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TROLD KAN TÆMMES (THE TAMING OF A SHREW)

AF

PAUL V. RUBOW



København 1957
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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I. OVERLEVERING OG ÆGTHED

Det Stykke vi nu kalder *Trold kan tæmmes*, har ikke længe baaret dette Navn. I den illustrerede Udgave af GEORG BRANDES' *W. Shakespeare* findes det første Gang brugt i et litteraturhistorisk Skrift. Brandes havde laant Titelen fra en Opførelse paa Dagmartheatret i dette Aarhundredes Begyndelse. Den første Udgave af hans Shakespeare-Bog havde den neppe af ham selv dannede Titel *Arrigtrold*. Den ældste danske Oversættelse, ved Edv. LEMBCKE (1872) kalder det meget flovt for *Den arrige Kvinde, som blev tam*, og dog var Oversættelsen god, og Lembcke en sand Digter. HAGBERGS svenske Oversættelse kaldte den *Så tuktas en arbiggga*, hvorfra G. Brandes muligt har sin »Arrigtrold«.

Men ogsaa paa Engelsk kan Stykket have haft flere Titler. Det før-shakespeareske Drama, som udkom i Aaret 1594, hed paa Titelbladet *The Taming of A Shrew*, og det var indskrevet under denne Titel i Boghandler-Registret, beholdt ogsaa denne Benævnelse i de to følgende Udgaver fra Shakespeares Levetid. Men i Folioen af hans Værker 1623 hedder Komedien, saaledes som den forelæa i en omarbejdet og forskønnnet Skikkelse, *The Taming of The Shrew*. Forskerne kalder de to Redaktioner for *A Shrew* og *The Shrew*, for at markere, hvad de taler om. Det er muligvis praktisk. Men Flere af disse Lærde taler, som om denne Ændring af Navnet virkelig har en Slags dybere Mening. Det skulde maaske være en Slags Kodesprog, hvorved den nye Forfatter, der dog var noget mer end en Bearbejder, gav sig til Kende. Dette er nu ret utænkeligt. Ændringen, som ikke er heldig, er neppe andet end en Forvanskning. Den skyldes vel en Dittografi, en Fejlskrivning af den som har lavet Theater-Plakaten; den er bleven hængende paa Omslaget af Manuskriptet, som ikke behøver at

skyldes Shakespeare selv. Han var jo længst død og borte, da hans samlede dramatiske Arbejder ved HEMINGE og CONDELL saa Lyset. Der blev ikke betalt Licens for Stykket til Lauget, den gang det store Samlerværk blev forelagt til Patentering. For Førfatter- eller Udgiver-Retten betydede en saadan Forandring Ingeniting. Ogsaa *King John* og *Henry VI* Del 2—3 slap for Tiltale.

Men Skuespillet har maaske haft andre Titler. Litteratur-Historikeren MERES udgav i 1598 en lille sammenlignende antik og moderne Poetik og Litterær-Historie under den kunstige Titel *Palladis Tamia*, d. e. omrent »Æsthetiske Smuler«; heri nævner han med Berømmelse sex Tragedier og sex Komedier af W. Shakespeare. Blandt de tragiske Arbejder figurerer en *King Richard*, som kan være to forskellige Ting, blandt de komiske en *Love's Labours Won*, som ogsaa kan udlægges paa forskellig Maade. Det er vel ikke et ellers ukendt Værk af Mesteren. Mange af hans Lystspil kunde bære denne Overskrift; jeg erindrer om, hvor tilfældigt og efter vore Begreber uheldigt næsten alle hans Arbejder er benævnt; Karakterløshed og Tomhed er fremherskende; smart men ikke paafaldende Theater-Reklame har Ansvaret. Titelen passer, i det Mindste efter vore Ideer, allerbedst paa *All's well that ends well* (»Kongens Læge«). Men det er ikke sikkert dette Skuespil var skrevet i 1598; og det er jo heller ikke paa nogen Maade givet, at Digteren ventede med at give denne Titel, indtil han havde et belejligt Skuespil at pynte med den. VALD. ØSTERBERG mente det drejede sig om *Twelfth Night, or what you will*, men ogsaa denne Komedie kan være senere end 1598. Enkelte har ment, at det netop drejede sig om *Trold kan tæmmes*; specielt har EDGAR I. FRIPP (i hans posthumt udgivne *Shakespeare Man and Artist* I 397) med Finhed henpeget paa Verset Nr. 23 i fjerde Akts femte Scene:

Petruchio, go thy ways; the field is won,

som jo kunde indeholde en Allusion til Stykkets Navn.

Den shakespeareiske Farce har sent gjort Lykke i Danmark. I Georg Brandes' berømte Værk om Digteren nævnes det to Gange, og begge Gange næsten en passant. Det stemte ikke med hans høje Forestillinger om den gudbenaadede Skjald, var en blot Underholdning, savnede de rigtige Komediers himmelske Lyrik og Tragediernes Pathos. Det hæderkronede Stykkes Succès

i dette Aarhundrede skyldes den kyndige Instruktion, som har vidst at trække de eminent dramatiske Egenskaber ud af Texten. Dramaet kan i Mangt og Meget minde os om Holbergs Komedier, navnlig vel *Den Stundeslose*. Det er naturligvis en Farce, men ikke blot »boisterous«, som EDWARD DOWDEN skriver. Det har en udmaerket klar Logik og i hver Akt en rask stigende Handling. Det er en ejendommelig Lov for Farcer, at de skal kulminere lige til sidst, mens finere Skuespil naar deres Højdepunkt lidt over Midten. Dette Stykkes Højde ligger i den fortræffelige Tirade, hvormed Heltinden, helt omvendt til ægteskabelig Lydighed, sætter sin genstridige Søster i Rette. Repliken er rigtig nok laant fra det gamle Skuespil, men Linie for Linie omarbejdet, og paa en brillant Maade, endda den tidligere Redaktion ikke er banal.

Men ved Siden af den raske Hovedhandling er der en Side-handling, som Tidsalderen yndede dem. Den virker som en sød og indtagende Klavermusik, et Akkompagnement, om man vil, der dæmper Farcens Tummel. Med Urette, synes mig, forkaster især de engelske Litteraturhistorikere denne Del af Stykket. Den er dog lovende og skælmsk, og bidrager til at krydre Stemningen.

Endnu har Komedien et tredie Element. Det er den morsomme Ramme-Historie om *Drommeren*, som vaagner op og indbilder sig at deltage i en Komedie, der spilles med ham. Det er et Motiv, som kendes fra *1001 Nat*, og som var meget yndet i Middelalderens Novelle-Litteratur. Det kendes i dansk og norsk Litteratur navnlig fra HOLBERGS *Jeppe paa Bjerget*. Dog er *Sly* (»Snu«) i det ældre Drama ikke meget mere end en Tilskuer til Handlingen. I Shakespeares Stykke er Rammen i Begyndelsen lagt bredt an, men efter Indledningen taber Digteren — eller hans Trup — helt Interessen for denne Indfatning; Sly falder bort; og selve den Opvaagnen man har Ret til at vente sig ved Slutningen, er blevet borte eller har troligt nok aldrig existeret. Sagtens har Komedien i sin nye Skikkelse ikke været spillet af Shakespeares Trup med dette morsomme Jeppe-Motiv. Nuomstunder, vel ogsaa tidlige, spilles i England gerne en kontamineret Text, idet Slys Repliker og Slutningen fra *A Shrew* er overførte til Shakespeare's Komedie. I Lembckes danske Oversættelse er ogsaa Slutningen tilføjet for at give det Hele Afrunding og en Slags højere Mening.

Tilstedeværelsen af det ruinerede, afbrudte Rammeværk i

Folioen 1623 er muligt et Kendetegn paa at Komedien er trykt efter Shakespeares eget Manuskript, der i saa Fald har været en *Kladde*. — Stykket blev senere trykt i smaa Theater-Udgaver efter Folio-Udgaven 1623, men dækkedes mod ny Licens af det gamle Drama, hvis Titelblad ansaas for fyldestgørende.

Imod Stykkets Overlevering er der rejst en ganske livlig *Ægt-hedskritik*. Saaledes maa Kritiken kaldes, for saa vidt som den anfægter Shakespeares Arbejde, der aldrig i Samtid eller den nærmere Eftertid har været tilskrevet Andre. For det ældre Skrifts Vedkommende maa man nærmest tale om *Attributions-Kritik*, da det er udkommet uden Forfatternavn. Hertil maa man ogsaa regne de Gisninger, der er fremsat om Forholdet mellem de to Arbejder, *A Shrew* og *The Shrew*.

Uagtet Forholdet mellem de to Værker skulde synes os indlysende, idet Shakespeares er skrevet i en rask og elegantflydende og sikker Stil, vel ikke uden et Præg af Rutine, mens den anden Redaktion er mere usikker og famlende og i den første engelske Scenes Manér, saa har der dog været Hypotheser om, at *A Shrew* skulde være en senere Bearbejdelse af Shakespeares Text. En Mr. HICKSON gav i *Notes and Queries* I 194, 227, 345 den Opfattelse Udryk, at *A Shrew* var en Efterligning af Shakespeares Stykke. Den er senere blevet behandlet næsten med Ømhed af Udgiverne af *The New Shakespeare*, Sir ARTHUR QUILLER COUCH og Professor JOHN DOVER WILSON. Man maa for at faa en Slags Mening i denne Lære tænke sig at Lord Pembroke's Trup har solgt Manuskriptet til *The Shrew* til en anden Trup, da deres egen blev oplost. Paa samme Maade mener andre Lærde, at de solgte Manuskriptet til 2.—3. Del af *Henrik den Sjette* (»*The Contention*«). Senere skulde Skuespillerne have fortrudt Salget og skrevet disse Stykker sammen efter Hovedet. Men Resultaterne er da blevet uens: *Henrik den Sjette* blev i deres Redaktion vistnok meget mislykket, men den sigter dog imod samme Text som den der er gengivet i Folioen, hvis Vers man oftest uden Møje kan gennende. Derimod følges de to *Shrew*'er i det hele meget net Scene for Scene, i Hovedhandlingen, egentlig ogsaa i den meget udbyggede Sidehandling; i enkelte Repliker, især i Katharinas lange Tirade ogsaa Vers for Vers, men rigtignok kun efter Indholdet, thi de to Redaktioner har kun faa Linier tilfælles. Det er sjeldent, Skuespillere har saa slet Hukommelse? og hvorfor svigter den

fuldstændig her, men ikke i *Henrik VI?* Det kunde kun være »intentionally«. Men i saa Fald maatte de gode Skuespillere, eller hvem Meddelerne nu var, have bevaret en Afskrift af *The Shrew*; ellers maatte Reminiscenser være uundgaaelige. *A Shrew* indeholder desuden talløse Allusioner til ældre engelsk Dramatik, navnlig til Kit Marlowe, og disse vidner snarest om Samtidighed; Marlowe døde 1593. Men alt dette er i *The Shrew* som fejet væk med en Kost. Bearbejdelsen har heldigt undgaaet den første Af-fattelses forældede Træk, ogsaa den tyndere Stil og Versifikation.

Ikke mindre mistrøstelige end saadan Ombytte-Hypotheser er *Tre-Text-Theorierne*, som har flere Repræsentanter i den rige Litteratur om vort Stykke. Hvor der kun er overleveret een Text af et Arbejde, er Forskerne oftest (ikke altid!) noget utilbøjelige til at konstruere For-Stadier ud af deres egne Hoveder. Men foreligger der *to* Texter, er det en smal Sag at konstruere en *tredie* eller endnu flere. Herved betænker man lidet, at en saadan Text, der lanceres til Forklaring og Begrundelse af nogle Griller hos Forskeren, vil have vanskeligt ved at finde en Plads i Virkelig-hedens Verden. De Egenskaber, hvormed man udstyrer den, er faa og tilfældige. Dukker nu pludselig, som det kan hænde, et saadant mærkværdigt Mellemled op ved et Fund eller ved et Under, skal det nok vise sig at indeholde alle mulige Skatte, kun ikke de Læsemaader, Forskerne havde ventet sig. En imaginær eller konstrueret Text er et Misfoster, som den uhedige Op-havsmann maa nære med sit Hjernespind.

Af denne Type er den usandsynlige Forklaring af Forholdet mellem de to Skuespil, som er givet af Professor C. H. HERFORD i *The Eversley Shakespeare II* 6 ff. Mr. Herford tænker sig mellem »the old play« og *The Shrew* et »intermediate play«, hvorom der aldeles ingen Vidnesbyrd findes. Det skal forklare de formentlige Svagheder i en Række Scener — mere end Halvdelen — som paa Grund af deres ringe æsthetiske Kvalitet maatte være af en anden, rettere tredje Digter. Heri er Herford enig med et Flertal af Ud-givere, at den raske Farce for de fleste Sceners Vedkommende maa være af en anden end Shakespeare: de er ikke dybe og skønne nok. Om det første Stykke, *A Shrew*, er der for saa vidt da slet ikke Tale i denne og lignende Behandlinger. Tilhængerne af saadan Anskuelser er forholdsvis, om end ikke helt enige om hvilke Oprin der er ægte shakespeareske; derimod er de af gode

Grunde raadvilde m. H. t. hvilken Digter de skal tildele »Mellestykket«, idet jo allerede Forlegenheden om *A Shrew* er meget stor.

Det er især »the underplot«, Prof. Herford finder uværdig Shakespeare, og som paa den anden Side afviger ret meget fra Sidehandlingen i *A Shrew*. Imidlertid betegner den et saa betydeligt Fremskridt fra det saakaldte gamle Stykke, at man vel tør skrive det paa vor Diggers Konto. — Dog ogsaa Hovedhandlingen molesteres stærkt af Herford. Denne mener, at Shakespeare »felt no very serious interest in the subject«. Men bortset fra at hans Interesse i den lystige Komedie naturligt nok ikke var »alvorlig«, synes hans Interesse at have været levende nok, da *The Shrew* er rigt paa Elementer, som driver Handlingen stærkt fremad. De Afsnit, Mr. Herford tildeler Shakespeare, er II. 1. 169—326, III.2 (undt. Vers 130—150), IV. 1. 3—5, V. 2 (undt. de sidste 8 Linier). — Det er ogsaa Afsnit, som tager sig godt ud, ved Læsningen især, men det er uretfærdigt at gøre dem ansvarlige for de andres Forkastelse. Endnu mere urimeligt er det for disses Skyld at oprette et særligt Mellemspil af ukendt Proveniens. Man kunde opnaa det samme, utrolige Resultat ved at give Shakespeare en Medarbejder, en Udvej som da ogsaa de fleste Forskere er gaaet.

Til Tre-Kilde-Hypothesen hælder ogsaa den fortræffelige victorianske Litteraturhistoriker ADOLPHUS WARD i hans ypperlige Bog *English Dramatic Literature* II 93: »In it we seem to have a play re-cast by Shakespeare from another . . . which had itself been adopted by an imitator of Marlowe *from a yet earlier production*. To a work of so composite an origin it seems accordingly useless to apply tests appropriately used in connection with plays, or parts of plays, undoubtedly, or at least very probably, written by Shakspere alone«.

En anden Form for Trekilde-Theorien præsenteredes af den senere bekendte P. ALEXANDER, som især har arbejdet med *Henry the Sixt*, dens Udgaver og Opførelser, altsaa med ganske samtidigt Stof og helt samtidige Problemer. I *Times Literary Supplement*, Hjemsted for saa mange Letsindigheder, Sept. 16, 1926, indrykkede han et Forslag, som var mindre originalt end han anede. Han tager sit Udgangspunkt i Udgaven af *A Shrew*

fra 1594, den skyldes en Bogtrykker PETER SHORT. Samme Aar havde, som omtalt, Skuespil-Grossereren HENSLOWE set et Stykke af det Navn opført af The Lord Chamberlain's Trup, formentlig allerede da *Shakespeares Selskab*, paa Newington Butts. »Short's quarto was not the play Henslowe saw, but a corrupt and degraded version, fudged by actors of Lord Pembroke's Company«. Til denne Opfattelse hælder i og for sig Mange; men det er ikke let at begribe, hvad denne lemlæstede Redaktion af det gamle Stykke skal gavne for.

Ægtheds- og Integritets-Kritiken har, som det allerede vil ses, anfægtet alle Faser og Opfattelser af Traditionen.

Vi citerer her blandt flere Behandlinger F. G. FLEAY'S *Shakespeare Manual*, 1878, 175 ff., hvis Meninger mere eller mindre gentages af Nutidens Kommentatorer. De vigtigste Argumenter imod Ægtheden af Folio-Udgavens Text og Shakespeares Forfatterskab er følgende:

1° Stykket (*A Shrew* eller *The Shrew*, ligemeget) optræder ikke i Litteraturhistorikeren MERES's fñromtalte Liste fra 1598 over 6 Tragedier og 6 Komedier af Shakespeare.

Svar: Meres vil ikke give en fuldstændig Fortegnelse over Shakespeares Stykker. Det giver han aldrig af andre Forfattere, han citerer. 6 + 6 antyder desuden en vis Symmetri. Endelig kan Komedien være identisk med det forbænævnte *Love's Labours Won*. Shakespeare havde i 1598, da Meres' Skrift kom, sagtens skrevet 18 Stykker.

2° »This is the only instance of a play with an Induction, so as to form a play within a play, in all Shakespeare's work; and this Induction is most clumsily managed: there is no provision for getting Sly off the stage. Shakespeare could never have been guilty of this blunder, especially as the old play, *The Taming of a Shrew*, winds up satisfactorily in this respect.«

Svar: Et Skuespil med »Induktion« er ikke nogen almindelig Ting i det 16.—17. Aarhundredes engelske Litteratur. Der er ca. 600 Stykker overleverede, og af dem har vel neppe en halv Snes en »Induktion«. Efter Fleay's Bevisførelse maatte alle disse Dramer være skrevne af »Andre«, da man neppe har mere end eet af hver sin Forfatter! Yderligere er Stykket jo en Genfor-

tælling, og Shakespeare har ladet Ramme-Værket falde paa Halvvejen. Endelig ynder Shakespeare i høj Grad »a play within a play«, som i *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Hamlet* og *The Tempest*. — Fleay har glemt, at *The Shrew* er en Bearbejdelse.

3° »There is no other comedy of Shakespeare's, except the *Merry Wives*, in which there is not a Duke and King.« — Meget sandt, men allerede *De lystige Koner i Windsor* bryder Regelen. Det har noget Latterligt at et Stykke skulde forkastes som Shakespeares af den pudsigte Grund. Ogsaa her gælder det, at der foreligger en Bearbejdelse.

4° »As Hazlitt [den ældre Wm. Hazlitt] remarks: This is almost the one of Shakespeare's comedies, which has a regular plot and a downright moral.« — Svar: Shakespeare følger sine Kilder. Hans Komedier har som oftest a regular plot, hvad der nu kan menes dermed. *The Shrew's* Intrige er ret indviklet? Stykket er ikke moralsk men snarere umoralsk, hvad Tyskerne kalder en Schwank til Forhaanelse af Kvindekønnet. Fleay, som var Gejstlig, har antagelig læst Farceen med alt for kyske Øjne.

5° »This play was made a special object of ridicule by Fletcher in his *Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed*; the date of this latter play is uncertain, but it lays between 1616 and 1621 . . . Now, would Fletcher have chosen for ridicule a work by his friend, whom he admired and respected?« — Svar: Stykket gør ikke Nar af Shakespeare, men vender op og ned paa hans Komedie, idet den forдум drabelige Helt kommer under Tøflen. Det er der jo ikke noget Ondt i.

6° Stykket indeholder en Del ametriske Vers, der vel kan rettes ved rimelig Konjektur. Andre metriske Kuriosa er fremhævede af Fleay; men ethvert Stykke af Shakespeare har sine Særegenheder, hvilket ikke forhindrer ham i stort set at holde Trop med sine Samtidige i de 20—25 Aar han virker.

7° Sproglige Træk, som menes at være ushakespeareiske, anføres. E. Ex. ordet *Gentleman*, der forekommer 7 Gange, saaledes: II. 1. 47: I am a gent'man from Verona, Sir.

Fleay maa have glemt, at Shakespeare har skrevet et Stykke *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

Ligeledes finder Fleay, at Digteren anbringer Klassiker-Citater paa en anden Maade i dette Stykke end i andre. Saaledes hedder det I. 1. 173:

I saw sweet beauty in her face,
Such as the daughter of Agenor had,
That made great love to humble him.

Mens det f. Ex. i *Merchant of Venice* III. 2. 244 hedder:

We are the Jasons, we have won the fleece.

Anden Forskel mellem disse Citater kan man dog ikke se, end at de ikke er identiske.

