and his knights as monks. At the end of the Fytte, Robin finds out the abbot's true identity and decides to join the king's court. The last Fytte tells his elopement from the court. He wanders in the forest but

soon falls ill and asks for help at a nunnery. A nun agrees to help him but—suspecting that he is an outlaw—betrays him and lets him bleed to death. Before he dies, Robin shows his sincerity ("Wolde he neuer do compani harme / That any woman was in") by forbidding his men to take revenge on the nun and the nunnery. The *Gest* ends with a prayer for Robin:

> 456   Cryst haue mercy on his soule,
>
> That dyed on the rode !
>
> For he was a good outlawe,
>
> And dyde pore men moch god.

Robin's faithfulness to the Virgin remains constant throughout the ballad. The cult of the Virgin is not unique to Robin Hood: in *The Golden Legend* by Jacopo da Voragine, there is a story ("The Nativity of Our Lady") of a thief who is being hanged due to his sins. However, he is deeply devoted to the Virgin, and she saves him.

The duality of Robin Hood's figure could represent the medieval folk's sentiments towards the Church and religion. The folk might have been dissatisfied with Churchmen of high order and created a character who serves justice. Robin's strong faith seemingly conflicts with his actions, but on further inspection, it could depict the importance of faith over ecclesiastical power.

VI. Analyzing *The Cherry-Tree Carol*

Lastly, I shall talk about *The Cherry-Tree Carol*. It is the fifty-fourth Child ballad/carol in the collection, and scholars date it to the fifteenth century. Scholars still debate whether the text is a carol or ballad, but they generally choose to refer to it as a ballad due to its narrative. However, as I mentioned before, the possibility of the fusion of early carols and ballads is likely. The story is based on a legend of a popular apocryphal text, the Pseudo-Matthew gospel (Child, 1904). In the gospel, Mary and Joseph flee from Egypt, and on their third day, Mary asks Joseph to rest under a palm tree. She notices that the tree is full of fruit and asks Joseph to pick some—but Joseph refuses to do so. He complains that the fruit is out of reach, and they need water instead. Suddenly, the baby Jesus, who is sitting on Mary's lap, orders the palm tree to bow down. The tree fulfills the command. Then, Jesus orders the tree to lift and stream water, which it also does. The gospel ends with the delighted Mary and Joseph giving thanks to God (Royston, 1982).

The ballad bears a striking resemblance to the gospel, although there are crucial differences which I will illustrate later. The plot is the following: the pregnant Mary and her husband Joseph walk through an orchard, and suddenly, Mary feels an invincible desire to eat cherries. She asks Joseph: "Pluck me one cherry, Joseph, / for I am with child." Joseph, hurt by the sudden announcement, refuses to do so. "Let him pluck thee a cherry / that brought thee with child." Then Jesus—from his mother's womb—orders the tallest tree to bow down for Mary and this it does. Joseph regrets his mistrust, and they go home. In the final scene, Jesus, sitting on Mary's knee, foretells his fate. As I mentioned before, several distinctions can be made between the ballad and the gospel. The first one is the scenery. In the gospel, Mary and Joseph flee into Egypt through a desert—this is also evident from the fact that the family is in desperate need of water. On the contrary, the ballad introduces the reader to an orchard. We do not know the location of this orchard and it is also dubious whether Mary and Joseph are on their way to Egypt. In fact, we could assume from the first stanza of the ballad that Mary and Joseph found the orchard after their wedding. The second difference is the fruit species. The gospel mentions palm fruits —probably dates—, which are common is Egypt, but are harvested before the wintertime. Hence, the laden palm tree is a miracle on its own. In this regard, the ballad is similar as it also presents a tree full of cherries during winter. The first record of cherries in England comes from Matthew Paris's *Historia Anglorum* from 1257 in which he describes a devastating famine due to bad fruit season. He notes that the cherry crop was also destroyed (Bagenal, 1952-54). We may claim then that the scenery of the gospel was changed to fit the English environment but still showcase the miraculous event. The next dissimilarity is Joseph's character. In the gospel, Joseph refuses to act according to Mary's wish because he cannot reach the fruit and he also wants to continue the journey in search of water. Nonetheless, the ballad portrays Joseph in a nearly humorous manner. The reader suspects that Joseph does not trust his wife and acts offended accordingly. The heterodox belief that Joseph accused Mary of infidelity was quite popular in the Middle Ages indeed (Royston, 1982). The last important difference is the figure of Jesus. According to the gospel, Jesus is already born when the family is en route to Egypt, though he is still a baby. In the ballad, however, Jesus speaks from Mary's womb, which could also be regarded as a miracle. Furthermore, the ballad ends with Jesus's monologue about his forthcoming sufferings. Like *Judas*, *The Cherry-Tree Carol* also shows an editorial framework which could have been implemented into religious use.