Tilbage af disse og mange andre Indvendinger af den ærværdige Fleay bliver dog et Indtryk af at Arrigtrold-Dramaet er mere tørt og fattigt i Sproget end hans andre Stykker. Men Fleay betænkte aldrig, at Shakespeares Skuespil var bestemte for Theatret, og at *Trold kan tæmmes* er endog meget rigt paa *lazzi*, kraftig fysisk Ageren, som ikke vinder ved et meget billedrigt og kontemplativt sprogligt Akkompagnement. Han har i sin Bedømmelse af Farcen om den arrige Kvinde især set bort fra Ligheden med *Tvillingerne* og med *De to Herrer fra Verona*.

En stadig Strøm af anti-shakespeareisk Menings-Tilkendegivelse kan følges gennem den umaadelige Litteratur, saa snart *Den arrige Kvinde* nævnes. Endnu Sir EDMUND CHAMBERS' saa ofte omtalte Bog giver Digteren en Medarbejder, uagtet Chambers i al Almindelighed plejer at afvise den Slags Folk fra sin Omtale af hvert enkelt af Digterens Værker. I Virkeligheden optræder disse Medarbejdere kun som Udflygs-Hypotheser. De bruges til at klare denne og hin Vanskelighed, men enhver Karakteristik af deres Ejendommelighed fattes. Man tør vel for *The Shrew's* Vedkommende paastaa, at det hører til de mest homogene Dramer i sproglig og stilistisk Henseende. Det gælder om dette som om de øvrige Dramer af anfægtet Enhed, at de Medarbejdere man giver ham, enten benævnte eller ubenævnte, er forskellige for hvert Stykke, udrustede med ganske forskellige Egenskaber, og kun brugbare för tilfællet. — En især uheldig Udvej er HICKSONS og *The New Shakespeares* Forsøg paa at opfatte den aeldre Redaktion, *A Shrew*, som en daarlig Opskrift af *The Shrew*, og at forbinde dem ved et Mellemled. Thi *A Shrew* er, som vi skal se, kendelig et ældre Stykke, og aldeles intet Makkværk, som de daarlige Opskrifter af andre Skuespil maa kaldes. I saadanne Udgaver flyder der altid Levninger af den oprinde-

lige Ordlyd omkring, ubehjælpsomme Synonymer og velmente Surrogater, mens *A Shrew* fra Ende til anden byder paa en veludformet og mere alderdommelig Text.

II. DET GAMLE SPIL (»*A SHREW*«)

Dersom den yngre *Shrew* har været haardt anfægtet, trods Traditionen og Evidensen, saa har til Gengæld det ældre Stykke haft en smuk Presse i Eftertiden. Uanset at intet Menneske i Dr. Elizabeths Dage har mistænkt det for at være af Shakespeare, har senere Aarhundreders Autoriteter udtalt sig snart i Favør af den store Digter som Ene-Forfatter, snart i Retning af et Medarbejderneskab fra første Færd.

For Shakespeares Forfatterskab talte først ALEXANDER POPE, den engelske Klassicismes Stormester (i hans Udgave 1725), senere den tyske Romantiks Hoved, LUDWIG TIECK (f. Ex. i hans Oversættelse af *Shakespeares Werke* Udg. 1840, VII 271). Tieck udtaler sig med Begrundelse: »Dieses Lustspiel muss fast um zwanzig Jahre älter und ohngefähr 1589, 90 geschrieben seyn. Wenn man die auffallende Aehnlichkeit der Sprache und des Verses mit dem ältern *King John*, so wie mit dem *Locrine*, ja selbst mit der ersten Ausgabe der Bürgerkriege bemerkt, so wird der Kenner, der Shakspeare in allen seinen Eigenthümlichkeiten und nicht bloss obenhin kennt, vielleicht wenig Bedenken finden, das alte Lustspiel für eine hastige Jugend-Arbeit des Dichters zu halten.« Tieck mener altsaa at Stykket er fra omtr. Shakespeares Debutaar, mens *The Shrew* skulde være fra hans Banes Slutning. Ogsaa COURTHOPE i hans beundringsværdige *History of English Poetry* IV 471 f. Iøvrigt har Marlowe, Kyd og Greene, mer eller mindre i Samarbejde med Shakespeare, været udlagte som skyldige.

Imod Shakespeares Forfatterskab taler dog den afgørende Omstaendighed, at han ikke kan være *Ophav til begge Stykker*. Dertil er den stilistiske Omarbejdelse for radikal. Kun tolv (12) Linier er nogenlunde uskadte overtagne fra *A Shrew* (især IV. 3. 171—73, V. 2. 114 og 130—1). De to Stykker kan ikke være adskilte ved noget langt Aaremaal. Det er neppe tænkeligt, at *A Shrew* kan være fra 1589! Det har 17 Procent af »double endings«,

Ellevestavelsesvers, et Tal der allerede er ret højt for Aaret 1593, desuden mange »run-on lines«, Enjambementer, er alt i alt vel for modent i Sproget til at kunne sættes til 1589, har ogsaa Allusioner til Stykker af et senere Datum. *The Shrew* har 19 Procent Ellevestavelsesvers, men kan vel til Nød være fra 1594; *ellers er det ikke det Drama der blev spillet af Shakespeares Trup* i Newington Butts 1594. Om et Drama ældre end 1594 kan der under ingen Omstændigheder være Tale i *The Shrews* Tilfælde. — W. Shakespeare skulde altsaa have omarbejdet et kun lidet ældre Stykke: dette *kan altsaa* ikke være hans eget. En videre Diskussion af dette Problem anser jeg for ørkeslös. Det ældre, betragtelig ringere Drama er af en Samtidig.

Og iblandt de Samtidige har MARLOWE altid haft Forspringet i denne Komedies Litterærhistorie: »Marlowe har skrevet det gamle Stykke.« Eller dog været dets Hovedforfatter! Marlowe har ogsaa skrevet det nye Stykke, eller været Medarbejder paa det. FLEAY hævdede i sin før citerede *Manual* S. 186, at *A Shrew* var »written by Shakespeare and Marlowe in conjunction for Lord Pembroke's company, Shakespeare writing the prose scenes and Marlowe the verse«. Senere, i sin *Life of Shakespeare*, tilskrev han KYD Hovedparten af Stykket, men mente dog ogsaa at GREENE kunde have en anständig Part deri. DUGDALE SYKES fraskrev i sin lille inciterende Bog »The Authorship of *The Taming of a Shrew*« (1920) Shakespeare Prosa-Scenerne. Disse tillagde han paa løse Kriterier Samuel Rowley, i hvem allerede POPE havde set en Medarbejder paa Shakespares Ungdoms-Stykker.

Dugdale Sykes' Argumenter er navnlig følgende:

Ordet *sounſ!* (Guds Vunder o. lign., alm. hos Falstaff) forekommer hyppigt i Prosaen, ligesaa i *The Famous Victories of Henry V* (efter Kvart-Udgaven 1598). — Men her forekommer ogsaa *marry* og *come* som Udraabsord.

Vendingerne *I warrant you* og *as passeth* er ligeledes hyppige i begge Stykker. — Disse er ganske karakterlose, findes alle Vegne, f. Ex. *Arden of Feversham* 812.

Udbruddet *O brave!* findes i begge Stykker. — Og overalt, maa man tilføje, f. Ex. *Rare Triumphs* S. 232, *Mucedorus* 5. 1. 114.

Verbet *to course* i Bet. »to beat, to thrash« forekommer i begge Stykker. — Dette er faktisk sjeldent og er den bedste »clue«.

Udtrykket »Let me alone with (him)« findes i begge Stykker.

— Men det forekommer i *Arden of Feversham* 1142, 1745, 2236, og dette Stykke er af Thomas Kyd, som jo netop er en af Kandidaterne til Forfatterskabet.

Dugdale Sykes sammenligner fra Forspillet til *A Shrew*:

By the mass, I think I am a lord indeed med *Famous Victories* S. 165 i Morleys Udgave (= B iv verso):

Mass, thou saist true, thou art indeed.

Dog Udtrykket »thou sayst true« eller »truth« o. lign. forekommer meget hyppigt, se f. Ex. *Locrine* 3. 3. 19, *Orlando* 3. 2, 167, *Soliman and Perseda* 880.

Udtrykket »I pray you sir, who am I« findes i begge Stykker*. — Ogsaa i *Wily beguiled* 473 og 1579; men Vendingen er sjeldent.

Dugdale Sykes anser ogsaa de senere Tilføjelser til Marlowes *Dr. Faustus* for Værk af samme Haand. Men en Række af hans Exempler — de fleste — findes andensteds: »you had best« som han har forsøgt sig paa, findes saaledes *Arden* 1674.

Ogsaa i Versene finder han en Lighed, II, 1:

And see you come no more into this place,

Lest that I clap the fiddle on my face,

noget Lignende findes i *Famous Victories*, men ogsaa i det gamle Spil om *Richard III*, S. 58 og 145.

Det er tyndt, men ikke helt umuligt. Samme Rowley har skrevet en Komedie, *When You See Me You Know Me, or The Famous Chronicle History of King Henry the Eight*, signeret Arbejde, og kan have skrevet den ældre *Henry V*. Han hørte til Overleverne af den forulykkede Folkescene fra Tiden før 1587. Trods Alt er han tænkelig som Medarbejder paa *A Shrew*. Dugdale Sykes har paavist 9 (ni) Laan fra Kyd til Stykket *Wily beguiled*, som muligt er af Rowley, men der er mindst halvfems! *Wily beguiled* er ogsaa af Nogle mistænkt for at være Kyds Arbejde, men var for svagt dertil. Har de to Herrer dog været Medarbejdere?

Vi vender tilbage til MARLOWE.

J. M. ROBERTSON har i sin *Shakespeare Canon* i Almindelighed den Tendens at fraskrive W. Shakespeare hans tidligste Arbejder og tildele Marlowe dem. I anden Del af dette tunge Værk S. 134—43 lader han ogsaa Marlowe være Forfatter af *A Shrew*,

* Ogsaa i Shr. Epil. 9: »am not I a lord?» overset af D. Sykes.

omend paa Basis af et ældre Stykke i *Prosa*. Han hælder saaledes til Tre-Kilde-Hypothesen. Mod sin Sædvane meddeler han her ingen Paralleler (skønt saadanne findes) men hefter sig især ved Prof. WALTER RALEGHs kendte Bog (i Serien *English Men of Letters*) hvor Shakespeare gavmildt tildeles baade *A Shrew* og *The Shrew*. Derimod finder han Ligheder mellem *A Shrew* og *Comedy of Errors*, som ligeledes skal være af Marlowe, navnlig med Henvisning til Versifikationen. Men *A Shrew* og *Errors* kan ikke have samme Forfatter. *Errors'* aandrige og sirlige Stil, ypperlige Komposition og varme, menneskelige Følelser, er bundumarrowske, Motiv-Rigdommen peger tydeligt imod Shakespeare, om hvis Forfatterskab Udgiverne af dette Stykke — hans gamle Spillekammerater — ogsaa maa have vidst Besked. — Jeg veed heller ikke om Versifikationen i *A Shrew* paa nogen Maade kan kaldes Marlowe værdig, fraset et Par beaandede Repliker.

Bort fra Marlowe peger imidlertid paa en afgørende Maade netop de marloweske Citater og Allusioner i Stykket. Disse er i et knapt, men meget afgørende Udvalg blevet samlet i F. S. BOAS' Udgave af *A Shrew* fra 1908. De er mere eller mindre udførligt behandlede i den Kommentar, som udgør Slutningen af nærværende Skrift. Det skulde være umuligt at tilskrive Marlowe et Arbejde, hvori hans Stil og Manér parodieres saa grumt og næsten ordret som her. Der er Ingenting, der tyder paa, at Marlowe nogensinde har været Parodist. Han var en benaadet, buldrende og klangrig Versifikator og Deklamator, aldrig i Beknæb for flotte Vers, men at han skulde afskrive sine egne for at gør Nar af dem, det er utroligt. Og i Virkeligheden er Parodien gennemgaaende — Stykket har ingen anden Stil end den studentikostlystige; specielt er Kærligheds-Scenerne komisk fordrejede.

Ikke desto mindre forsvarer Marlowes Forfatterskab i Indledningen til Dover Wilsons Udgave af QUILLER COUCH (S. XXII f.) »To the more seriously minded this suggestion may appear incredible. But to those acquainted with stage-folk and their ways there is nothing incredible about it. Marlowe's was a mocking spirit; and one can, without any grave stretch of belief, imagine that after a thundering success with *Tamburlaine* he (and maybe some kindred spirits) would have exploited its success by »gaying« his own bombast. As a theatrical, and commercial, hit the intrusion, upon a heathside pot-house, of a master of hounds who,

to the amazement of his hunt, suddenly breaks into grandiose lines upon the ‘Shadow of the Night longing to view Orion’s drizzling looks’, might well have tickled ears that remembered them in high tropic setting.« — Dette turde være pure Nonsense. Marlowe var ikke Parodist, og han vilde være den sidste til at parodiere den tragiske Stil han selv havde skabt.

Men der var en Parodist mellem det nye Theaters Digtere, og en som netop havde et godt Øje til Marlowe, nemlig R. GREENE. Om Greenes Novelle *Menaphon* betragtet som Marlowe-Parodi henviser jeg til mit Skrift *Shakespeare og hans Samtidige* S. 99ff. Nuvel, *A Shrew* er i Henseende til Stilen netop en *Menaphon*, Methoden er den samme, kun grovere, idet den direkte Afskrivning er foretrukket i nogle og tyve Repliker for den dulgte Forvrængning. Shakespeares Parodier i *Henrik IV* og *V* og *Hamlet* er helt frie.

Selvfølgelig har Greene været udpeget som Forfatter til *A Shrew* af mere end een Forsker, først vel MALONE, senere mere indgaaende, omend dilettantisk, CHARLES KNIGHT, især i hans store Kvartudgave (*The Standard Edition of the Pictorial Shakspere*) *Comedies*, I 266 ff. Charles Knight lagde ingen Vægt paa Overensstemmelserne med Marlowe, og blev derfor stærkt kritiseret, især fra amerikansk Side, fordi han havde beskyldt Greene for at være Plagiator. Dette var dog ikke bogstavelig Tilfældet, men hvilken Forfatter man nu end giver *A Shrew*, saa citerer han dog Marlowe »en halv Snes Gange«, som det troskyligt hed sig, i Virkeligheden altsaa oftere. Charles Knight citerer to Steder fra *Orlando furioso*, som er synligt plagierede i *A Shrew*, det ene paa Vers og det andet i Prosa; *Orlando* tillægges af en Samtidig og vist af alle Nutidige Greene. Endvidere sammenstiller han to Tirader fra *Alphonsus of Aragon*, paa Vers, med synligt parodiske Citater af *A Shrew*. *Alphonsus* Ar. bærer i Originalen Greenes Navn paa Titelbladet. Knight hævdede imidlertid at hans Opfattelse af Greene som Forfatter ikke væsentlig hvilede paa »a comparison of detached passages«, men paa et Helheds-Indtryk. Tillige paastod han, at Greene »possessed the readist pen of all his contemporaries« og sikkert havde skrevet flere end de sex Stykker, der er overleverede til os. — Der er dog intet Bevis for at han havde den raskeste Pen. Hans dramatiske Forfatterskab strækker sig fra ca. 1588 til knap nok 1592, da han afsvor Scenen, blev Puritaner — og døde. Han kunde givetvis

have parodieret Marlowe i dramatisk Form, som han havde gjort det i novellistisk. GRANT WHITE overtog til en vis Grad Knights Hypothese, men gav ham Marlowe og »possibly« Shakespeare til Medarbejdere, se hans bekendte Udgave, Boston, IV (1855) 391, men har tydeligt ingen Overbevisning om dette Dramas Oprindelse. Hans Opfattelse deltes af mange, og har vel endnu sine Tilhængere. Den afgøres meget bestemt i BOAS' førnævnte Udgave fra 1908. Ganske afgørende vidner imod denne Opfattelse Greenes flydende og yndefulde Stil, som egentlig skulde udelukke en mere udførlig Diskussion. — Endnu mere urimelig er Tanken om PEELE som Greenes Medarbejder. Peele skrev veklingende og korrekte Vers og er let at kende paa sit mythologiske, noget tomme Billedsprog. Man tor hverken tilkende ham den *vis comica* eller den talentfulde Komposition, der udmærker *A Shrew*, ejheller dets usikre Sprog og Stil. Det er egentlig Malone, som har hittet paa denne Ide, som en Støtte til hans oprindelige Tanke om Greene som Eneforfatter.

Malone havde imidlertid et tredje Forslag til en Medforfatter eller Eneforfatter. Han havde laant det fra THOMAS FARMER, der i sin berømte Bog om Shakespeares »learning«, dybt i det attende Aarhundrede, udkastede nogle Flyvetanker i Retning af litterære Attributioner. Farmer holdt paa THOMAS KYD. — Der er nu heller ikke flere tilbage, dersom vi ikke vil gætte paa en Dilettant som LODGE, der i Reglen kun tages i Betragtning ved helt fortvivlede Attributioner, og hvis Sprog og Stil er gammeldags-stive. En *ubenævnt og ukendt* Forfatter, som man af og til tager sin Tilflugt til ved vanskelige Attributioner, kan neppe kaldes andet end en Umyndigheds-Indsigelse. Fælles for de ukendte Størrelser fra Tiden 1587—94 er egentlig kun negative Bestemmelser, de er og bliver kun Udflugter. — Vanskeligheden ved at operere med Kyd er hans prunkløse og uselvstændige Stil og uoriginale, skematiske Versifikation. Heri ligner han rigtignok Forfatteren til *A Shrew*, men det er ikke meget af et Bevis. Derimod var han en stor og glimrende dramatisk Kompositor. Han benyttede i *Den spanske Tragedie* Theatret paa Theatret, vel ogsaa i det nu tabte *Hamlet*-Drama. Hans Karakterer er fast definerede, Replikskiftet ypperligt. Han boede sammen med Marlowe og skrev ved samme Bord som han. I Modsætning til det nye engelske Theaters øvrige Grundlæggere, hvis da ikke Shakespeare var iblandt dem, var

han ikke universitets-uddannet. Hans Fortid er omrent ukendt, men jeg synes man maa regne med den Mulighed, at han kan have virket ved det tidligere, mere raa Theater. Iøvrigt henviser jeg til SARRAZINS ypperlige gamle Bog om Kyd og for Sprogets Vedkommende til mit eget Skrift om Shakespeare og hans Samtidige.

At Kyd er det gamle Stykkes Forfatter, benægtes, nærmest i Modsætning til FLEAY, der havde givet Farmers Mening sin Tilslutning, af BOAS i hans Udgave S. XXXIII. Boas vidste nok hvad han talte om, men hans Argument er her saa falsk, at det er nok at anføre det: »Apart from the absence of other marked features of Kyd's style, it is most improbable that so original a dramatist, who himself was imitated and parodied incessantly, should have borrowed in so wholesale and tasteless a manner from his chief rival.« Jeg finder mange Mærker af Kyds Sprog, som dog gerne savner det Markante, og kan ikke finde noget nærmere Objekt for hans Parodi end netop hans Bordfælle. Man kan heller ikke parodiere uden at efterligne. Især røber Kyd sig ved de talløse Genoptagelser af een Gang brugte Vers.

III. MULIGE OG VIRKELIGE STYKKER AF KYD

H. DUGDALE SYKES har i sin tidligere omtalte Pjece *The Authorship of »The Taming of a Shrew«* (1920) etableret visse Forbindelser mellem *A Shrew* og *The Famous Victories of Henry V* og *Wily Beguiled*. Hans Mening, som dog ikke er uden Vaklen, og daarlig støttet af hans Citater, er at S. ROWLEY har Part i alle disse Stykker, men dog ikke i Versene i *A Shrew*, og dette vil sige at Rowley ikke har konstrueret Stykket. Han lader altsaa Pladsen aaben for Hovedpersonen.

Wily Beguiled er vistnok senere end *The Merchant of Venice* og *Romeo and Juliet*, da Stykket indeholder et parodieret Citat af hvert af disse Stykker; rigtignok er det fristende at anse disse Passager for senere tilføjede, for *Wily* kunde være af ældre Datum. Efterligningerne af Th. Kyds Stil er paavist af SARRAZIN, *Th. Kyd* 75 ff. Vi vil ikke aftrykke disse Paavisninger, men kun tilfoje to Bemærkninger:

Sarrazin paavisser nogen Efterligning af Kyds *Spanish Tragedy* (»My heart, sweet friend, is like a ship at sea . . .« og »So sings

the mariner upon the shore . . .«) i *Wily* (»As the poor distressed mariner Long torsed by shipwreck«). Men begge disse Steder kan gaa tilbage til BROOKE, *Romeus* etc. 800 ff. — Endvidere gaar W. Beg. 269: »By all the sorrows of the Stygian souls« tilbage til *Sp. Trag.* 77: »Now by the sorrows of the souls in Hell«. — Det er derimod nødvendigt at oplyse, at W. Beg. 311: »Nay first I'll send thy soul to coalblack night« er uhyre almindeligt og ikke behøver at afspejle *Sp. Trag.* 46: »Ay, danger mixed with jealous despite Shall send the soul into eternal night«.

H. Dugdale Sykes finder S. Rowleys Forfatterskab til *Wily Beguiled* fastslaaet ved de talrige »zounds« o. lign. Udraabsord, som allerede er nævnte. De er rigtignok kendte som Fyldeord i Vers og Prosa, en Arv fra Skuespiller-Perioden i engelsk Theater før 1587, men ogsaa karakteristisk for *daarlige Opskrifter* fra mundtligt Foredrag, især naar det gælder en manglende Arsis- eller Thesis-Stavelse.

En anden af Dugdale Sykes »clues« er W. Beg. 1106: »Well, your good words have something laid my choler«, som han gen-finder i *A Shrew* II, 2. 50 f.: »your fair words hath something alaid my choler«. Men *Arden of Feversham* — af Kyd — III, 4. 20 har ligeledes: »your excuse hath somewhat mollified my choler«, *Arbasto* p. 182 har næsten samme Sætning. — Alt i Alt er det noget lidt.

Dugdale Sykes mener at *A Shrew* er fra 1590, da det kun citerer Marlowes *Tamburlaine* og *Faustus* (1587—89). Men det citerer ogsaa Marlowes *Jew of Malta*, et af hans sidste Stykker — *Jew* 1799 er identisk med *Wily* 1496. *Jew* 1528 genklinger *Wily* 1482. Ogsaa flere Steder synes at sætte *Wily Beguiled* helt hen til Tidspunktet ved Marlowes Død; saaledes kan vistnok *A Shrew* være fra ca. 1592, ja under Forudsætning af de to Shakespeare-Citaters Ægthed i *Wily* endog senere. En nøjagtig Datering kan heller ikke gives af *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, som især A. C. SWINBURNE sværmede for, og som H. Dugdale Sykes i det mindste til Dels vil tilskrive S. Rowley. Stykket tilhørte Truppen The Queen's Men, blev indført i Boghandler-Laugets Protokol 14. Maj 1594, men først udgivet 1598, vel paa Grund af Shakespeares *Henry IV* og *Henry V*'s Succes. Det menes af Sir EDMUND CHAMBERS o. Fl. at have været i to Dele og senere forkortet, dette er dog neppe begrundet. Derimod forekommer det

mig sikkert, at Shakespeare har benyttet det, skønt det betvivles af Mange. Dette Stykke fortjener ikke sin Berømmelse og kan ikke af sproglige Grunde til- eller fraskrives S. Rowley; vi vil i det følgende citere dets Sprogbrug, som snarest er fra ca. 1593, jeg mener fra det nye Theaters første Periode.

IV. KOMMENTAR TIL »A SHREW«

A Shrew blev indført i Boghandler-Protokollen den 2. Maj 1594: *A Plesant Conceyted historie, call'd the Tamynge of a Shrowe.* (Udtalen med *o* er gammel, jfr. *shew*: *show*). Det udkom samme Aar hos Bogtrykkeren PETER SHORT, som havde ladet det indskrive, og blev falbudt hos Boghandleren C. BURBIE. I Titelen kom det til at hedde *A Shrew* med *e*. Det er selvfolgelig rent theoretisk muligt, at den Text man har indgivet til Censuren, var Shakespeares, men der er ingen Grund til at filosofere over en saadan Hypothese; selvfolgelig er det muligt, at *The Shrew* har cirkuleret i Manuskript, og at Trykningen af det gamle Spil skyldes den Succes Shakespeare allerede kan have haft med sin Bearbejdelse. En senere Udgave kom 1596 hos de samme to Herrer; i 1607 udkom en tredje hos NICHOLAS LING, kendt som *Hamlets* Udgiver; Ling var baade Forlægger og Udgiver, men Bogtrykkeren var V. S., d. v. s. VALENTINE SIMMES, der ogsaa var Shakespeare-Trykker og ogsaa ellers arbejdede sammen med Ling. Senere vides Bogen kun at være udgivet i videnskabeligt Øjemed, første Gang 1779. — Vi benytter Originalens Sidetal, men Indeling i Akter, Scener og Vers efter F. S. Boas' Udgave.

Det gamle Stykke foregaar i Athen, som *En Skærsommernats Drom*; det mangler Forklædningen af Biancas Elskere; det har en *Vincentio* i Stedet for *Pedanten*; *Petruchio* hedder *Ferando*; *Katherine* kaldes altid *Kate*; og har som tidligere nævnt en fuldstændig Ramme. —

Kommentarer til Shakespeares Stykke indeholder selvfolgelig en Del, der tillige angaar det formentlig kyd'ske Drama; jeg henviser f. Ex. til W. BOND's Udgave i *The Arden Shakespeare* eller J. D. WILSON's i *The New Shakespeare*. I disse Udgaver, og paa en anden Maade i *The Bankside Shakespeare*, er Scene for Scene sammenstillet, saaledes at man kan lægge Haanden paa W. Shake-

speares kunstforstandige Gendigtning. Det siger sig selv, at jeg ikke har kunnet tage Hensyn til Professor J. Dover Wilsons Datering af *The Shrew* til 1592. Allerede Versifikationen sætter sig herimod, f. Ex. de 19 % Vers med kvindelig Udgang, eller de lette og flydende Enjambements. Wilsons Spekulationer over det gamle og det nye og det hypothetiske tredje Stykke om Arrigtrolden staar og falder med hans utrolige Kronologi.

Orig. **Pag. 1** [INDUCTION, Ordet tilsat af Udgiverne].

5 ff. Fill's the tother pot . . . look I do drink of mine own instigation] Næsten Ordlyden i *The First Part of the Contention*, Morleys Udg. 1. Paginering 172: fill all the pots againe . . . I am come hither as it were of my mans instigation.

9—12 Now that the gloomy shadow of the night . . .] plus tre følgende Vers er kopierede efter Marlowes *Faustus* Sc. iiiii. 1—4 (= 235 ff.) Orig. af *Faustus* har earth, Udg. 1616 night, mulig Tilbage-Paavirkning af *A Shrew*. Earth er det rette Ord. Nogle flere Overensstemmelser med Udg. 1616 er vel at forklare ligesaa. — Med disse fire Vers er *A Shrew* betegnet som Parodi. — Sml. ogsaa *Faustus* 360 ff.

13 And darksome night o'ershades the christal heavens] Ligende i *Richard Duke of York*, Morley's Udg. 151. Jfr. *Rich. III* I. 2. 131.

Pag. 2.

14 Here break we off our hunting for to-night] Sml. Kyds *Spanish Tragedy* IV.4.74.

19 ff. Fie, how the slavish villain stinks of drink . . .] Sml. Marlowe *Jew of Malta* 1961. *Fam. Victories* 172. *Span. Trag.* I. 4. 34. *Soliman and Perseda* V. 4. 10.

24 omtr. = 75. De flg. 8 Vers minder vagt om *A Looking Glass for London*.

28 Jfr. I. 1. 136.

32 Jfr. 41.

35 But see in any case you wake him not] Verset findes flere Gange i *Arden*. Bestandig gentages tidligere brugte Linier.

41 Verset minder om *Alphonsus Ar.* 849.

Pag. 3.

51 And it please your honour, your players be come] Jfr.

Fam. Victories 167. — Den følgende Scene minder lidt om Skue-spillernes Præsentation i *Hamlet*.

58 a comodity] = comedy, jfr. *Edw. IV.* A p. 89.

60 sounſ, thou'l shame us all] Jfr. *Arden* III. 6. 138.

65 ff. Jfr. *Edw. II* 2182. 2222. *Cornelia* 1738. *Rare Tri.* 157.

Pag. 4.

75 Dally with him and hug him in thine arms] Jfr. *Arden* V. 1. 85. *Span. Trag.* I. 3. 34.

79 I'll dandle him well enough] Jfr. *Contention* (Morley's Udg. 2. Paginering) 171. *Wily beguiled* 1550. 1575.

87 f. a shoulder of mutton . . . make our devil roar] *Faustus* 360 ff. *Soliman and Perseda* IV. 1. 6.

Sc. 2. 8 see you do as erst I gave in charge] *Span. Trag.* I. 2. 106.

Pag. 5.

19 ff. lusty steeds more swift of pace etc.] *Tamb.* 299. *Fairy Queen.* I. 9. 21. *Alcazar* 1417. *Titus Andr.* II. 2. 24.

24 o'ertake the rue] *Wily* 2395. *Jew* 131. 190. *George a Greene* 542.

26 I am a lord indeed] *Fam. Vict.* 165.

29 f. that's as much to say etc.] Shakesp. 2 *Henry VI* II. 1. 12 (ikke i *Contention*). *Romeo and Juliet* første og anden Kvarto 1090. *Leir* 5. 7. 32. *George a Greene* 421.

32 ff. Ay, my gracious lord etc.] genklinger *Arden* II. 2. 6 og især *Contention* 173 (2. Paginering).

35 To gratulate your honour's safe return] Sml. *Soliman and Perseda* I. 3. 119.

38 Mass! 'tis a pretty wench; what's her name] *Cont.* 172 (2. Paginering).

39 On that my lovely lord would once vouchsafe] Jfr. *Orlando* 1129.

40 frantic fits] *Wily* 2376.

41—43 Oh were I now but half so eloquent etc.] *Arden* II. 2. 116. 2 *Tamburlaine* 2500—02: O were I now but half so eloquent To paint in words what I'll perform in deeds, I know your honour then would pity me.

Pag. 6.

54 Even when it please your honour, they be ready] *Content.*
(2. Paginering) 171.

56 but look for etc.] *Fam. Vict.* 167. 184.

ACT. I (Sc. 1 tilfojet af Udgiverne).

3—5 Jfr. *Tamb.* 3889. 3514. *Three Lords* 428.

7 my dearst friend] Jfr. *Wily* 518. 1359.

8 my second selfe] *Span. Trag.* II. 4. 9. *Soliman* II. 1. 99.

9 ff. which since . . . as great As erst did Cæsar when he conquered most] *Ed.* II 172. *The True Tragedie of Rich.* III (Morleys Udg.) p. 188. *Friar Bacon* 1061.

Pag. 7.

19 My house, my self, and all is yours to use] Jfr. I. 1. 310.
Arden I. 265. *Jew of Malta* 902. *Span. Trag.* 314. 153. *James the Fourth* 1863.

22—24 But stay; what dames are these so bright of hue etc.] er af Boas i hans Udgave S. 93 sammenlignet med 1 Tamburlaine III. 3. 117—20. Sml. ogsaa *Faustus* 1341—45, *Span. Trag.* IV. 4. 17. *Soliman* IV. 1. 80.

28—9 And I will hie me down unto the quay, To see what merchandise is come a shore] gentager *Arden* I. 89—90.

30—31 How now, my lord? What, in a dump etc.] *Soliman* 4. 1. 25. *Jew* 616. *Dido* (vel af Marlowe) 1470.

32 Trust me, my friend, I must confess to thee] *Wily* 2123—5.

33 these fair dames etc.] Jfr. *Leir* II. 1. 26 (muligt af Kyd).

35 resolve me what they be] *Arden* I 456—8.

37 For I do long to see them once again] *Span. Tr.* I. 2. 110.

43 How we might compass our desired joys] Jfr. *Wily* 540.
1769.

Pag. 8.

50—51 = Vers 115.

52 For such a scold as she did never live] *Arden* II. 1. 5.

56 Jfr. III. 4. 39 samt *Span. Trag.* II. 3. 13.

62—64 the image of honour and nobility etc.] er allerede i Boas' Udg. S. 94 paavist at være Parodi af 1 Tamburlaine V. 1.
74—59 (= 1855 ff.) men hentyder ogsaa til *Tamburlaine* 639.

66—69 . . . some one that will attempt to wed this devilish child] Underligt, at han ikke har tænkt derpaa for.

74 fit her humour right] = II. 1. 129.

Pag. 9.

81—85 O might I see the centre of my soul etc.] er først sammenstillet af F. S. Boas i hans Udg. S. 94 med 2 *Tambur-laine* II. 4. 83—89 (= 3051 ff.). — Jfr. *Ed. II* 1184. Vers 83 alluderer til *Dido* 1612, Vers 85 til *Faust* 1328. V. 84 (homerisk) er Genstand for Spot i *Wily* 1773. *Wily* 189 parodierer »the center of my soul« i Vers 81. — Muligt hentydes der i V. 84 ogsaa til Spensers *Faerie Queene* f. Ex. I. 1. 2 eller I. 7. 27.

91 Revel and spend as if thou wert myself] *Jew* 1347 er Kilden.

92—3 should ∼ By some means come to Athens] Tidligt Enjambement.

95 in these public schools] d. v. s. Akademier o. lign.; vel fra *Faustus* 118.

98—99 minder om *Arden* II. 1. 31, parodieres *Wily* 1241. Jfr. *Massacre at Paris* 33. 1149 etc.

101 Good Morrow, Gentlemen, to all at once!] Fra *Alphonsus Emperor* III. 1. 246.

102 How now, Polidor] Ligesaa I. 1. 30; V. 1. 157. ib. what, man, still in love] *Wily* 1952.

104 God send me better luck when I shall woo] Fra *Arden* I 126.

Pag. 10.

112 my master's going to this gear now] *Dido* 121; *Span. Trag.* III. 6. 43; IV. 1. 193.

113 whither, in faith, Ferando? Tell me true] *Arden* I. 134.

115 The devil himself] = Vers 51.

122—23 skal deles: I think/He know our mind.

131—32 alluderer til *Jew* 901, *Arden* III. 6. 98—100.

133—34 what I did promise you I'll perform] *Arden* II. 2. 189 og 196. *Mucedorus* (pseudo-shakesp., muligt Kyds) II. 2. 88.

Pag. 11.

140 Let me alone to tame her well enough] Jfr. II. 2. 24 samt *Arden* II. 2. 54; *Fam. Vict.* p. 179.

141 Now call her forth] *Wily* 1152.

Den følgende Scene, Frieriet, minder om *Famous Vict.* p. 188. Man har fundet en betydningsfuld Analogi mellem Frieriscenerne i Shakespeares *The Shrew* og hans *Henry V*, men den findes allerede i de to gamle Stykker, han har benyttet, og kan altsaa ikke bruges til en sen Tidsbestemmelse for *The Shrew*, som nogle har forsøgt.

153 I will set my ten commandments in your face] d. v. s. hendes ti Negle: *Contention* 159. *Soliman* 1881. *Locrine* IV. 2. 40 (pseudo-shakespearesk, muligt af Kyd).

157 this hand is mine, and I thy *love*] der skal læses *dear*. Udtrykket er sjældent, men findes *Wily beguiled* 2175. 1772. 2101 (his deare, thy deare). Kun *dear* rimer paa *ear* i Vers 156.

158 the woodcock wants his tail] Jfr. *Return from Parnassus* B p. 43: even as the ape wanteth a tail, as they say, even so we wanted all malice.

161 She's willing, sir, and loves me as her life] *Wily* c. 1500.

163 Come hither, Kate, and let me give thy hand] *Wily* 165.

167 this brain-sick man] *Span. Trag.* IV. 4. 118.

168 She turns aside and speaks] *Famous Victories* p. 189.

Pag. 12.

172 Give me thy hand] *Wily* 1165.

173 with wealth and ease] *Fam. Vict.* p. 188: ile deale as easily with thee.

175 Sunday next shall be our wedding day] *Fam. Vict.* p. 192.

182 why dost thou look so sad] *Span. Trag.* III. 15. 70.

184 fare you well and see you keep your promise] *Arden* I. 414.

185 So: all, thus far, goes well] *Span. Trag.* III. 10. 1.

195 and I cannot tell you what] *Wily* 615 og 1703.

Pag. 13

200 ff. *Faustus* 203. 377. *Wily* 1720.

205 Tell him on sunday next we must be married] *Fam. Vict.* 192: But when shall be our wedding day? — The first Sunday of the next monteth, God willing.

209 Jfr. *Wily* 1681.

211 Jfr. *Arden* I. 310. *Edw. II.* 316.

216—17 Jfr. *Wily* 1732, samt Lily's *Euphues* 196.

Pag. 14.

- 224 I hold my life etc.] *Jew* 1353. *Wily* 1182.
 225 f. hop-of-my thumb, know who you are] *Wily* 1835.
Fam. Vict. 163, 164, 165. — Jfr. Who am I? *A Shrew* IV. 2. 40.
 230 a fool will make you amends for all] *Arden* I. 132.
 232 now we cannot be angry] Jfr. II. 2. 50.
 236 Ecce signum] *Faustus* 959. Ogsaa hos Shakespeare o. Fl.
 239 I entreat you do me a message to your master] *Arden*
 II. 1. 77—78.
 254 I have good news for him] *Arden* I. 552.

Pag. 15.

- 261 blushing in the air turns to a stone] *Dido* 300. — I *The Carde of Fancie* taler Greene om Floden Lincertis i Böhmen,
 »which presentlie (d. v. s. øjeblikkelig) turneth whatsoever it
 toucheth into stone«.
 268 Jfr. *Arden* I. 183.
 270 to make all things in a readiness against my new mistress]
Arden III. 6. 1. *Wily* 2441. *Faust* p. 207. *Mucedorus* IV. 1. 35.
 274 have him to the buttery presently] *Wily* 331.
 278 And say that Polidor sent thee thither] *Richard Duke of York* p. 190.
 279 ff. Meget præget af Sproget i *Arden* I. 229 osv., *Leir* II. 1. 44
 (thou wilt fit his turn) o. lign. Kyd'sk Sprogbrug.

Pag. 16.

- 309 precious fiery pointed stones of Indie] Jfr. *Tamb.* 3311
 samt *Jew of Malta* 820, *Faustus* 110.
 310 You shall command both them, myself, and all] Meget
 alm. Marlowe'sk Sprogbrug, f. Ex. *Jew* 1396. 902. Men ogsaa
 hos Greene: *James IV* 1163, og hos Kyd: *Arden* I 265. 549. Citeret
 her fra *A Shrew* Induction som Gentagelse.

- 320 And so I'll leave you for one hour or two] *Arden* III. 2. 14.
Friar Bacon 1075.

Pag. 17.

- 329 Here, Sim, I drink to thee] *Contention* (2. Paginering)
 p. 172.
 331 here's two fine gentlewomen] vel Kate og Valeria?
 ACT. II [Sc. I.].

1 The senseless trees] *Tamb.* 2937. *Wily* 1034. 1263.

9—10 Jfr. den gl. *Rich. III* p. 20.

11—12 Jfr. *Soliman and Perseda* III. 2. 24.

Pag. 18.

21 do you mock me] = III. 3. 23. Jfr. *Spanish Tragedy* III. 6. 61.

29 29 You're best be still, lest I cross your pate] *Fam. Vict.* 177. *Span. Trag.* III. 6. 62.

31 Jfr. *Orlando* 1120 ff.

Regie.: She offers to strike him with the lute] *Fam. Vict.* 177.

35—36 Jfr. *Fam. Vict.* (2. Paginering) 166. *Faustus* 808. *Romeo Q* 2. III. 1. 6. *Wily* 633.

39 For I was ne'er so 'fraid in all my life] (Jfr. Epil.) *Arden* IV. 3. 56; jfr. III. 6. 13. *Leir* I. 2. 78.

Pag. 19.

53 go to my chamber] *Arden* IV. 3. 64—65.

56—59 Come, fair Emelia, my lovely love etc.] I Boas' Udg. 95 cit. fra 2 *Tamburlaine* I. 3. 1—4 (= 2570 ff.); men jfr. videre *Tamb.* 3073—4: Batter the shining pallace of the Sun And shiuer all the starry firmament.

64 enjoy thy love, or die] *Arden* I. 209.

68 ff. And all that pierceth Phoebus' silver eye] Se Boas' Udg. 95. De tre Vers er afskrevne efter 1 *Tamburlaine* III. 2. 18—20 (= Vers 1004: Phoebes; Phoebus' er dog det Rette.) Jfr. *Wily* 945 NB. 2090.

70 *Leir* III. 5. 60. *Arden* I. 46.

71 What saith Philema to her friend] *Wily* 342. *Span. Trag.* II. 3. 1—2. *Rich. III* (før-shakespearesk; Orig.) p. 68. *Arden* II. 2. 109.

78 the caverns of the earth] *Wily* 1294.

79 f. To seek for strange and new-found precious stones etc.] Se Boas' Udg. 95; et Laan fra *Faustus* Sc. I. 81 f. (= Vers 110 f.).

Pag. 20.

84 Jfr. *Arden* I 263.

87 Jfr. *Span. Trag.* III. 3. 30.

98 fantastic suits] kommer igen Vers 128—29. Jfr. *Edw. I.* 231.

101 liquid gold] 2 *Tamburl.* 2792. 4266. Omgivelserne minder om Peeles *Arraignment of Paris* (Smeatons Udg. 1905) p. 22–23.