Contrary to *Judas*, the story of *The Cherry-Tree Carol* has several documented analogues besides the Pseudo-Matthew gospel. One of the earliest examples is the fifteenth play of *Ludus Coventriae* (or the *N-Town Plays*) in which the miracle of the cherry tree and Joseph's

response are almost identical to how it is described in the ballad. The parallel can be seen in the tale of *Sir Cleges* as well, which is preserved in two fifteenth-century manuscripts (Jeffs, Wellesley, 2017). It tells the story of a poor knight who, sitting under a tree, prays to be saved from poverty with his family. He looks up and the tree is suddenly full of cherries. At the end of the tale, the knight's misery is resolved, and he promises to hold a feast every year in honor of the Virgin and Christ. Now, I would like to focus on a mutual element of these texts: the tree. I believe that the so-called wood-of-the-cross legend can be seen here. This legend traces "the history of the wood of Christ's cross back to Old Testament figures and sometimes to paradise itself, where the holy wood was derived from the very tree from which Adam and Eve disobediently ate." (Fallon, 2009) The motif can be found in the eight-century dream poem, *Dream of the Rood* as well. Here, the tree, who is the narrator, tells its past: he was cut down to become Christ's cross, and thus, it shared Christ's sufferings. The tree as a medium is also apparent in *The Cherry-Tree Carol* and its analogues mentioned above. Although the tree is not the narrator in these texts, it performs a miracle and thus becomes evidence of God's omnipotence.

I already suggested that cherries in medieval English texts were used since they were more familiar to the English folk. However, there is another possibility, which examines the association between cherries and the Virgin. This can be traced in other medieval texts and artworks as well: for instance, in an Old French poem *Pamphile et Galatée*, where there is a reference to a rosary made from cherry stones (Jeffs, Wellesley, 2017). The connection can be demonstrated in Renaissance art as well. I believe that both suggestions are adequate, although there is little evidence that supports the latter. It is more possible then that cherries were used to fit the English climate. This vernacular motif paired with the religious theme of the ballad points to other works where the Virgin is placed in a secular environment. For instance, in the ballad *Thomas the Rhymer* (Child 37), Thomas encounters the elf-queen whom he mistakenly addresses as "Queen of Heaven". This passage shows a remarkable intersection of the fairy mythology and the cult of the Virgin.

VII. Conclusion

In this essay, I attempted to illustrate the incredibly diverse and oftentimes historically and theoretically problematic segment of the medieval English ballad literature: the religious ballads. In my view, both folkloric and religious elements played a part in their development, though the impact of other religious genres—such as sermons, legends, and hymns—may be more dominant. I also discussed the issue of carols and their relation to ballads. I find it plausible

that these genres developed together and thus may share formal and thematical likenesses. This is apparent in *The Cherry-Tree Carol* in which the ballad-like narrative is complemented with the tradition of nativity carols. The biblical theme is further present in the earliest documented ballad, *Judas*, which is an intriguing early example of the judgement of a controversial character, presenting ambiguous philological issues too. Besides biblical themes, the folk's sentiments towards the Church are represented too: they concentrate in Robin Hood's figure in the adventurous tales of *The Gest of Robyn Hode*.