105 f. For I had rather] *Jew* 594. *Arden* I. 519. *Leir*. I. 2. 93.

Pag. 21.

118 many things I tell you's in my head] *Span. Trag.* IV. 1. 50.

120 we shall live like lambs and lions] Jfr. Greene's *Friar Bacon* 1687.

128 Jfr. Vers 98.

129 Fantastic made to fit my humour so] Jfr. I. 1. 74, næsten ordret.

131 f. Jfr. *Tamburlaine* 961—63. 3313. 3920. *Wily* 2490.

133 this . . . have I made choice to wear] *Fam. Vict.* 166.

136 Sml. Induction I. 29.

Pag. 22.

148 ff. Livlige Genklange af *Tamburlaine* 283. 2436. *Soliman* IV. 1. 83. *Faustus* 1346.

156—60 Thou shalt have garments wrought of Median silk etc.] *Friar Bacon* 1427. *Edw. I* 235. *Tamburlaine* 289. 387. 2540. Det gl. Spil om *Rich. III* 47. — Stedet er allerede iagttaget hos Boas.

159 Ploughs up huge furrows in the Terrene Maine] *Dido* 112. *Orlando* 991—2.

160 Jfr. *Faustus* 110. Jfr. *Look. Glass* 100. 1524. *Orl.* 75.

Sc. II.

1 = II. 2. 39; III. 5. 3, 22, 53. Jfr. *Span. Trag.* III. 2. 68. *Wily* 693.

4 Souns, would you not have a bloody nose] *Orl.* 861.

5 I did but jest] = II. 2. 56. *Famous Victorus* 163. *Wily* 169.

Pag. 23.

9—10 Tush . . . I promise thee] Jfr. V. 1. 42, 60. *Famous Victories* 189.

11 why, you may take it, and the devil burst you] *Jew* 387. *Faustus* 545. *Merch. of Venice* IV. 1. 341.

16 there's such cheer as passeth] III. 1. 8. Jfr. *Wily* 1434. *Arden* V. 1. 177.

20 out of all cry] I. 1. 217; II. 2. 27. *Wily* 1732.

24 Let my master alone etc.] I. 1. 139—40. *Fam. Vict.* p. 179.

25 tame well enough etc.] *Induction* I. 79; I. 1. 140. *Arden* II. 2. 54 f.

26 a churl waxen now of late etc.] Jfr. 1038 grown of late. — *Arden* 1510. *Wily* 1207. 2262.

27 out of all cry] Jfr. 20.

29 I'd have a fling at her myself] *Wily* 433.

31 set the matter hard for myself, I warrant thee] *Wily* 722.

32 ff. Jfr. *Wily* 1099. *Arden* I 319.

36 marry, my timber etc.] *Wily* 457—8.

Pag. 24.

37 ff. er i Orig. sat som Vers, hos Boas som Prosa.

39 Come hither] meget hyppigt i *A Shrew*: III. 5. 3. II. 2. 1; III. 5. 5, 22.

Denne og de følgende Repliker minder om *Faustus* 385—93.

46—47 *Mucedorus* I. 2. 6.

50 *Wily* 1106. *Arden* III. 4. 20.

51 *Famous Vict.* 164—5. *Arden* V. 1. 112; I. 216.

52 *Arden* III. 5. 151.

53 Belike] *Wily* 117.

Sirrah, go, make ready my horse presently] *Contention* 160.

56 I hope you do but jest] II. 2. 5. *Arden* I. 365. *Wily* 169.

Looking Glass 326.

58 I am resolved to stay] *Arden* IV. 1. 26.

59 Jfr. *Merch. of Venice* III. 2. 312.

60—61 Jfr. *Arden* I. 401; IV. 1. 35.

63—64 *Arden* II. 2. 20. *Famous Victories* p. 162, 167. Sml. *Arden* IV. 1. 23—24.

Pag. 25.

70 another peck of lavender] *Arden* III. 1. 76.

79 in madding mood] *Orlando* 532.

87 stand not on terms] *Span. Trag.* III. 10. 20. *Arden* III. 6. 33.

92 Jfr. *Arden* I. 411.

Pag. 26.

102 she will be reclaimed] *Arden*. III. 1. 1. 10.

103 Jfr. Vers 26 samt *Arden*. IV. 4. 61.

105 I would be loath that they should disagree] *Wily* 660; 1635.

108 = III. 3. 54.

112 = III. 4. 24.

114 I guess he is a merchant of great wealth] *Arden* I. 589.
 120 I leave censure of your several thoughts] *Wily* 2548.
 122 f. Rests yet behind, which, when occasion serves etc.]
Arden II. 2. 175. *Soliman* I. 1. 39. *Edw.* II. 765. *Leir* III. 5. 16.
 128 = IV. 2. 2. Jfr. *K. John* (før-shakespeareesk, muligt Kyd)
 p. 137. *Arden* I. 637.
 ACT III [Sc. I].

Pag. 27.

L. 6 Ay] i Boas' Udg. er en Fejl eller unødig Textrettelse for Originalens »Nay«.

L. 7 my master has such ado with her as it passeth] = II.
 2. 16; III. 5. 43. *Wily* 1434.
 21 *Fam. Vict.* p. 192.
 26 Come hither . . . I'll cut your nose] *Arden* III. 2. 53. *Alphonsus Emperor* III. 1. 411.
 30 Who dressed this meat] minder, om end ikke verbalt, om *Arden*.

Pag. 28.

31 f. Jfr. *Mucedorus* II. 2. 65. *Arden* V. 1. 54. Scene-Regie: He throws down the table etc.] *Arden*. I. 369.

39 I laughed what a box he gave Sander] *Fam. Vict.* 165—6.
 41 I hurt his foot for the nonce] *Leir* V. 1. 27.
 45 With curbs of hunger, ease, and want of sleep] Kyd's *Cornelia* I. 58. Marlowes *Edw.* II 2002.

47 I'll mew her up as men do mew their hawks] *Wily* 528, 1389. *Edw.* II. 2004.

50—52 er næsten identiske med 2 *Tamburlaine* IV. 12—14 (= *Tamb.* 3991 ff.), se Boas' Udg. S. 78.

De sidste 5 Linier ser ud som en Interpolation, de er dog meget Kyd-Marlowe'ske.

Pag. 29.

[Sc. II].

4 *Arraignment of Paris* V. 1. 84. — Men alle de fire første Vers lyder som Efterklange.

7 Her do I mean to make my lovely bride] *Wily* 1961; 2393.

11 To compass this etc.] *Wily* 540.

16 deeds of land] *Arden* I. 5.

17 gain my hearts desire] Jfr. II. 1. 16, III. 4. 9, samt *Span. Trag.* 1589.

28 What decorum does he use] Kyd's *Houshold. Philosophy* 1351.

31 our plotted drift] *Wily* 1062.

Pag. 30.

[Sc. III].

1 *Dido* 163. *Sir John Oldcastle* p. 157. *Locrine* p. 58. Jfr. *Leir* V. 4. 72.

2 help me to some meat] *Jac. and Es.* 208.

3 I am so faint that I can scarcely stand] *Arden* III. 2. 16. *Leir* IV. 7. 3 og 19.

9 a piece of beef and mustard] *Leir.* V. 3. 33.

22 = II. 1. 21.

23 dost thou mack me] *Tamburlaine* 1282.

24 Take that for thy sauciness] *Arden* II. 2. 142.

26 with a murrain] *Epil.* 10.

27—28 Jfr. *Tamburlaine* 1681—82.

Pag. 31.

Scene-Regie: with a piece of meat upon his dagger's point] Jfr. *Tamburlaine* 1678.

44 be beholding to you] *Wily* 1161. *Soliman* I. 3. 121.

45 I tell thee flatly here unto thy teeth] *King John* I. 5. 51—54. *Span. Trag.* 2211.

54 = II. 2. 108.

Pag. 32.

[Sc. IV].

Lin. 1—6 er helt ametriske i Orig. som i Boas' Udgave.

9 enjoy your heart's delight] *Soliman* 1753.

13—14 er ametriske, vel Prosa.

14 *Arden* I. 129.

16 My father, sir, is newly come to town] *Arden* I. 110.

17 ametrisk.

20 I guess] *Span. Trag.* III. 12. 32.

22 And bent his liking to your daughter's love] *Span. Trag.* III. 12. 56.

27—28 Jfr. *Edw. I.* 138.

30 knit . . . a wedlock band,) *Wily* 293. *Housh. Ph.* 2547.

Pag. 33.

- 33 I freely give him] *Arden*. I. 3.
 35 Trust me, I must commend your liberal mind] *Arden*
 I. 270. *Wily*. 2401.
 36 And loving care you bear unto your son] *Rare Triumphs*
 p. 211. *Span. Trag.* III. 12. 91. *Leir*. IV. 7. 330.
 37 And here I give him freely my consent] *Jocasta*. IV. 1.
 Chor. 2; jfr. smst. II. 1. 93.
 39 I will enlarge her dowry for your sake] *Arden* I. 290.
 40 And solemnise with joy your nuptial rites] *Span. Trag.*
 III. 12. 44; III. 14. 27. *Wily*. 381. 498.
 45 You were to blame] *Wily* 2352.
 49—50 I come to see when as these marriage rites should be
 performed] *Span. Trag.* III. 12. 43. Jfr. ovf. til Vers 40.
 53 In celebration of his sponsal rites] *Span. Trag.* II. 3. 26.
 54 He shall remain a lasting friend to you] *Span. Trag.*
 II. 1. 55.
 58 articles] »Kontrakt«, *Span. Trag.* III. 12. 26.
 59 'twixt our hours and posterities] *Span. Trag.* III. 13. 46.
 60—61 Eternally this league of peace shall last inviolate]
Wily 2519—20.
 64 we will confirm these leagues of lasting love] *Wily* 1353.
Jocasta IV. 2. Chor. 32. — Jfr. her III. 4. 72 ff.

Pag. 34.

[Sc. V].

- 3 Sml. II. 2. 1; 39 samt III. 5. 22.
 11—12 Belike you mean to make a fool of me] = 5. 1. 194.
 Jfr. *Wily* 1017.
 22 Come hither sirrah tailor!] = II. 2. 1 etc.

Pag. 35.

- 30 bottom] = skem.
 38 Thou'st faced many men] *Wily* 733.
 40 Face not me: I'll neither be faced nor braved at thy hands]
Marlowe Jew 314.
 42 Here's more ado than needs] Det gl. Spil om *Rich.* III p. 41
 (og 26).
 52 Take up my mistress' gown to his master's use] *M. Wives*
Q 1, p. 43. — Neppe Vers. Minder om Jack Cade-Partiet i *Cont.*
 57 habiliments] læs: abiliments (Orig.).

Pag. 36.

61 Thy sisters, Kate, to-morrow must be wed] *Span. Trag.* II. 14. 18.

67—68 I say . . . I say] Jfr. *Arden* I. 162—3. *Wily* 2014.

71 Nothing but crossing of me] *Tamburlaine* 3918. *Span. Trag.* I. 6. 4. *Orlando* 806. *Wily*. 2010 ff.

72 I'll have you say as I do ere you go] = IV. 1. 10. Jfr. *Wily* 2014—6.

[Sc. VI].

1 Fair Emelia] Skal der ikke læses: Now, f. E.

7 to scale the seat of Jove] *Wily* 1820.

10—12 Love should give wings . . . I would follow thee . . . or fall or perish as did Icarus] *Soliman* II. 2. 37—8. *Smst.* II. 3. 13. *Glt. Spil om King John* p. 26. *Richard Duke of York* 189. *Leir* p. 17. *Dido* 1651—53.

13 Sweetly resolved] *Ed. I* 950; 1316.

Pag. 37.

24 guidress] Det sjeldne Ord genfindes i Kyds *Soliman* II. 1. 252 og *Wily* 207.

28 as erst did Hercules] *Tamburlaine* 355. *Wily* 1839.

29 to pass the burning vaults of hell] *Arden* I. 116. *Wily* 1976.

30 I would with piteous looks and pleasing words] *Span. Trag.* I. 1. 30; III. 13. 117.

32 ravishing sound of his melodious harp] *Faustus* 640 (se Boas' Udg. 98). *David and Baths.* 11. *Lust's D.* p. 98.

33—34 Entreat grim Pluto etc.] *Alcaz.* 1004. *Wily* 2031—3.

35 Jfr. I. 1. 4—5.

35 ff. Jfr. *Wily* 1789—90.

38 Jfr. *Tamburlaine* 20.

39 with locks dishevered and my breast all bare] Jfr. Spensers *Faerie Qu.* III. 2. 27. II. 1. 13.

40 with bended knees . . .] *Tamburlaine* 1920.

41 brinish tears] *Tamburlaine* 3839. Jfr. her I. 1. 5.

43 dolphins] *Dido* 1654 ff. *Orpharion* p. 65.

45 And to transport us safe unto the shore] *Dido* 1665. *Arden* V. 1. 150. *Edw. II* 7—9.

46 I would hang about thy lovely neck] *Edw. II* 627. Jfr. *Lily's Woman in the Moon* III. 2. 251. *Dido* 604.

47 Redoubling kiss on kiss upon the cheeks] *Macbeth* I. 2. 38.

Pag. 38.

- 53 the bloody Pyrrhus] *Contention* (2. Paginering) p. 192.
 54 the thickest throngs] *Cornelia* V 184. *Dido* 506. *Tamburlaine* 3698. *Richard Duke* (2. Paginering) 151.
 58 Betide what may betide] *Wily* 2394.
 59 fates and fortune] *Wily* 2167.
 62 sweet Philema] for: Now, s. P.? .
 Vers 62—64 ser ud som en Interpolation.
 65 Jfr. *Dido* 1664.
 66 f. Hymen mounted in his saffron robe etc.] *Span. Trag.*
III. 16. 31—32. Greene (Collins' Udg.) II p. 245. *Wily* 1959.
 68 the horned moon] *Tamburlaine* 2583.
 73 to see our marriage rites performed] Jfr. ovfr. ad **III. 4. 64**; *Orlando* 458, 588.
 74 knit this Gordian knot] Greene II p. 245. *Wily* 2148, 2156, 2498, 2519 ff.
 75 That teeth of fretting time must ne'er untwist] *Span. Trag.*
III 12. 24 ff. **III.** 14. 25.
 [ACT IV. Sc. 2].

Pag. 39.

- 5 the moon shines clear to-night] *Merchant* V. 1. 1. *Wily* 2173.
 8 yet again?] *Leir.* II. 4. 5.
 9 Jfr. **III.** 5. 64, 69.
 10 I'll say as you say] *Wily* 2016. *Contention* 250.
 12 Jesus save the glorious moon] *Soliman* **III.** 1. 87 glorious sun.
 16 cross me now] *Wily* 2014.
 25 can you direct me the way to Athens] *Fam. Vict.* p. 159. *Soliman* V. 4. 104.
 bright and crystalline] Jfr. *Look about* 2192.

Pag. 40.

- 42 Inhabitable] *Rich.* II I. 1. 66.
 49 Jfr. *Span. Trag.* III. 14. 162; 15. 123.
 [Sc. II].
 2 Let's hie us home to see what cheer we have] II. 2. 128. *Arden* I. 637.

Pag. 41.

- 14 fraught them with Arabian silks] *Tamburl.* 2526.

- 15 f. Afric spices etc.] *Knack a Knav* 570. *Looking Glass* 889.
 29 Jfr. *Span. Trag.* II. 3. 11.
 30 you would be so frank] III. 12. 44.
 32 Jfr. *Arden* I. 16, smst. 30.
 33—35 Jfr. *Arden* IV. 4. 135—36.

Pag. 42.

39 f. No, trust me . . . I pray you, sir, who am I?] *Fam. Vict.* 164, 165.

41 Pardon me . . . Humbly on my knees] *Span. Trag.* 77. *Wily* 2508.

45 Jfr. *Fam. Vict.* p. 166.

46 II. Jfr. Epil. 9. *Fam. Vict.* p. 163. *Wily* 1579.

54 boy, that durst presume To wed thyself] *Selimus* 171. *Wily* 794—95.

59 Were in thy breast the world's immortal soul] *Faustus* 1351—2. *Tamburlaine* 1460.

60 This angry sword should rip thy hateful chest] *Wily* 2107.

61 And hewed thee smaller than the Lybian sands] *Faustus* 1657, se Tucker Brookes Udg. af Marlowes *Faustus* p. 216.

64 To match your daughter with my princely house] *Wily* 794—5. Jfr. ovf. 54.

Pag. 43.

72 Oh that my furious force could cleave the earth] *Tamburlaine* 139.

72—74 Jfr. *Span. Trag.* III. 12. 71, 75, 77.

77 passionate anguish of my raging breast] Jfr. *Span. Trag.* 2372.

82 Jfr. *Selimus* 1691. *Locrine* III 1. 17.

83 To make the topless Alps a champion field] *Orlando* 1289. *Locrine* 956. *Dido* 1162, *Tamb.* 2372.

84 To kill untamed monsters with my sword] *Locrine* III. 4. 36; I. 1. 238.

87 undertake them all] *Wily* 1790. *Leir* IV. 5. 21.

91 Let me entreat your grace upon my knees] *Wily* 2508.

96 Taint not your princely mind with grief] *Arden* II. 2. 107. *Soliman* IV. 1. 89.

Pag. 44.

102 ff. Sml. *Span. Trag.* III. 12. 25—39.

104 And Fortune will be thwarting honour still] *Soliman* p. 182. 208. 210.

106 since 'tis done] *Arden* I 587. — Jfr. V. 1. 161.

108 f. Thanks . . . and I no longer live etc.] *Contention* (2. Paginering) 186. Jfr. *Span. Trag.* I. 2. 98—99. *Locrine* I. 1. 196. *Tamburlaine* 178—79. *Thomas Lord Cromwell* IV. 1. 12. Gl. Spil om *Rich. III* p. 68 (189). *Fair Em* V. 1. 265. *Knack a Knave* p. 536—7. *Edw. I* 757.

110—14 Repliken minder om Kyd.

121 And ere it be long] *Massacre at Paris* 919.

122 f. Kaekt Enjambement.

125 Jfr. *Soliman* II. 1. 50 f.

127 go, take him easily up] *Contention* (2. Pag.) 172.

130 underneath the alehouse side] *Contention* (2. Pag.) 139. Maaske skal læses *sign* for *side*.

131 see you wake him not in any case] *Arden* pass.

132 It shall be done, my lord. Come, help to bear him hence] Jfr. *Contention* (2. Pag.) 166.

Pag. 45.

[ACT V Sc. I].

Denne Akt har laant Farve fra den indledende Scene i det gamle Spil om *King Leir*, der som omtalt vel er Kyds.

1—2 ametriske; vel Prosa.

5 he must needs sit out] *Wily* 1240. Ogsaa ndf. i Vers 9, I will not sit out.

14 belike] som omtalt et Yndlingsord hos Forfatteren.

18 upon my dog] *Arden*. II. 2. 75.

24 dare you adventure thus] = Vers 37. *Arden* V. 1. 145.

25 I durst presume] *Span. Trag.* III. 5. 12.

Pag. 46.

31 he whose wife doth show most love to him] *Leir* I. 2. 53.

37 Jfr. ad 24.

41 Then we sit down and let us send for them] *Leir* I. 2. 56; II. 2. 10.

44—5 Jfr. *Leir*. I. 3. 1—3.

69 O monstrous, intolerable presumption] *Arden*. I. 23; III. 6. 22. *Wily* 2131. Shakespeares *Rich. III* I. 4. 279. *May Day* p. 290.

Pag. 47.

71 unseasonable] Jfr. *Leir* 595. *Jocasta* IV. 2. 20. *Rich.* II III. 2. 106.

76 Command your mistress to come to me presently] *Leir* I. 3. 2.

82—84] Jfr. *Wily* 1164.

93 the bridal chamber] *Alph. Emp.* p. 437.

96 I promise thee] = jeg forsikrer dig. *Sml.* her II. 2. 10, V. 1. 42.

102 a loving piece] = et flinkt Kyndemenneske; *Leir* II. 3. 2.

104 for making a fool of herself and us] = III. 5. 13. *Wily* 1017.

112 I prithee tell unto these headstrong women] *Arden* I 376. *Selimus* 1078.

115 Now list to me] *Span. Trag.* III. 11. 59.

123 A mixture all deformed] *Wily* 2053. *Cornelia* III. 1. 82.

126 Before the great Commander of the world] Et hyppigt forekommende Vers: *Tamburlaine* 913. 1111. *Soliman* II. 2. 33. *Wily* 1991. 2518. *Locrine* II. 4. 6; IV. 2. 74.

133 To woe of man] *Orlando* 673.

139 Laying our hands under thy feet to tread] *Satiromastix* 604. *Woman in the moon* II. 1. 87. *The Weakest. Goss* 86.

Pag. 50.

155—56 Rimet; 2. Linie alexandrinsk.

158 How now, Polidor, in a dump] Se I. 1. 102, jfr. I. 1. 30.

161 Well, since 'tis done, let it go] *Arden.* I. 587, 590.

[EPILOGUE].

Lin. 8—9 Jfr. IV. 2. 58 samt III. 3. 25.

12—16 Lignende Sprogbrug i *Arden* III. 6. 13; IV. 3. 56.

Faustus 807—9. 961 (Tucker Brookes Udg. p. 208). *Famous Victories* p. 165.

Med sine 1610 Linier, sin torre Sprogbrug og haarde Versifikation er Stykket dog anseligt ved sin kompetente Bygning og solide Karaktertegning. Alle »Tæmningens« Stadier er fulgt hos Shakespeare, men Stykkets Liv og Bevægelse er forøget. Udvidelsen af Sidehandlinger er kun delvis vellykket, og Rammeværket er vel godt begyndt, men derefter ladt ufuldendt. Hele det

parodiske Element er forsvundet, og kun en halv Snæ Linier genoptagne.

Muligt ganske uafhængige Personer kan foretrække den gamle bitre og droje Farce for W. Shakespeares elegante og pyntede Nyskrivning. Der er jo forskellig Smag, og blot som holbergsk Farce er Th. Kyds Værk mere bastant, og nærmere ved Kilden, de middelalderlige Fabliauer eller Schwänke, som den har benyttet og fortsætter. Det er i al Fald et Værk med Styrke og Rejsning, fra den restaurerede Scenes første Tidsrum. Det fylder kun to Tredjedele af Shakespeares og har en fastere Holdning. —

Af Sammenligningen og Totalindtrykket fremgaar især:

1° Marlowe-Citaterne er meget talrige. De er indlysende parodiske og lægger en speciel Tone over Diktionen. De talrige *Dido*-Citater viser, at Formodningen om dette Stykke er Marlowes, er rigtig.

2° Kyd-Citaterne er lige saa hyppige, men af en flygtig Karakter. De røber, at Stykket er af Thomas Kyd selv. De talrige Paralleler til *Arden of Feversham* røber at Kyd har skrevet dette Stykke. Ogsaa *Leir* er stærkt gentaget.

3° Den uhyre Masse af Allusioner til *A Shrew* i *Wily beguiled* rober at denne Parodis Forfatter har vidst Stykket var af Kyd.

4° *A Shrew* indeholder en Del Paralleler og til Dels vel Parodier paa andre Stykker fra 1589—93.

5° Antallet af Paralleler til *The Contention* (og *Famous Vict.*, og det gl. *Rich. III*) er anseligt. Men ogsaa Shakespeares egen rensede *Henry VI* er citeret. Forfatteren maa vel have set *Henry VI* paa Scenen og læst *The Contention* i Manuskript eller Tryk (?).

Her er et uopklaret Mysterium.

6° Revisionen i *The Shrew* 1623 undgaar Ordlighed med Flid, kaster de marloweske Reminiscenser over Bord. Er vel fra ca. 1596—97, altsaa 3—4 Aar yngre end *A Shrew*.

A
Pleasant Conceited
Historie, called The taming
of a Shrew.

As it was sundry times acted by the
Right honorable the Earle of
Pembrook his seruants.



Printed at London by Peter Shortand
are to be sold by Cuthbert Burbie, at his
shop at the Royall Exchange.

1594.

The taming of a Shrem.

Pol. Oh wonderful metamorphosis.

Aurel. This is a wonder: almost past beleefe.

Feran. This is a token of her true loue to me,

And yet Ile try her further you shall see,

Come hither *Kate* where are thy sisters.

Kate. They be sitting in the bridal chamber.

Feran. Fetch them hither, and if they wil not come,

Bring them perforce and make them come with thee.

Kate. I wil.

Alfon. I promise thee *Ferando* I would haue sworne,
Thy wife would nere haue done so much for thee.

Feran. But you shal see she wil do more then this,
For see where she brings her sisters forth by force.

Enter *Kate* thrusting *Phylema* and *Emelia* before her,
and makes them come vnto their husbands cal.

Kate. See husband, I haue brought them both.

Feran. Tis wel done *Kate*.

Eme. I sure and like a louing peece, your worthy
To haue great praise for this attempt.

Phyle. I for making a foole of her selfe and vs.

Aurel. Beþrew thee *Phylema* thou hast
Lost me a hundred pound to night.
For I did lay that thou wouldest first haue come.

Pol. But thou *Emelia* hast lost me a great deale more.

Eme. You might haue kept it better then,
Who bad you lay?

Feran. Now louely *Kate* before their husbands here,
I prethe tel vnto these headstrong women,
What dewty wiues do owe vnto their husbands.

Kate. Then you that liue thus by your pampered wils,
Now lift to me, and marke what I shal say,
The eternal power that with his only breath,

G

Sh.

The taming of a Shrew.

Shal cause this end and this beginning frame,
Not in time, nor before time, but with time, confusd,
For al the course of yeares, of ages, months,
Of seafons temperate, of dayes and houres,
Are tun'd and stopt by measure of his hand,
The first world was, a forme, without a forme,
A heape confusd, a mixture al deformd,
A gulfē of gulfes, a body bodiles,
Wherē al the elements were orderles,
Before the great commander of the world.
The king of kings the glorious God of heauen,
Who in six daies did frame his heauenly worke,
And made al things to stand in perfect course.
Then to his image he did make a man
Olde ~~Adam~~, and from his side a sleepe
A rib was taken, of which the Lord did make
The woe of man so term'd by ~~Adam~~ then,
Woman for that, by her came finne to vs, ~~and~~
And for her sinne was ~~Adam~~ doomd to die,
As ~~Sara~~ to her husband, so should we,
Obey them, loue them, keepe and nourish them,
If they by any meanes do want our helpes,
Laying our hands vnder their feet to tread,
If that by that, we might p̄rocure their eale,
And for a presidēt Ile first begin,
And lay my hand vnder my husbands feet,

She laies her hand vnder her husbands feet.

Feran. Inough sweet, the wager thou hast won,
And they I am surē cannot deny the same.
Alfon. I Ferando the wager thou hast won,
And for to shew thee how I am pleaseid in this wob¹ /
A hundred pounds I freely give thee more,
Another dowry for another daughter,
For she is not the same she was before.

Feran.

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ET BIDRAG TIL BELYSNING
AF DE LÆRDE UDENLANDSREJSER I
DET 17. AARHUNDREDE

AF

BJØRN KORNERUP

WITH AN ENGLISH SUMMARY



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Indledning.

1. Fra langt tilbage i Middelalderen var det Skik, at unge Danske med Fremdrift og Studielyst søgte til Udlandet for at tilgægne sig en højere videnskabelig Dannelse og vinde en videre Horizont.¹ Til en Begyndelse drog de til de tyske Klosterskoler, men fra det 12. Aarhundredes Midte blev Paris det foretrukne Maal for Studierejserne. Efter Hjemkomsten at faa tillagt Praeditatet at være »en Pariserklerk« var en Haedersstilte, der antydede, at den paagældende stod paa Højden af sin Tids Kultur. Indtil ca. 1350 befandt Pariserrejserne sig i deres Blomstringsperiode, men i Senmiddelalderen kom de mange nystiftede Højskoler paa tysk Landomraade i stigende Grad til at fordunkle Lutetiae Pari-siorum. Den lærelystne Ungdom søgte nu til Prag, Heidelberg, Køln, Erfurt, Leipzig, Rostock og Greifswald for blot at fremhæve de vigtigste Universiteter. Frem for alt maa Rostock og Greifswald nævnes som de, der kan opvise det største Antal nordiske Studerende. Fra Begyndelsen af det 16. Aarhundrede maa ogsaa anføres det 1425 stiftede Louvain, et Arnested for den nederlandske Humanisme, og 1502 blev Universitetet i Wittenberg grundlagt.

I Reformationstiden og hele det 16. og 17. Aarhundrede igennem øvede Reformatorernes By naturligt nok en ganske særlig Tiltrakning paa Studerende fra det protestantiske Norden. Samtidig fortsattes Studiebesøgene andetsteds, især i Rostock, der i flere Henseender fik en nok saa stor Indflydelse, og ogsaa andre

¹ Til det følgende jvfr. ADAM FABRICIUS i Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 2. R. I, 513—25. ELLEN JØRGENSEN i Historisk Tidsskrift 8. R. V, 331—82; VI, 197—214. A. THOLUCK, Das akademische Leben des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts I, 305—16. H. F. RØRDAM, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie fra 1537 til 1621 I, 340—45; II, 285—306; III, 436—46. HENRY GLARBO i Historisk Tidsskrift 9. R. IV, 221—74. Universiteters Matrikler og Udtog deraf (samlet Fortegnelse over Matrikeludtog i Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift 12. R. IV, 127—32). Matrikler over Nordiske Studerende ved fremmede Universiteter, udg. af LUDVIG DAAE, 1885.

Landes Højskoler kaldte paa mange. Sympati'en for Calvinismen førte adskillige til de schweiziske Universiteter i Genève og Basel, i Italien lokkede Siena og Padua, det sidste Sted især Medicinere, som Bologna i Middelalderen havde tiltrakket Juristerne. Det rige humanistiske Liv i Nederlandene indbød til Studiebesøg i Leiden, Franeker, Groningen og Utrecht, og i det 17. Aarhundrede fik i Tyskland foruden flere af de tidligere nævnte især Tübingen, Helmstedt og Jena Betydning. Derimod hører den bredere Strøm af Studerende i England en lidt senere Periode til.

Overallt i Europa — saaledes ogsaa i Danmark — blev i det 16. og 17. Aarhundrede en *peregrinatio academica* anset for et af de bedste Midler til at opnaa en mere omfattende videnskabelig og kulturel Dannelse. Intet Under derfor, at baade unge Adelsmænd og Studerende i stort Tal søgte til fremmede Lande. Ofte har den Dannelse, man her vandt, været af temmelig udvortes Natur, særlig for Adelsmændenes Vedkommende, men Kavallerrejserne var dog altid en af Vejene til at holde Forbindelsen mellem Danmark og de store Kulturlande levende. Nok saa megen aandelig Betydning fik Studierejserne for de Akademikere, der rejste paa egen Haand eller som Praeceptorer for de unge Adelsmænd. De fik ved disse Lejlighed til fortsatte videnskabelige Studier, og takket været deres større Forudsætninger, havde de rigere Muligheder for at virke som Formidlere af de europæiske Aandsstrømninger, de kom i Berøring med.

At dette har været Tilfældet med mange af Tidens aandelige Stormænd, er fra ældre Tid kendt nok. Man behøver blot at tænke paa Teologer som Hans Poulsen Resen og Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde, Cort Aslaksen og Jesper Brochmand, paa Læger som Thomas Finecke, Caspar og Thomas Bartholin, hvis Studierejser tidligere er udførligt behandlede,¹ for at forstaa Raekkevidden heraf. Men ogsaa mangfoldige af Tidsalderens mindre kendte Personligheder færdedes i aarevis paa Studierejser i Ulandet. Kan det end ofte være vanskeligt at paavise de direkte Frugter af saadanne Mænds Studieophold i det fremmede, kan det dog næppe betvivles, at ogsaa de paa deres Vis har

¹ Jvfr. BJØRN KORNERUP, Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen I, 1928, S. 60—128. J. OSKAR ANDERSEN, Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde, 1896, S. 7—82. OSKAR GARSTEIN, Cort Aslaksson, 1953, S. 68—123. AXEL GARBOE, Thomas Bartholin I, 1949, S. 21—86.

virket som Kulturbærere. Skulde det en Gang lykkes at løse den vigtige, men meget krævende Forskningsopgave at tilvejebringe en fyldig Monografi over de Danskes lærde Udenlandsrejser i det 16. og 17. Aarhundrede, maatte den ikke indskrænkes alene til en Redegørelse for den Betydning, Tidens ledende Personligheder har haft. Saa vidt gørligt burde det ogsaa undersøges, hvad Tidens mindre Aander har modtaget og ydet.

Som et Bidrag af denne Art maa de følgende Sider betragtes. Blandt de rige Skatte, som gemmes i Karen Brahes Bibliotek i Odense, findes et lille Oktavbind, hvori Ejerens Lector JENS POULSEN WINDING († 1655) har indført en fyldig Skildring af sin syv-aarige Rejse i Europa 1628—1635. Som det i sig selv er sjældent fra det 17. Aarhundrede at træffe saadanne Selvskildringer, saaledes er denne Beretning af ikke ringe Værdi til Oplysning om, hvorledes en ung rejselfisten Mands Færden kunde arte sig ved en Række af Europas Lærdomssæder.

2. JENS POULSEN WINDING var udgaaet fra en anset Slægt, der i flere Generationer havde hørt til Patriciatet i Kolding.¹ Hans Fader, Poul JENSEN KOLDING (1581—1640), var den første studerende Mand af Slægten. Efter nogle Aars Præstegerning i Vindinge (det nuværende Fjorendal) var han 1622 blevet Forstander (og Præst) ved Herlufsholm. Med stor Kraft tog han fat paa at genrejse den gamle Stiftelse, der havde oplevet en længere Forfaldsperiode, og havde den Tilfredsstillelse efter en kortere Aarrækkes Forløb at se, hvorledes Herlufsholm baade materielt og aandeligt atter satte friske Skud. Træt af de mange Byrder opgav han dog 1631 Forstanderposten og levede sine sidste Aar alene som Præst (i Lille Næstved). Mest bekendt er Poul Jensen Kolding blevet ved sin Forfattervirksomhed, særlig paa det leksikalske Omraade. Hans Hjælpemidler til de latinske Skolers Latinundervisning er endnu af Værdi ikke mindst ved det rige Forraad af danske Ord, de indeholder.

Med sin Hustru, JOHANNE PEDERSDATTER, fik han otte Børn, hvoraf Sønnen Jens Poulsen var den ældste. Han blev født den

¹ Bevisstederne til det følgende vil almindeligvis findes i WINDINGS S. 37 ff. aftrykte Selvbiografi og i Kommentaren hertil. Kun hvor dette ikke er Tilfældet, gives der her Kildehenvisninger. Ved *Vita* betegnes Windings Selvbiografi, ved *Ph.* hans Stambog (jvf. S. 8, 59 ff.).

1. August 1609 i Vindinge og optog efter dette Sted Kendings-navnet Winding (Windingius), hvilket Eksempel hans Brødre senere fulgte. Under dette Navn blev Slægten gennem mere end et Aarhundrede kendt som en af vore lærde Ætter.

Efter at være blevet uddannet hjemme under Huslærere kom Jens Poulsen 1619 i Skole paa Herlufsholm. Medens Skolen næppe i de første Aar af hans Skoletid befandt sig i nogen blomstrende Tilstand, bedredes denne lidt efter lidt, vistnok særlig under den dygtige Rektor HANS HANSEN RESEN († 1653 som Sjællands Biskop). Sely fortæller Jens Poulsen, at han i de syv Aar, han besøgte Skolen, havde ikke mindre end fem Rektorer. Den sidste blandt disse var Mag. WICHMUND HASEBARD († 1642 som Biskop i Viborg), der i Oktober 1626 dimitterede ham til Universitetet. Her blev han indskrevet den 13. November s. A.

Der er noget symbolsk i, at den daværende Rector magnificus var Sjællands Biskop, Dr. HANS POULSEN RESEN. Fra gammel Tid havde han været hans Faders trofaste Velynder. Endnu findes der i Herlufsholms Kirke en af Poul Jensen Kolding 1639 bekostet Mindetavle med et Ærevers, digtet af ham, over H. P. Resen. Det indeholder en overmaade stærk Lovprisning af den nylig afdøde Biskop,¹ der havde været Herlufsholms Stiftelse en god Mand. Men ogsaa P. J. Kolding og hans Slægt havde Grund til at nære Taknemmelighed mod ham. Det var da betydningsfuldt, at den unge Jens Poulsen straks fra sin første Studentertid kunde regne med hans Velvilje, og at han vel særlig gennem ham førtes ind i hele den Kreds, der havde den største Indflydelse ved Universitetet. Det er sikkert betegnende, at han til sin Privatpræceptor valgte Resens Søn, sin tidligere Rektor, Mag. HANS HANSEN RESEN, nu Professor i Filosofi.²

Ogsaa i det filosofiske Fakultets daværende Decanus, Mag. PEDER GJELSTRUP, ligeledes en Klient af den ældre Resen, fandt han en Velynder. Denne overdrog ham paa Russernes Vegne at holde den Takketale, som det var Skik at fremføre, og det skønt han hørte til de yngre. Han foredrog Talen paa latinske Vers og skilte sig saa vel fra sit Hverv, at Gjelstrup følte sig foranlediget til at betænke ham med en Boggave.

¹ D. G. ZWERGIUS, Det Siellandske Clerisie, 1753, S. 158—9. Jvfr. Danmarks Kirker, udg. af Nationalmuseet, Soro Amt S. 1162.

² Ogsaa de nedennævnte Brodre Rasmus og Peder Winding valgte (1632) Hans Hansen Resen til deres Privatpræceptor (Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikel, udg. ved S. BIRKE SMITH, I, 111).

3. Formodentlig næste Aar har Jens Poulsen taget den første (laveste) akademiske Grad, Baccalaureusgraden, men hans Ophold ved Københavns Universitet kom forvrigt ikke til at strække sig over mere end halvandet Aar. Intet nærmere er bekendt om hans Studier i dette Tidsrum. Ser man hen til hans senere udprægede Interesse for de orientalske Sprog, er der dog nok nogen Grund til at formode, at han har hørt Forelæsninger hos NIELS PEDERSEN (AURILESIUS), der just 1626 var blevet Professor i Hebraisk, og hvis Virksomhed kom til at betyde en stærk Fornyelse af det hebraiske Sprogstudium herhjemme. Netop i disse Aar udgav han flere fortrinlige Hjælpemidler til Brug ved dette. De vidner ikke blot om hans omfattende Kundskaber, men ogsaa om hans brændende Iver for at faa Studiet af Hebraisk til at blomstre. Blandt andet ønskede han at bibringe de Studerende Færdighed i at *tale* Hebraisk.¹ At Jens Poulsen — nu eller muligvis lidt senere — er traadt i nærmere Forbindelse med den unge Professor, er i hvert Tilfælde givet. Nogle faa Aar senere (i Oktober 1631) kalder Niels Pedersen ham »min særdeles elskede Ven«.²

Da Jens Poulsen var kommet ind i Foraaret 1628, begyndte han at tanke paa sin peregrinatio academica. Udlængslen laa aabenbart Slægten i Blodet. Faderen, Poul JENSEN KOLDING, havde i sin Ungdom færdedes paa aarelange Udenlandsrejser: ikke blot havde han været optaget i Tycho Brahes Discipelkreds i Prag og tjent den store Astronom i hans Dødsstund, men siden havde han besøgt Italien og Wittenberg. Sønnerne fulgte hans Eksempel. PEDER POULSEN WINDING, der blev Læge, opholdt sig bl. a. i Holland og Belgien (hvor han blev gift med en fornem katolsk Dame), og ERASMUS VINDING (WINDING), den berømteste af Sødkendeflokken, senere Professor i Græsk og Forfatter af det fortjenstfulde Værk »Regia Academia Hauniensis« (1665), foretog i sine unge Dage Udenlandsrejser i flere Lande i to Aar.³ I liden-

¹ Særlig typisk i saa Henseende er N. P. AURILESIUS, Nomenclator Ebraicus, 1629. Dette stod i Forbindelse med Opfattelsen af, at Hebraisk var det ældste og ærværdigste Sprog i Verden, da det var blevet talt af Gud og af de første Mennesker i Paradis, jvfr. Thomas Bang, Exercitatio glottologica, Hafn. 1634, Th. 34 ff., især Th. 57—8. Endnu fra den første Trediedel af det 19. Aarhundrede haves der et Eksempel paa, at en Mand herhjemme vedblev at studere Hebraisk for at kunne være skikket til at tale det i Himlen! (H. F. RØRDAM, Peter Rørdam III, 493).

² Ph. 75.