These texts are precious relics of their time: they invite the reader to a literary journey where Judas falls asleep with "thritti platen", Robyn Hode is betrayed by a nun, and scenes from a marriage unfold under a miraculous cherry tree.

Works cited

Primary sources:

Sargent, Helen Child and George Lyman Kittredge, editors. *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Houghton Mifflin co., 1904, Boston. pp. 41-254. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/englishscottishp00sarg/mode/2up?q=the+gest&view=theater Accessed 11/22/2021.

Secondary sources:

Boklund-Lagopoulou, Karin. "Judas": The First English Ballad?" Medium Ævum, vol. 62. no. 1, 1993, p. 21. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43629494?read-now=1&seq=2#page_scan_tab_contents. Accessed 11/22/2021.

Bagenal, N. L. "The History of Cherry Growing in England." Scientific Horticulture, vol. 11, Chartered Institute of Horticulture, 1952, p. 41. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/45126051?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents Accessed 11/22/2021.

Baum, Paul Franklin. "The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot." PMLA, vol. 31. no. 3, 1916, p. 481. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/457014?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents. Accessed 11/22/2021.

Fallon, Nicole. *The Cross as Tree: The Wood-of-the-Cross Legends in Middle English and Latin Texts in Medieval England*. 2009. University of Toronto, Ph.D. pp. 2-41. TSpace Repository. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/19188/1/Fallon_Nicole_A_200911_PhD_thesis.pdf. Accessed 11/22/2021.

Gerould, Gordon Hall. *The Ballad of Tradition*. Galaxy Books, Oxford University Press, 1957, New York. pp. 84-131. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/balladoftraditio007247mbp/mode/2up?q=carol. Accessed 11/22/2021.

Greene, Richard Leighton. *The Early English Carols*. Clarendon Press, 1935, Oxford. pp. 48-56. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.185518/mode/2up. Accessed 11/22/2021.

Jeffs, Amy and Mary Wellesley. "Sexing up the cherry." Apollo Magazine, Dec. 23, 2017. https://www.apollo-magazine.com/sexing-up-the-cherry/. Accessed 11/22/2021.

McConathy, Elizabeth Phillips. *The Religious Element in the Popular Ballads*. 1913.
University of Louisville, Master's Thesis. pp. 1-44. ThinkIR.
https://ir.library.louisville.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1937&context=etd.
Accessed 11/22/2021.

"Plat and Plate." *Middle English Dictionary*, edited by Robert E. Lewis, et al., University of
Michigan Press, 1952-2001. Online edition in Middle English Compendium.
https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-
dictionary/dictionary/MED33612/track?counter=3&search_id=11137778. Accessed
11/22/2021.

Pound, Louise. "The English Ballads and the Church." PMLA, vol. 35. no. 2, 1920, pp. 161-
188. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/457323?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.
Accessed 11/22/2021

"Rigge." Middle English Dictionary, edited by Robert E. Lewis, et al., University of
Michigan Press, 1952-2001. Online edition in Middle English Compendium.
https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-
dictionary/dictionary/MED37502/track?counter=2&search_id=11137778. Accessed
11/22/2021

Royston, Pamela L. "'The Cherry-Tree Carol': Its Sources and. Analogues." Folklore Forum,
vol 15. no. 1, 1982, pp. 1-16. Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Indiana
University.
https://scholarworks.iu.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/2022/1762/15(1)%201-
16.pdf?sequence=1 Accessed 11/22/2021

Simpson, Jacqueline and Steve Roud. *The Dictionary of English Folklore*. Oxford University
Press, 2000, New York. p. 14. EPDF. https://epdf.pub/a-dictionary-of-english-
folklore.html. Accessed 11/22/2021.