³ Danske Samlinger 2. R. VI, 254. E. VINDING, Regia Academia Hauniensis p. 385—6. — Nævnes kan det ogsaa, at Poul Jensen Koldings yngste Son, Iver Poulsen (f. 1626) skal være gaaet i kgl. polsk Tjeneste (Danske Saml. 2. R. VI, 256. J. C. BLOCH, Den Fyenske Geistligheds Historie I, 290).

skabelig Trang til af Selvsyn at opleve den store Verden staar Jens Poulsen Winding ikke tilbage for sine Brødre. I al deres Reserverthed er flere Steder i hans Vita betegnende. Saaledes mærker man en egen Klang i hans Stemme, naar han en Gang taler om, at det ikke havde voldt ham Fortrydelse at forlade København, da han var fyldt af en heftig Længsel (cupido) efter at besøge og se den ganske Verden, om det var muligt.¹

4. I April 1628 forlod Jens Poulsen Fædrelandet. Efter Tidens Skik havde han forinden forsynet sig med en Stambog (Philotheca, Album), hvori Velyndere og Venner skulde indføre deres Navne. Hans Philotheca er heldigvis bevaret til denne Dag (i den Kall'ske Haandskriftssamling, 8°, Nr. 681 i Det kgl. Bibliotek). Den afgiver vigtigt supplerende Materiale til Oplysning om hans Studierejser, skont der savnes Navne, som man nok kunde have ventet at finde her, men den er iøvrigt indrettet ganske som lignende Stambøger, der kendes fra denne Periode. Her findes Indførsler fra Mænd aus aller Herren Lændern, der har skrevet et bevinget Ord til Erindring om deres Forbindelse med Bogens Ejemand. Tidens berømteste Lærde staar Side om Side med nu ganske ukendte Studiefæller. En broget Mangfoldighed af Sprog er repræsenteret: Græsk og Latin, Hebraisk, Arabisk og Syrisk, Engelsk, Tysk, Fransk, Italiensk, Spansk, Polsk — kun eet Sprog er bandlyst, Modersmalet. En Gennemgang og Sammenstilling af de mange Indførsler vilde sikkert — som saa ofte — kunne afgive et ret betegnende Tværsnit af den Livsvisdom, som var karakteristisk for Tiden, om end med individuelle Nuancer. Vigtigere i kildemæssig Henseende end de mange, mere eller mindre aandfulde loci communes, som her har fundet deres Plads, er dog de talrige nøjagtige Oplysninger om Dateringssteder, Tidsangivelser og Personligheder, hvorved det bliver muligt med Sikkerhed at aftegne Gangen i en ung Mands Studierejse. Læst med Eftertanke giver en saadan Stambog et godt Spejlbillede af Rejselivets afvekslende Færd. Der kan heller ikke være Tvivl om, at den for Ejeren har været en dyrebar Skat. Trofast er den blevet gemt, og naar den senere mangen en stille Aften er blevet taget

¹ Vita S. 42.

frem, er de svundne Aar med deres brogede Oplevelser atter blevet levende i Erindringens Trylleskær.¹

Af flere Steder i Jens Poulsens Vita synes det at fremgaa, at Poul Jensen Kolding har betragtet sin ældste Søns Udvikling med særlig Stolthed. Sønnen paa sin Side nærede ogsaa stor Kærlighed til og Ærbødighed for sin Fader. Et smukt Vidnesbyrd herom findes i hans Philotheca. Ikke blot har han ladet P. J. Kolding indføre sig som den første heri, men paa den modstaaende Side har han leveret en Begrundelse herfor i følgende Linier, der taler højt om hans Pietet og Nænsomhed:

Mirari noli, lector, quod nomen in hocce
 Ostendit libro pagina prima patris.
 Album hoc amicorum est, *Patri* qui primus amicus
 Est gnati, primus debuit esse locus.²

5. Poul Jensen Kolding vilde ikke lade sin unge Søn drage ud paa egen Haand. Ikke blot fik han til Rejsefælle sin nære Ven HANS SVANE, den senere saa berømte Erkebiskop og Politiker, men Faderen sørgede ogsaa for, at han blev udstyret med en Hovmester. Hertil udvalgtes en iøvrigt ikke meget kendt Skolemand fra Kolding, PEDER SØRENSEN EGTVED, formodentlig en Bekendt fra Hjemstavnen. P. J. Koldings Hensigt dermed, siger Winding, var at værne Sønnen mod at falde i Klørerne paa slette Mennesker og at holde ham fri for at besmittes med kætterske Lærdomme.

Det er forstaaeligt, at det sidstnævnte Moment maatte veje tungt til for en Mand af Resens strengt lutherske Skole som P. J. Kolding, og det saa meget mere, som de unge agtede sig til det kalvinske Holland. Den 14. Maj 1628, hedder det, ankom de til Amsterdam og gik straks derfra til Leiden, hvor Nederlandenes berømteste Højskole fandtes. Imidlertid forblev de ikke længe her.

¹ Om Stambøgers Betydning jvfr. ROBERT u. RICHARD KEIL, Die Deutschen Stammbücher des sechzehnten bis neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1893. Luschin v. Ebengreuth i Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften [in Wien], CXXVII, Abh. II, 9—10. A. THISET i Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift 5. R. II, 8 ff. EMIL MADSEN i Vor Fortid, udg. af Julius Clausen, III, 366—75. Eksempler paa Stambøgers Udnyttelse i historisk Henseende (ved H. F. RØRDAM) i Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 2. R. III, 659—66; 4. R. V, 36—42; (ved BJØRN KORNERUP) sst. 7. R. II, 14—22. BJØRN KORNERUP, Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen I, 61 ff.

² Allerede tidligere meddelt i G. L. WAD, Meddelelser om Dimitterede fra Herlufsholm II, 317.

Noget dunkelt siger Winding, at han af visse Grunde (certas ob causas) forlod Leiden, men angiver desværre ikke nærmere hvilke. Maaske har han endnu ikke været moden nok til at studere ved et større Universitet.

I Stedet drog baade Svane, Winding og hans Hovmester til Franeker. Formodentlig beror den ovenfor anførte Opgivelse af, at de først den 14. Maj kom til Amsterdam paa en Erindringsforskydning eller en Fejlskrift, og Dataen skal antagelig rettes til den 14. April, thi Matriklen for Universitetet i Franeker viser uimodsigligt, at de tre unge Danskere blev immatrikulerede her den 8. Maj 1628.¹ Winding beretter, at han her havde fast Ophold i to Aar. Imidlertid er Opholdet ret snart blevet afbrudt af en Rejse tilbage til Fædrelandet, som han dog mærkeligt nok ikke omtaler i sit Vita. Af hans Philotheca fremgaar det derimod, at han den 17. Juli 1628 var i København, hvor Resen, Fader og Søn, indskrev sig, og den 23. i samme Maaned paa Herlufsholm, hvor hans Fader ligeledes indførte sig i Stambogen.² Der er noget gaadefuld ved denne pludselige Tilbagerejse, og man kender ikke mere, hvad der kan have været Grunden til den. Maaske har den været foranlediget af det mislykkede Besøg i Leiden. Sikkert ikke længe efter maa han igen være rejst ud.

6. Højskolen i *Franeker* i Friesland, stiftet 1585, nedlagt 1811, hørte ikke til Europas berømte Lærdomssæder.³ Dog var der adskilligt, som kunde anbefale et Ophold her ikke mindst for Begyndere. Leveomkostningerne var rimelige, og Byen havde et godt Lov paa sig som et roligt og stille Sted, velegnet til Studier. Særlig paa danske Studerende synes Franeker at have øvet megen Tiltrækning. Byen var forholdsvis nem at naa ad Søvejen, det var derfor ikke underligt, at f. Eks. adskillige Ripensere søgte herhen. 1605—07 havde den senere saa berømte JESPER BROCHMAND opholdt sig i Franeker, hvor han havde faaet Lov til at holde filosofiske Forelæsninger, og hvor han udgav flere Dispu-

¹ Jvfr. S. 48.

² Ph. 49, 112, 3.

³ Om Franeker jvfr. W. B. S. BOELES, Frieslands Hoogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker, 1—2, 1878—89. Om de filosofiske Studier sst. S. H. M. GALAMA, Het Wijsgerig Onderwijs aan de Hogeschool te Franeker 1585—1811, 1954, og om Byen selv A. HALLEMA, Franeker, 1952.

tatser. 1628—70 steg Tallet paa immatrikulerede danske Studenter betydeligt.¹

Jens Poulsen Winding lod sig indskrive ved Universitetet som Humaniststuderende. Det var ikke uden Grund. Dels passede det med det Trin, han stod paa i sin Udvikling, dels ejede Franeker just paa dette Tidspunkt to store Lærdomslys i det filosofiske Fakultet: Sixtinus Amama og Georg Pasor.

Selv siger Winding, at han især blev lokket til Franeker ved Amamas berømte Navn. Saaledes gik det ogsaa med andre Danske, hvis Hu stod til de orientalske Sprog, og fra tidlig Tid nærede Winding aabenbart dyb Interesse for disse Sprog. Her var i Sandhed noget at lære.

SIXTINUS AMAMA (1593—1629) havde studeret i Oxford, men var 1616 kommet tilbage til sin Fodeby Franeker som Professor, skønt de ortodokse Teologer søgte at lægge Hindringer i Vejen for den moderate Mands Ansættelse. Med største Ihærdighed kæmpede han for at hævde det hebraiske Sprogstudiums Plads i det akademiske Kursus, han udgav en Række Hjælpemidler til Brug herved, og han var berømt for sine elegante Forelæsninger. 1627 tog han til Orde for, at Hebraisk skulde dyrkes stærkere som Skolefag. Ejendommeligt for hans Standpunkt var det især, at han drev paa en indtrængende filologisk Forstaaelse af de gamle Sprog, og at han — som Coccejus² — hævdede Værdien af Rabbinernes Kommentarer. Som akademisk Personlighed kæmpede han iovrigt for at hæve Studenterlivet, og just 1628 erkendtes det, at det var lykkedes at fjerne de værste Pletter ved dette. Desværre gik denne fortræffelige Mand bort allerede 1629, kun 36 Aar gammel. I en samtidig Kilde hedder det i den Anledning, at netop de svenske og danske Studenter, der var søgt til Franeker for Amamas Skyld, tænkte paa at drage bort, hvis de hebraiske Forelæsninger (*lectio Ebraica*) ikke blev fortsat.³

¹ E. VINDING, *Regia Academia Hauniensis* p. 234. Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift 9. R. V, 53 ff. Danske Magazin 7. R. IV, 381 ff. Jvfr. E. WRANGEL, Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland särdeles under 1600-talet, 1897, S. 49 ff. JESPER BROCHMAND, Problemata, Franekerae 1605. Et Eksemplar af et af Brochmands tidligste — hidtil ukendte — Skrifter »Disputatio metaphysica de principio individuationis», Franekerae 1606, er det lykkedes mig at genfinde i Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland (i Leeuwarden).

² Om Coccejus' Forbindelse med Danmark (Thomas Bang) jvfr. J. COCCEJUS, *Opera II Epist. 61, 74, 199.*

³ W. B. S. BOELES, *Frieslands Hoogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker II*, 1. Hefte, S. 103.

Den anden meget fremragende Mand i Franeker var Græcisten GEORG PASOR (1570—1637), der efter i en Snæ Aar at have været Professor i Herborn, fordrevet af Trediveaarskrigen, 1626 havde fundet et Fristed her. Han indlagde sig megen Fortjeneste af Studiet af det græske Sprog. Med særlig Interesse dyrkede han det nye Testamentes Græsk og udsendte flere, højt skattede leksikalske Arbejder vedrørende dette. I over 100 Aar brugtes de ogsaa i de danske Skoler, om end strengt lutherske Teologer havde et og andet at udsætte paa hans kalvinskprægede Fortolkninger af enkelte Steder.¹ Af Windings Vita fremgaar det, at han stod i et meget pietetsfuldt Forhold til Georg Pasor, og denne har paa sin Side nogle Aar senere paa den mest smigrende Maade utdtalt sig offentligt om hans store Sprogkundskaber.

Af andre Universitetslærere, som Winding kom i nærmere Be-
røring med, nævner han selv Juristen BERNHARDUS SCHOTANUS
(† 1652), en højt anset Personlighed, og den begavede Matema-
tiker ADRIAAN METIUS († 1635), der med overordentlig Flid fore-
läste over og skrev om en Række Emner fra den teoretiske og
anvendte Matematik. Mange Nordboere søgte til Franeker for at
høre ham. Det er hidtil undgaaet danske Forskeres Opmærksom-
hed, at Metius i sin Ungdom (før 1598) havde været i Lære paa
Uranienborg hos Tycho Brahe.

Derimod nævner Winding intet om, at han i Franeker, den
ganske lille By, næppe kan have undgaaet at træffe — eller dog
høre om — en mærkelig dansk Mand, der just døde under hans
Ophold her den 25. Oktober 1629. Det var HANS KNUDSEN VEJLE,
den bekendte fyenske Biskop, der 1616 var blevet afsat for Krypt-
okalvinisme, og som nu kom paa Besøg i Franeker hos sine to
studerende Sønner.² Den ene af dem, KNUD HANSEN († 1647 som
Slotspræst ved Antvorskov), maa Winding utvivlsomt have kendt,
da denne hørte til Amamas nærmere Disciple, ja i over to Aar
var optaget i hans Hus.³

¹ Jvfr. NIELS PAASKE, Lexicon Graeco-Latinum Novi Testamenti, Hafn. 1636. Efter sin gode Ven Jesper Brochmands Opfordring havde Paaske († 1636 som Biskop i Bergen) heri taget sig paa at levere en Liste over de Steder hos Georg Pasor, hvor man mærkede »angvis Calvinianus«. Jvfr. hertil Andreæ Alciati Epistolæ, Luggd. Bat. 1695, p. 395—6.

² J. C. BLOCH, Den Fyenske Geistligheds Historie I, 86—7, jvfr. RØRDAM i Samlinger til Fyens Historie og Topographie VII, 375—6.

³ RØRDAM, anf. Sted S. 376—7 og i Kirkehist. Saml. 4. R. VI, 402—4. I Franeker udgav Knud Hansen 1630 en stor Bog: ΕΒΔΟΜΑΣ sive sacer septenarius

Endnu mærkeligere er det dog, at han heller ikke omtaler, at han en Maaneds Tid efter Hans Knudsen Vejles Død mistede sin Hovmester. PEDER SØRENSEN EGTVED døde den 2. December 1629, 27 Aar gammel, og blev begravet i samme Grav i Martini-kirken i Franeker som Hans Knudsen Vejle.¹

7. Ved Paasketid 1630 tænkte Winding paa at forlade Franeker for at gøre en Rejse i Frankrig, men blev forinden ved et Brev kaldt hjem af sin Fader, der allerede tidligere havde ønsket, at Sønnen til sin Tid skulde blive ham behjælpelig i hans Alderdom (vel som Kapellan eller som Rektor ved Herlufsholm). Hertil kom nu et andet Hensyn: hidtil havde den unge Mand formodentlig rejst paa sin Faders Bekostning, men det vilde være ønskeligt, om han kunde opnaa det kongelige Rejsestipendium til Støtte for fortsatte Rejsner.

Næppe med alt for stor Begejstring forlod da Winding med sin Ven Hans Svane Franeker og kom ad Søvejen til Danmark den 5. Maj 1630. Snart efter ilede han til København, hvor han blev modtaget med aabne Arme af sin Velynder JESPER BROCHMAND, der indbød ham til at disputere for Magistergraden. Formodentlig har han ikke følt sig moden nok hertil og afviste da den tiltænkte Ære. Til Gengæld gav Brochmand ham Lov til at konkurrere om det kgl. Rejsestipendium, som det længe havde været Skik at tildele de mest lovende blandt de yngre Akademikere. Under Brochmands Præsidium optraadte Winding nu to Gange (30. Juni og 7. Juli 1630) som Respondent og Opponent ved theologiske Disputatser og blev yderligere den 8. Juli examineret af baade det filosofiske og theologiske Fakultet. Derefter kendtes han værdig til at opnaa Stipendiet.

Det var nu hans Agt at begive sig til Tyskland. Han aflagde dog først et Besøg i Sorø, hvor han hilste paa sin gamle Rektor WICHMUND HASEBARD, der var blevet Tugtemester for Grev Valde-

psalmorum poenitentialium, en sproglig og logisk Kommentar til de 7 Bod-psalmer. Den er tilegnet Kansler Christian Friis. Sixtinus Amama berømmes S. 27, 273.

¹ BLOCH, anf. Skrift I, 87. — Mindetavlen over H. K. Vejle og Egtved er forlængst forsvundet. 1668 omtales det, at der paa en Pille i Martinikirken fandtes et Vaabenskjold for H. K. Vejle, men 1795 blev dette med mange andre fjernet og antagelig tilintetgjort (velvillig Meddeelse fra Ds C. Beukman, Franeker). H. K. Vejles Grav omtales ikke i A. HALLEMA, De geschiedenis der Martini of groote kerk te Franeker, I, 1931.

mar Christian og dennes Søster, og paa den beromte Filolog og Historiker JOHANNES MEURSIUS.¹ Han tænkte vistnok paa at forlade Herlufsholm umiddelbart herefter, da en Søsters Død forstyrrede hans Rejseplaner. Først nogle Dage senere (29. August)² kunde han stikke til Søs og ankom i Begyndelsen af September 1630 til Lübeck, hvor han benyttede Lejligheden til at hilse paa Byens navnkundige Superintendent, Dr. NICOLAUS HUNNIUS († 1643), en af de betydeligste Forkaempere for den strenge lutherske Ortodoksi.³ Ikke længe blev han dog i Lübeck, men drog gennem Brandenburg til Reformatorernes By Wittenberg, hvortil han ankom den 12. September 1630. Rejsen hermed havde været besværlig og farefuld. Midt i Trediveaarskrigens Forvirring blev han meget forulempet baade af de kejserlige og af de svenske Tropper.

I Wittenberg forblev Jens Winding et godt Aars Tid (til den 21. September 1631). For en datidig dansk Teolog maatte det være en stor Oplevelse at komme til denne By. Ikke blot rummede den de mange Minder om Reformationens Banebrydere, men Universitetet befandt sig i en blomstrende Tilstand.⁴ Særlig kan dog fremhæves, at der i denne Ortodoksiens Magtperiode bestod et nært Tilknytningsforhold mellem Wittenbergerteologerne og deres Kolleger i København.

Winding fortæller selv, at han særlig sluttede sig til Teologen JOHANN HÜLSEMANN († 1661), en ivrig Kamphane, om end ikke slet saa yderliggaaende som den ham nærtstaaende Abraham Calovius. I Hülsemanns Hus kunde han forøvrigt genfinde sin tidligere Rejsefælle HANS SVANE, der aerede Hülsemann som en Fader.⁵ Selv boede Winding hos Historieprofessoren REINHOLD FRANCKENBERGER, der i sin Ungdom havde studeret i København. Forøvrigt fremhæver han blandt sine Lærere især Orientalisten MARTINUS TROST, der tidligere havde været Professor i Hebraisk i Soro og nærede særlig Interesse for Syrisk, Matema-

¹ Ph. 141, 91.

² Vita p. 39. Endnu 28. August 1630 var han paa Herlufsholm (Ph. 163).

³ Ph. 102 (2. September 1630).

⁴ Jvfr. WALTER FRIEDENSBURG, Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg, 1917, S. 395 ff.

⁵ En Række Disputationer af HÜLSEMANN 1637—46 i et Samlingsbind i Det kgl. Bibliotek bærer egenhændige Tilschrifter fra Forfatteren til Hans Svane. Denne var blevet immatrikuleret i Wittenberg et kvart Aar tidligere end Winding (22. Juli 1630).

tikeren og Filosoffen CHRISTIAN REINHART og en (nu ukendt) Magister WELSTEIN (Wetstein?), der var hans særdeles gode Ven. Hans Philotheaca viser, at han tillige er traadt i Forbindelse med flere andre bekendte Universitetslærere, baade Teologer, Jurister, Medicinere og Filosoffer.¹

Der kan næppe være Tvivl om, at det har været et frugtbart Studieaar, Winding kom til at tilbringe i Wittenberg. Hos Hülsemann og ligesindede kunde han blive indført i den dogmatiske Teologis Labyrinter, hos Martin Trost ved vi andetstedsfra, at han med Iver studerede Hebraisk og Syrisk.² Hertil kom, at han i Wittenberg traf forskellige Landsmænd, deriblandt den senere saa bekendte Kansler CHRISTEN THOMESEN (SEHESTED), der 1631 var sendt til Sachsen i diplomatisk Ærinde.³ Blandt de udenlandske Studerende bør især nævnes Orientalisten JOHANNES FABRICIUS fra Danzig, hvem man møder flere Gange i hans senere Liv.⁴

Som det saa ofte var Skik hos danske Wittenberg-Studerende benyttede han ogsaa Lejligheden til nu og da at besøge nærliggende Byer. I Marts 1631 var han saaledes i Leipzig og hilste her paa Superintendenten, Dr. POLYCARP LYSER (II, † 1633),⁵ og i Juli s. A. var han sammen med en kær Ven CHRISTIAN SOMMER i den lille By Zerbst, som nød megen Anseelse paa Grund af sit Gymnasium illustre. Han aflagde her Besøg hos den daværende Rektor MARCUS WENDELINUS († 1652, kendt som en meget frugtbar Forfatter).⁶

¹ Af Teologer den fremragende Prædikant Paulus Roberus (Ph. 64), den skarp-sindige Logiker Jacobus Martini (Ph. 57) og Wilhelmus Lyserus (Ph. 80), Juristen Johannes Strauchius (Ph. 67), Medicineren Johannes Georgius Pelshofer (Ph. 110) og Matematikeren Ambrosius Rhodius, en personlig Discipel af Tycho Brahe (Ph. 121, jvfr. F. R. Friis, Tyge Brahe, 1871, S. 291).

² Jvfr. her S. 58.

³ Ph. 36. Jvfr. THYRA SEHESTED, Cantsler Christen Thomesen Sehested, 1894, S. 74—5. Kirkehist. Saml. 7. R. II, 4, 16.

⁴ Jvfr. her S. 19. — »Johannes Fabricius Dantisco Borussus« var blevet immatrikuleret i Wittenberg 14. Maj 1628. Han døde 1653 som Professor i Teologi og Hebraisk i Danzig. Med særlig Interesse omfattede han Studiet af Arabisk. (J. A. FABRICIUS, Centuria Fabriciorum, 1709, p. 50. A. CHARITIUS, De viris eruditis Gedani ortis, 1715, p. 57—62). Fabricius' Dissertatio de admirabili eruditio vi, 1639, er et smukt Vidnesbyrd om hans glødende Begejstring for Studierne, hans Specimen arabicum, quo exhibentur aliquot scripta Arabica, 1637, er tilegnet Christian Friis til Kragerup og indeholder bl. a. berømmende Omtale af det kobenhavnske Universitet. 1636 og igen 1639 besøgte han Danmark (EPHRAIM PRÆTORIUS, Athenae Gedanenses, 1713, p. 96—8).

⁵ Ph. 73.

⁶ Ph. 134, 151 b. — Om Zerbst jvfr. BJØRN KORNERUP, Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen I, 105. Samme i Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift 11. R. II, 36—40.

Man tror derfor gerne Winding, naar han siger, at han nok vilde have dvælet længere i Wittenberg, sed inter arma silent Musæ. Pestagtige Sygdomme og andre Besværigheder, der fulgte Trediveaarskrigen i Hælene, fordrev ham fra Byen. Hertil kom et Brev fra hans Fader, der kaldte ham hjem, og som han »noget ærgerlig« maatte adlyde. Gennem Sachsen og Anhalt drog han tilbage til Lübeck, hvorfra han sejlede til København. Den 18. Oktober 1631 var han atter paa Herlufsholm og fandt den hjerteligste Modtagelse.

8. Men Rejselysten sad vedblivende den unge Mand i Blodet. Ganske særlig higede han efter Lejlighed til at komme til England, som den Gang endnu blot besøgtes af forholdsvis faa danske Studerende.¹ Kun en fjorten Dages Tid kunde han holde sig i Ro, saa begav han sig atter af Sted, til sine Forældres Sorg og uden deres Bifald.

Til dette Tidspunkt i hans Liv maa sikkert henføres et mærkeligt, desværre udateret, Dokument fra hans Haand.² Det er ovenfor nævnt, at han 1630 havde faaet tilkendt det kgl. Rejsestipendium. Allerede fra det andet Tiaar af det 17. Aarhundrede forekommer der Eksempler paa, at Stipendiater, for saa vidt de var Teologer, maatte forpligte sig til kun at studere ved lutherske Universiteter. Det var i god Samklang med, hvad der endelig blev bestemt i den nye Universitetsfundats af 1621, de saakaldte Novellæ constitutiones. Som et Udtryk for den strengt konfessionelle Aand, der mere og mere gjorde sig gældende i Tiden, var det heri blevet fastslaaet, at ingen Stipendiater senere maatte befordres til Kald i Kirker og Skoler, om hvem det var blevet op-

¹ Blandt mere bekendte danske Studerende i England før Winding kan nævnes den unge Orientalist fra Ribe Lauge Christensen 1596 (C. F. WEGENER, Om Anders Sørensen Vedel, 1846, S. 221), Ole Worm 1611—12 (E. VINDING, Regia Academia Hauniensis, 1665, p. 259) og 1615 en Søn af A. S. Vedel Søren Andersen Vedel, siden Sognepræst ved Domkirken i Ribe, hvis »theologia Anglicana« vakte Anstod i visse Kredse (WEGENER, anf. Skrift S. 251). BJØRN KORNERUP, Ribe Katedralskoles Historie I, 394). Af Windings samtidige kan især fremhæves den senere teologiske Professor Frederik Andersen 1629 (Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 3. R. VI, 524—5) og Vennen Hans Svane, der et Aars Tid i Forvejen havde opholdt sig i Oxford og ligeledes haft Nutte af »det priselige Bibliotheca Bodleiana« (J. FABER, Ligprediken over Hans Svane S. 81).

² Jvfr. Tillæg Nr. 1. — Aktstykket maa stamme fra 1631, da der deri omtales, at han »forrige Aar« (anno superiore) havde faaet Rejsestipendiet. Det er da sandsynligst at henfore dets Udstedelse til Efteraaret, saa meget mere som det vides, at han 6. Oktbr. 1631 var i København (Ph. 75).

lyst, at de havde studeret ved Højskoler, »som for Religionen suspekt ere«, d. v. s. som ikke bekendte sig til Confessio Augustana af 1530. Forinden Afrejsen maatte de da som oftest afgive en »Forpligt« om at være denne Bestemmelse hørlige og lydige.¹

Da nu Winding i Efteraaret 1631 atter vilde drage udenlands, befandt man sig imidlertid i en ejendommelig Situation. Fundat-sens Bestemmelser turde og vilde man ikke uden videre tilside-sætte, men paa den anden Side gjorde Trediveaarskrigens Virvar det umuligt — eller dog højst vanskeligt — at sende de unge til ortodokse Universiteter i Tyskland. Winding var da saa heldig med Kongens og Kansler Christian Friis' Billigelse at opnaa Pro-fessorernes Tilladelse til i Stedet at gaa til Højskoler i Nederlan-dene og England.

Forinden maatte han dog underskrive en streng Haandfæst-ning. Tre Ting lovede han højt og helligt: for det første under sine Studieophold ved Læreanstalter af afgivende Trosbekendelse at forholde sig saaledes, at han ikke led Skade paa sin Tro, saa at det kunde spilde hans egen eller andres Frelse. Dernæst maatte han erklaere sig rede til efter Hjemkomsten i paakommende Til-felde at gøre Regnskab for sin Opfattelse specielt med Hensyn til de Punkter, der udgjorde Kærnen i den ortodokse lutherske Religion, og som Modstanderne særlig rettede deres Skyts imod. Endelig forpligtede han sig til, naar der igen var blevet Fred, atter at begive sig til lutherske Akademier og der fortsætte sine Studier.

Saledes forberedt steg Winding den 10. November 1631 i Helsingør om Bord paa et engelsk Skib. Det var imidlertid en højst ugunstig Aarstid at begynde en Sejlads paa. Allerede Dagen efter rejste der sig taarnhøje Bølger, og alt truede med Skibbrud. Skibet gik paa Grund paa et Skær nær England — eller maaske snarere paa en af de jyske Revler —, Stormen blæste op til Orkan, Søfolkene opgav alt Haab og lod Skibet drive for Vind og Vove. Meget dramatisk skildrer Winding den fortvivlede Til-stand, da enhver Frelse syntes udelukket, men som ved et Under

¹ H. F. RØRDAM, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Historie fra 1537 til 1621 IV, 697—8. WILLIAM NORVIN, Københavns Universitet i Reformationens og Orthodoxyens Tidsalder II, 79—80. Danske Magazin 5. R. I, 47. — Om det vigtige Spørgs-maal i Tiden om Studierejser og Konfessionsforskelle jvfr. den dygtige Afhandling af SVEN GÖRANSSON, De svenska studieresorna och den religiösa kontrollen från reformationstiden till frihetstiden, Uppsala 1951.

kastedes de alle velbeholdne i Land ved Bovbjerg den 26. November 1631.

Winding førtes derfra til Vestervig og siden — som hans Philotheca viser — til Venner og Slægtinge i Praestegaardene i Vejrum, Egtved og Kolding (her kom han den 9. December).¹ Derfra tog han den lige Vej til sine Forældre. Ved Synet af den forkomne Søn, der var som reddet af Dødens Svælg, glemte de ganske deres Vrede over den ubesindige Afrejse, og i Hjemmet fandt han nu en rolig Havn i fire Maaneder (18. December 1632 til 28. Marts 1632).

9. Det var dog ingenlunde den unge Mands Agt at sidde hjemme, og da Foraaret stundede til, drog han den 28. Marts 1632 af Sted fra Næstved og kom den 19. April til Königsberg. Tredive-aarskrigen hindrede aabenbart vedblivende Studier i det mellemste Tyskland, hvorfor han maatte søge til det mere afsidesliggende Königsberg, hvor han forblev et halvt Aar (til den 27. September 1632).

Universitetet i Königsberg,² stiftet 1543, hørte vel ikke til de mest berømte Højskoler i Tyskland, men kunde dog tidvis glæde sig ved en stærk Søgning af fremmede (d. v. s. Studerende ikke hjemmehørende i Østpreussen). Dertil kom, at det just nu havde Lov som et strengt luthersk Universitet, der stod stift paa Konkordieformlen (der dog aldrig officielt fik Gyldighed i Danmark, om end ledende Teologer i denne Periode gerne citerede den). Hovedskikkelsen ved Universitetet var den polskfødte Teolog COELESTIN MYSLENTA († 1653), en grundlærd Mand, men unaegtelig ogsaa berygtet for sin uudslukkelige Stridssyge — »dieser unaufhörlich Koth und Feuer sprudelnde Vulkan«, som han er blevet kaldt.³

Winding siger selv, at han traadte i særligt nært Forhold til Myslenta, der elskede ham oprigtigt. Nogen Ångstelse for, at han skulde komme paa vilde Veje i sine theologiske Anskuelser, var der derfor ikke. Myslentas Kærheded til Winding kan dog staa i

¹ Ph. 166, 163b, 170b.

² Jvfr. D. H. ARNOLDT, Ausführliche Historie der Königsbergischen Universität, 1—2, 1746—56. Die Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg, eine Denkschrift, 1844. A. THOLUCK, Das akademische Leben des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts II, 1854, S. 73 ff.

³ A. THOLUCK, Das akademische Leben des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts II, 76.

Forbindelse med noget andet. Myslenta var ikke blot med sit heftige polske Temperament en theologisk Kamphane af den værste Art, men han havde tillige med Polakkens medføgte Sprogbegavelse udviklet sig til en meget kyndig Mand paa det Studieomraade, som havde Windings særlige Interesse, de orientalske Sprog. Allerede som 18aarig havde Myslenta disputeret paa flydende Hebraisk, senere synes han især at have lagt sig efter Arabisk. Betegnende for ham er det sikkert, at han i Windings Philotheca indskrev Sentenser baade paa Hebraisk og Arabisk.¹

Andetstedsfra ved vi, at Winding begyndte at høre Forelæsninger hos Myslenta netop over Arabisk, men da dennes mange andre Gøremaal ikke tillod ham at fortsætte, overdrog han den videre Undervisning af Winding til JOHANNES FABRICIUS, den tidligere nævnte Studiefælle fra Wittenberg. Fabricius har nogle Aar senere bevidnet, at han i Winding fik en saare begavet og lærvillig Discipel. Han var hans Husfælle (*contubernalis*) og glemte ham ikke siden. Da han 1638 udgav en latinsk Afhandling om det mærkelige Aktstykke, som kaldes Muhammeds Testamente, forsynede han den med en meget hædrende Dedikation til Winding bl. a. i det Haab hos ham at faa Støtte til en ny Udgave af Koranen, som han havde under Hænder. Fabricius var iøvrigt vel bekendt med danske Forhold og havde 1636 besøgt København og knyttet Forbindelser med de ledende Personligheder. Han døde 1653 som Professor i Teologi og Hebraisk i Danzig.²

10. Blandt andre Velgerninger, Myslenta lod den unge Dansker blive til Del, var ogsaa den for en saa rejseysten Mand kærkonne, at han paa det bedste anbefalede ham til den brandenburgske Kurfyrstes Kansler JØRGEN V. SAUCKEN, der var en meget dannet Mand og en Beskytter af alle Lærde. Da Saucken just i et betydningsfuldt politisk Ærinde skulde drage til Polen, tog han Winding med sig, idet han gav ham Plads blandt sine Kancellisekretærer. En mærkelig Oplevelse maa det have været for ham, da Kansleren med Følge den 16. Oktober 1632 kom til Warschau, hvor den polske Konge Wladislau IV under meget højtidelige Former meddelte den brandenburgske Kurfyrste »Investitur«,

¹ Ph. 102b.

² Jvfr. her Tillæg Nr. 3. Ph. 170.

idet det længe havde været Skik, at Kurfyrsten modtog Østpreussen som Len af Polen.

Kansleren, der ved denne Lejlighed havde repræsenteret Kurfyrsten, vilde helst have ført Winding med sig tilbage, men den unge Mand havde nu faaet Blod paa Tanden og vilde videre. Forsynet med en meget smuk Anbefalingsskrivelse drog han den 11. November 1632 af Sted med Krakau som første Maal. Til Rejsefælle havde han en ejendommelig Personlighed JOHANNES ABRAHAM POEMER (1604—86), udgaaet af en nürnbergsk Patricier-slægt, en begavet Mand med et opladt Sind, der efter forskellige Omskiftelser gik over til den katolske Religion og døde som kuryrstelig Gehejmeraad i Sulzbach.

Winding og Poemer var uadskillige, og de besluttede i Fælles-skab at besøge Rusland. De kom virkelig ogsaa over den russiske Grænse, men da de — som Winding meget sigende udtrykker det — af »et Folk, der var ukendt med Civilisation«, blev behandlet temmelig barsk (duriuscule), trak de sig tilbage og søgte til den driftige Handelsstad Lublin. Højst betegnende for Windings Studieinteresser er det sikkert, at det gjorde stærkt Indtryk paa ham, at der i denne By vrимлеde med de lærdeste Jøder, hvorfor det var ham en Lyst (volupe) at opholde sig her nogle Dage. Derfra agtede Vennerne sig til Italien gennem Ungarn og Østrig. De kom ogsaa ind i Ungarn, men da de i den første ungarske By, de naaede — »Barthus« (vist Bartfeld) — gennem deres Tjener, som ogsaa virkede som Tolk, var kommet under Vejr med, at en Bande slette Mennesker laa paa Lur efter at myrde dem, fandt de det klogest at vende tilbage til Polen.

Med levende Interesse besaa de en Række Byer og Borge — deriblandt Landseron i Galicien, der virkede meget imponerende paa dem —, og kom saa atter til Krakau. Her fik de en god Modtagelse. De blev behandlet med stor Forekommenhed af den polske Adel, der fandt, at deres Interesse for Polen gjorde Landet Ære. Ogsaa paa et Par Lærde hilste de. Endelig forlod de den 21. April 1633 Krakau for at gaa tilbage til Königsberg. Undervejs havde de den Oplevelse at besøge den ejendommelige By Rakau, der allerede længe havde været Hovedsædet for den frireligiøse Retning, som kaldes Socinianismen. Paa den artigste Maade blev de her modtaget af fremtrædende Repræsentanter for dette Samfund som JONAS SCHLICHTINGIUS, PETRUS MORSCOVIVS og JOHANNES CRELLIUS.

Rejsen fortsatte derefter gennem Kazimierz (Casimiria) og Sandomirz (Sendomiria), hvor ligeledes mange Borge og Byer blev taget i Øjesyn. For at komme til Thorn sejlede de paa Weichselfoden og kom tilsidst til Danzig (i April 1633). Her gjorde de Bekendtskab med den meget berømte Socinianer MARTINUS RUARUS, der tidligere havde været Rektor i Rakau, men nu forte en velhavende Privatmands uafhængige Tilværelse i Danzig. Saerlig Poemer traadte i Forbindelse med denne Mand.¹ Samme Poemer, sin tro Achates, maatte Winding nu skilles fra. Under Taarer løsrev de to Venner, der havde delt saa meget sammen, sig fra hinanden, og Winding drog direkte til Königsberg.

11. Det var saaledes i Foraaret 1633, at Winding for anden Gang kom til Königsberg, og her opholdt han sig til September s. A. Tiden forløb behageligt. Han traadte atter i Forbindelse med sin gamle Velynder Coelestin Myslenta, og han nød godt af andre Laerdels Selskab. Med særlig Glæde omtaler han, at han havde den Tilfredsstillelse i Königsberg at genfinde en Række gode Venner blandt de tyske Studerende.² Stambogen opviser ogsaa et ret stort Tal paa saadanne Mænd, der bl. a. hørte hjemme i Holsten, men hvoraf dog ingen senere synes at have gjort sig særlig bekendt. Blandt danske Venner nævner han den ham meget kære MICHAEL MULE fra Odense († 1653 som Sognepræst i Vejlby) og desuden en ung Holstener OTTO LANGEMACH, der vistnok med Iver havde kastet sig over Studiet af de orientalske Sprog. Han indskrev sig i Windings Stambog med en Sentens paa Syrisk og berømmede Vennen som en ypperlig Dyrker af Orientalia.

Stambogen godtgør, at allerede fra Midten af August 1633 maa Winding have levet i Opbruddets Tegn, men endnu den 6. September 1633³ var han i Königsberg. Foranlediget af, at den

¹ Ph. 117. J. MOLLER, *Cimbria literata I*, 570—76. Jvfr. her S. 51. TH. WOTSCHEK i *Schriften des Vereins für Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte 2*, R. VIII, 62 ff. — En anden Socinianer, Mag. Valentinus Baumgart († 1674) traf Winding i Königsberg 20. Aug. 1633 (Ph. 190). Jvfr. C. C. SANDIUS, *Bibliotheca Anti-Tri-nitariorum*, 1684, p. 144.

² Blandt Windings Königsberger-Bekendte kan nævnes den senere Præst ved Mariekirken i Rostock, Lic. theol. Nicolaus Rideman (Ph. 193) og Kurfyrstens Hofpræst Johannes Bergius († 1658), en bekendt Teolog af kalvinsk Støbning (Ph. 85).

³ Ph. 78.

aeldre Biskop Resen endnu en Gang havde kaldt ham hjem for at overdrage ham et Skoleembede, drog han endelig af Sted, idet Vennen Otto Langemach gjorde ham Selskab.

12. Den tiltænkte Skoletjeneste blev der dog ikke noget af. Den unge Jens Poulsen Winding maa have forstaaet at bøje selv en saa imposant Personlighed som Biskop Resen efter sit Ønske, og efter nogle faa Ugers Forløb drog han igen af Gaarde. Stadig var det England, hans Hu stod til, og det lykkedes ham nu at faa Skibslejlighed med et hollandsk Skib, der bragte ham til Vlieland, hvorfra han tog til Vestfriesland. Først besøgte han Franeker, hvor han den 21. Oktober 1633 hilste paa sin tidligere Lærer GEORG PASOR, der modtog ham som »sin gamle Ven«¹. Her traf han ogsaa sin Broder PEDER POULEN WINDING og en Ven PEDER IVERSEN († 1659 som Praest i Egtved). Da de horte om hans Planer om at rejse til England, fraraadede de det paa det bestemteste, da den taagefyldte Efteraarstid ikke var gunstig for Sørejser.

Dette blev Foranledningen til, at Winding kom til at opholde sig ved Universitetet i Groningen. Allerede den 28. Oktober 1633 findes han immatrikuleret her, men at domme efter hans Vita, var det først efter Udgangen af November Maaned, at han slog sig til Ro paa dette Sted, efter at han havde opgivet ethvert Haab om, at det skulde blive sigtbart Vejr. Til dette Skridt tilskyndedes han især af to gamle Venner, han havde truffet igen. Den ene var hans Husfælle Dr. jur. CHRISTOPHER ACHATIUS HÜLS (HULSIUS) († 1684 som Advokat i sin Fødeby Nürnberg), den anden var ligeledes en Jurist, hans meget nære Ven REINHOLD CURIKE († 1667 som Secretarius i sin Hjemby Danzig, hvis Historieskriver han ogsaa blev).

13. Universitetet i Groningen, oprettet 1614, var endnu kun en ung Højskole, da Winding kom dertil. Ikke to fulde Decennier kunde den se tilbage paa. Det ypperste Navn var den Gang Teologen FRANCISCUS GOMARUS († 1641), en af de mest udprægede Repræsentanter for den strengt ortodokse Calvinisme. Winding ses dog ikke at have været i Beroring med ham. Derimod har han kendt hans nærmeste Fagkollega HENRIK ALTING († 1644),

¹ Ph. 88.

en sagtmodig og fredelskende Personlighed, der i sin enfoldige Biblicisme stod al Skolastik fjernt.¹

Der var imidlertid en Mand, som Winding kom til at staa særlig nær i Groningen. Det var MATTHIAS PASOR, en Son af hans Lærer i Franeker, Georg Pasor. Matthias havde været Professor i orientalske Sprog i Oxford, men var 1629 kommet tilbage til sit Fædreland som Professor i Etik i Groningen. Senere overtog han et Professorat i Teologi og døde her 1658. Den ugifte Mand levede helt for Universitetets Vel og for sine Studier. Bortset fra, at han pietetsfuldt besørgede Udgaver af sin Faders Skrifter, var han utilbojelig til selv at ville udgive noget. Han vilde ikke, ytrede han, bidrage til at hindre Læsningen af andres Arbejder, der var bedre, eller bebyrde Bogkøbere med unødvendige Udgifter. Winding vandt i høj Grad denne Mands Yndest. Han siger, at Pasor »elskede ham som en Broder«, og en Gang, da Winding var kommet i en fortvivlet Situation, frelseste han ham fra bevæbnede Soldaters Vold.

14. Bekendtskabet med Matthias Pasor blev Anledningen til, at Winding blev ført ind paa Forfatterbanen, idet han udgav en Disputats under hans Navn af politisk-filologisk Indhold om Joderne.² Skriftet selv maa vistnok nu betragtes som gaaet tabt — betegnende er det sikkert, at allerede da den store Bogelsker Peder Resen 1685 udgav det omfangsrike Katalog over sin til Universitetsbiblioteket skænkede Bogsamling,³ opførte han i et Tillæg blandt de Skrifter, det ikke var lykkedes ham at faa Tag i, ogsaa »Joan. Pauli Vindingii Disputatio Polit. Philologica de Judæis, Grönningæ 1633 in 4«, og den er ikke siden blevet genfundet.⁴

Det var forøvrigt ikke saa mækeligt, at Disputatsen kom til at høre til de store Sjældenheder, thi Winding fortæller selv, at

¹ Ph. 132.

² Vita p. 43.

³ Petri Johannis Resenii Bibliotheca Regia Academiæ Hafniensi donata, 1685, p. 355, Nr. 6.

⁴ Paa en Studierejse til Holland, som jeg takket være Carlsbergfondets Velvilje i 1956 havde Lejlighed til at foretage, har jeg forgæves eftersøgt dette Arbejde i en Række gamle Biblioteker. Senere har Frieslands Bibliograf, Bibliothecaris, Ds. J. J. Kalma, Leeuwarden, velvilligt meddelt mig, at heller ikke han havde paatruffet den, og øvrigt oplyst, at utroligt megen Litteratur fra det 17. Aarhundrede er gaaet til Grunde.

Arkene blev revet fra Bogtrykkerpressen med en saadan Iver af alle, at han næppe selv kunde faa Lov til at beholde nogle Eksemplarer til Brug for sine Venner. Da Skriftet som sagt ikke er bevaret, er man afskaaret fra at lære dets Indhold nærmere at kende, men naar det blev grebet med en saadan Begærighed, kunde det ligge nær at antage, at det bl. a. har indeholdt Betragninger over de daværende Jøders Stilling i det borgerlige Samfund, et Spørgsmaal, der den Gang jævnligt debatteredes.¹

De nærmere Omstændigheder ved dette Arbejdes Tilkomst er overhovedet mærkelige. Da det var blevet trykt i Groningen, blev Forfatteren bange for, at den ældre Pasor maaske derved kunde føle sig stødt. Han besluttede derfor at disputere offentligt i Franeker under dennes Præsidium. Handlingen forløb tilfredsstilende (e voto) den 18. Januar 1634, og den trykte Dissertation udbredtes blandt de Lærde.

Dette Arbejde er det eneste, der nu kendes fra Windings Haand, og det bærer følgende Titel:

Qvaestiones ex Linguâ Ebræâ, Syriacâ, Arabicâ, & Græcâ De-
promptæ, ad Scripturam intelligendam pertinentes, Qvas Σὺν
Θεῷ In Inclytâ Illustrum & Præpotentum Ordinum Frisiae
Academiâ Franequeranâ, Præside, Clarissimo, excellentis-
simi, Linguarumque peritiâ longè instructissimo Viro, D. M.
GEORGIO PASORE, Græcæ Linguæ ibidem Professore dignis-
simi, Praeceptore ac autore suo multis nominibus admodum
colendo, Publicè ventilandas Linguarum studiosis proponit,
IOANNES PAULI WINDINGIUS, Danus. Die 18 Ianu. locô &
horis solitis. — Franekeræ, Excudebat Fredericus Heynsius
Typographus in Academia Franekerana, 1634. (4°. Bl.
A—C 4).²

15. Medens den nærmere Undersøgelse og Behandling af dette Skrift maa overlades til Orientalister, er der dog et Par Karakteristika, der her tør fremhæves. Disputatsen vidner om, at den unge Mand med Flid havde tilegnet sig Kundskaber ikke blot i

¹ L. KNAPPERT, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Hervormde kerk gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw*, 1911, S. 154 ff.

² Eneste bevarede Eksemplar i Det kgl. Bibliotek i København. — At Winding ikke blot var Respondent, fremgaar af, at han under sit Navn under det S. 26 omtalte Digt skriver: »Auth. et Resp.«

Hebraisk, men ogsaa i Arabisk og Syrisk, for ikke at tale om Græsk. Den viser tillige paa typisk Maade, hvorledes han har været paavirket af Tidens Tilbojelighed til at inddrage den rabbinske Teologi i sine Undersøgelser, idet han — til Dels med megen Anerkendelse — citerer en Række bekendte Rabbinere.¹ I saa Henseende fremträder han som Discipel baade af den hjemlige Hebraist Niels Pedersen Aurilesius og af Sixtinus Amama i Franeker.

Den lille Disputats omfatter fire »qvæstiones«. Det første angaar det Spørgsmaal, om det gamle Testamente er blevet overleveret Hebraerne med de samme Bogstaver, hvormed det nu foreligger skrevet. Winding benægter denne Opfattelses Rigtighed, men kan dog ikke slutte sig til Tanken om, at den hebraiske Skrift oprindelig er den assyriske; han holder paa, at den er af kaldaeisk (aramæisk) Oprindelse (Th. 4, 9).² Under Behandlingen af disse Spørgsmaal opträder Winding som ægte Filolog, der bl. a. bestemt indskærper Nødvendigheden af at sidde inde med et grundigt Kendskab selv til de mest elementære Foretelser i Sprogene (Th. 1—3).

Hans strengt videnskabelige Synspunkter bliver dog paa ejendommelig Maade krydset af en Betragtning af rent dogmatisk Art. Han kan vel ikke tilkende deres Mening stor Betydning, der hævder, at de nuværende hebraiske Bogstaver er de uforandrede, naar man argumenterer ud fra, at var dette ikke Tilfældet, vilde Skriftens Autoritet falde sammen — idet Bogstaverne forandres, maa jo ogsaa Indholdet bliveændret. Men ikke mindre dogmatisk imodegaar nu Winding denne Opfattelse: Forandringen af Bogstaverne var indført ved Guds særlige Foranstaltung ved saadanne Mænd, som var aldeles uimodtagelige for Forandringer (immunes). Derfor hviler denne Forandring ikke paa menneskelig, men paa guddommelig Autoritet (Th. 19—20).³

¹ Der nævnes saaledes følgende: Jacob ben Korschai, Abraham ben Meir de Balmes, Josef Albo, Hasdai, Sa.adja ben Josef, Elias Levita.

² Denne Opfattelse er vistnok dannet under Indflydelse fra kalvinsk Side. Mærkeligt er det at se, hvorledes Windings Velynder Jesper Brochmand bestemt hævder det modsatte, ligesom han ogsaa holder paa Oprindeligheden af de hebraiske Vokaltegn (Vniversæ Theologiae Systema I, Hafn. 1633, p. 21 ff., 29 ff.).

³ Af de følgende Qvæstioner er II—III af rent lingvistisk Art (og viser, at man endnu 1634 i Franeker af typografiske Grunde var nødt til at gengive syriske og arabiske Ord med hebraiske Bogstaver). Quæstio IV handler om Muligheden af Forvanskninger i det nye Testamentes Tekst gennem Afskriverfejl, hvad Winding nærmest synes tilbøjelig til at benægte.

Forøvrigt kan bemærkes, at Disputatsen indledes med et Hyldestdigts paa Græsk fra Winding til Kansler Christian Friis til Kragerup, der havde vist sig som hans Velynder under Tildelingen af det kgl. Rejsestipendium 1630. Digtet indeholder ikke mærkværdige Tanker, men taler højt om Forfatterens Pietet over for sin Velgører, der som saa ofte i Datiden prises for sin store Velvilje over for Musernes Dyrkere og for sin Kundskabsfylde, hvorved han lyser som den funkende Aftenstjerne i den bælgmørke Nat.

Som det var almindelig Skik, gav ogsaa Studiefæller Udtryk for deres Hyldest ved at tilføje et Par Digte. Den ovennævnte Peder Iversen skrev et latinsk Digt til Ære for Forfatteren, og Broderen Peder Poulsen Winding, der aabenbart ogsaa maa have været en velstuderet Mand, hilste ham i nogle Verslinier paa Græsk, Latin og Hebraisk. Mere vejer det til, at Praeses, den berømte Georg Pasor, følte Trang til at hædre sin Respondent med et Digt først paa Græsk, dernæst paa Latin. Som Vidnesbyrd om den Agtelse, Jens Poulsen Winding nød, kan det passende hidstættes her i sin latinske Form:

Corpore non parvus, quamvis ita PAULE voceris,
Nec sanè parvus mente tuā fueris.
Mira cano: nobis homo qui vulgaris haberis,
En septem linguis te scio scire loqui.
Seis etenim Danicè, Hebraïcè, Græcè atque Latinè,
Syriacè, Arabicè, Teutoniceque. vale.

16. Efter Disputatsen i Franeker opholdt Winding sig til Midten af August 1634 i Groningen og nød især godt af den Velvilje, han mødte hos Matthias Pasor.¹ Enkelte af det derværende Universitets andre Professorer har han ogsaa lært at kende, saaledes foruden Teologen Henrik Alting den for sit Retsind høj agtede Jurist ANTONIUS MATTHÆUS († 1637), medens han i Franeker traf Frieslands Historiograf PIERIUS WINSEMIUS.²

Skal man dømme efter Indforslerne i hans Philotheca, har det Milieu, hvori han færdedes i Groningen, iøvrigt i paafaldende ringe Grad været hollandsk præget. Naesten alle de, der har indskrevet sig, er Studerende fra forskellige Egne i Tyskland. Mel-

¹ Mårkligt er det da, at Matthias Pasor ikke har indskrevet sig i Windings Philotheca.

² Ph. 68, 98.

lem de unge Nederlændere, han traf, var der dog to, der virkelig vandt sig Navn: Juristen JOHANN JACOB WISSENBACH († 1665 som Professor i Franeker)¹ og især den senere saa berømte klassiske Filolog JOHANNES FREDERICUS GRONOVIVS († 1671 som Professor i Leiden). Den sidste hædrede Winding ved at betegne ham som en Mand »af sjælden Lærdom og fuldkommen Moralitet«.²

Den 16. August 1634 forlod Winding Groningen for at drage til Rotterdam. Undervejs gjorde han Ophold i Amsterdam, hvor han besøgte den kendte latinske Digter og Professor i Filosofi CASPAR BARLÆUS († 1648),³ og et Par Dage senere i Leiden, hvor han hilste paa Professor JACOB GOLIUS († 1667), der havde været hans Ven Johannes Fabricius' Lærer. Det er let at forstaa, at en ung orientalsk Filolog nødigt vilde forlade Holland uden at have gjort Bekendtskab med den Mand, som er blevet regnet for sit Aarhundredes maaske mest talentfulde og indflydelsesrige Dyrker af østerlandske Sprog.⁴

Fra Rotterdam tog Winding ud til Brielle paa Oen Voorne, og ledsaget af Vennen Peder Iversen steg han her om Bord paa et engelsk Skib, der skulde bringe ham til det saa længselsfuldt imødesete England. Det saa imidlertid en Overgang ud til, at det ikke skulde gaa ham bedre end ved den første Englandsfærd 1631. Havet viste sig fra sin mest ublide Side, og den visse Død stod lige for Øjnene, indtil det endelig med stor Anstrengelse lykkedes at føre det hærgede Skib ind i Themsenes Munding. Herfra kom Rejsefællerne uden større Vanskelighed til London, hvor de opholdt sig i otte Dage, og derfra til Oxford.

17. Den 4. September 1634 blev Winding (og hans Ven Peder Iversen) indskrevet i Adgangsbogen ved det Bodleianske Bibliotek i Oxford, og Winding forblev her et Aar (til den 2. September 1635). I flere Henseender betegner dette Ophold vistnok Højdepunktet i hans Studierejser. Han befandt sigaabentbart særdeles vel i den gamle Universitetsstad og ønskede at kunne blive her

¹ Ph. 153.

² Ph. 204 (J. P. W. »raræ eruditionis et Virtutis absolutæ viro»).

³ Ph. 108 (24. August 1634). — Jvfr. E. WRANGEL, anf. Skrift S. 65, 74—5, 77—9.

⁴ Ph. 82 (26. August 1634). — Jvfr. A. J. VAN DER AA, Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, VII, 270—73. JOHS. ØSTRUP i Salmonsons Konversationsleksikon, 2. Udg., VII, 442; IX, 871. Om Golius' Forbindelser med Danmark jvfr. OLAI WORMII Epistolæ II, 648, 672, 673, 848.

til sin Dødedag. Navnlig har han vel — som saa mange før og senere — følt sig tiltrukket af det berømte Bodleianske Bibliotek, der bl. a. rummede talrige orientalske Haandskrifter. Vi ved i hvert Tilfælde, at han sluttede Venskab med Bibliotekaren ved dette JOHANNES VERNULIUS (egt. Jean Verneuil), en fransk Emigrant, der af religiose Grunde var flygtet fra sit Fædreland til Oxford, hvor han gjorde sig fortjent som en lerd og tjenstvillig Biblioteksmand.¹

Desuden vandt Winding andre Venner blandt engelske Magistre, hvoraf han nævner nogle i sit Vita. De sogte hans Undervisning i Hebraisk, hvad der vel tillige har betydet en kærkommen Indtægtskilde for ham. Det er saaledes gaaet ham, som allerede Chaucer havde sunget om sin Oxford-scholar:

And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.²

Forovrigt viser hans Philotheca, at han her — som i Groningen — især har været knyttet til en Kreds af tyske Studerende.

Under disse Omstændigheder var det Winding lidet kært, at han i Foraaret 1635 fik Breve fra sin Fader og fra Kansler Christian Friis, der havde tiltænkt ham en Stilling som Skolemand ved Herlufsholm eller i Sorø. Der var nu ikke andet at gøre end at tage Afsked med Oxford og drage til London og Harwich for at soge Skibslejlighed til Danmark. Imidlertid maatte han i otte Uger ligge stille og vente paa gunstig Vind. Da den ikke infandt sig, besluttede han for denne Gang at opgive Hjemrejsen og vende tilbage til Oxford.

Han var ikke langt fra at opfatte det som en Slags Gudsdom: Forsynet, der fra Moders Liv havde bestemt ham for en anden Løbebane, gjorde Velyndernes Forsøg paa at føre ham hjem til intet ved at hindre Skibslejligheden. Forovrigt befandt han sig i en splittet Sindsstemning. Han vidste, at hans Hjemrejse ønskedes af hans Forældre og Venner i Fædrelandet, medens han omvendt følte, at de fremmede, han færdedes iblandt, og som nu havde vundet ham meget kær, nødigt vilde lade ham rejse.

Hvor yndet han har været i Oxford, kan man se af en Række Indforsler i hans Philotheca netop fra April Maaned 1635. Aaben-

¹ Ph. 97. Jvfr. W. D. MACRAY, Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1868, S. 73—4, 341.

² GEOFFREY CHAUCER, The Canterbury Tales (W. W. Skeat), Oxford 1949, S. 8.

bart har en Del af hans Venner — flest rent tyske, men ogsaa enkelte danske og holstenske — saa ugerne villet skilles fra ham, at de har ledsaget ham til London for at være sammen med ham til det sidste.¹ Blandt dem var den senere hertugelige Rentemester paa Gottorp, Dr. jur. EBERHARD WEIDENKOPF († 1656).²

Winding slog sig saaledes igen for en Tid til Ro i Oxford, og saa langt fra at være stækket i sin Rejselyst lagde han Planer om at drage til Frankrig og Italien. Men i Høsten 1635 kom der paa ny Brev fra hans Fader, der krævede, at han nu skulle opgive alle videre Rejseplaner og paaskynde sin Hjemrejse, om han ønskede at se ham i Live (salvus). Nu maatte det derfor være Alvor. Det var Winding en Hjertens Sorg at skulle forlade det Sted, hvor han saa gerne havde villet dvæle længere, og saare nødig løsrev han sig fra de udmærkede Lærere og Venner, han havde vundet. Antagelig har Faderens Brev naaet ham i August 1635, thi i Dagene mellem den 27. August og den 1. September er i Oxford daterede en Række Afskedsord i Philotheca. Snart efter var han i London, og derpaa tog han til Gravesend. Gunstig Skibslejlighed tilbød sig nu, og den 16. September 1635 gensaa Winding sit Fædreland. Med Rette siger han, at hvad han i Foraaret forgæves havde sogt at opnaa i otte Uger, det lykkedes nu for ham paa otte Dage.

Naar Winding viste saa stor Ulyst til at bryde op fra Oxford, staar det formodentlig ikke blot i Forbindelse med, at gode Studieforhold og Venskabsforbindelser holdt ham tilbage, men maaske ogsaa med, at han kan have været fængslet af Baand af en mere sart Natur. Mærkeligt er det i hvert Fald i hans Stambog midt mellem alle de højlerde Visdomsord paa mange Sprog at finde et Blad, beskrevet med en lidt stiv, men fast Haand, der har indført disse Linier:

A cowardly louer shal neuer haue a
faire sweet heart
Sir
This few words shall

¹ Ph. 205b (25. Marts 1635), 207, 95, 203, 143, 65, 63.

² Ph. 138. Om Weidenkopf jvfr. J. MOLLER, Cimbria literata II, 964. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins XIV, 246—7. — Baade Weidenkopf og en vis Vitikindus Husius indskrev sig paa ny i Oxford (Ph. 137 b, 205 b).

be as witnesses to giue a faith-
full testimony of the loue I
beare you: A O¹

18. Venligt blev Jens Winding modtaget i Helsingør af sine Slaegtninge, og han drog saa videre til København, men her fik Piben en ganske anden Lyd. Hos den ældre Biskop Resen og hos dennes tro Følgesvend Jesper Brochmand mødte han stor Forbitrelse, idet de bebrejdede ham, at han ikke havde taget Hensyn til deres gentagne Breve og derved været ulydig mod en guddommelig Kaldelse til et Embede. Overvældet af denne Behandling lukkede den unge Mand sig inde i sit Logi en Uges Tid, da han uventet blev kaldt til Kansleren Christian Friis for at gøre Regnskab for den Rejse, han havde foretaget med offentlig Støtte. Som den gennemdannede Mand Kansleren var, underholdt han sig paa den artigste Maade med Winding om Forholdeneude i den store Verden. Denne syldtes derfor naturligt nok med den største Beundring for den Lærdom og Humanitet, han mødte hos Kansleren.

Ikke uden Grund kunde han nu tro, at alle mørke Skyer var fejet til Side, og begav sig sammen med sin Fader over til Malmö for at fejre en Halvbroders Bryllup. I otte Dage levede han her i Herlighed og Glæde, men da han kom tilbage til København, mærkede han snart, at han var kommet fra Asken i Ilden. Baade hos Kansleren, Resen og Brochmand fik han — som han siger — en blytung Vrede (plumbeæ iræ) at føle. De havdeaabenhært troet, at den rejselystne unge Mand havde villet benytte Lejligheden til endnu en Gang at drage ud af Landet. Misundere havde desuden pustet til Baulet, og den gamle Poul Jensen Kolding maatte gaa til Kansleren for at bede om godt Vejr.

Det lykkedes da ogsaa at stille ham tilfreds, Sønnen blev straks igen kaldt til Christian Friis, og der udspandt sig nu en højst karakteristisk Samtale mellem dem. Da Kansleren havde spurgt, om det ikke var bedre at tjene Gud i sit eget Land end i

¹ Ph. 138 b. — Det er fristende hermed at sætte i Forbindelse en Indforsel paa den foregaende Side af den fornævnte EBERHARD WEIDENKOPF, der først paa Italiensk har skrevet »La virtù ha degna sepoltura per tutto«, derefter er slaaet over paa Fransk »Ung bon mariage payera tout« for derpaa at fortsætte paa Latin »sed cautus esto, Nam« og slutte paa Spansk »Casár y perder se vien todo en un dia« (Ph. 138).

det fremmede, svarede den unge Mand, der tydeligt nok havde udviklet sig til ikke saa lidt af en Verdensborger, med at citere et berømt Ord hos Cicero:

patriam esse ubicunque bene est.

Denne Udtalelse faldt i høj Grad Kansleren for Brystet, og i heftige Ord gennemheglede han nu Winding for hans Uforstand og ringe Hensyntagen til Slægtinges og Velynderes Omsorg. Ensidigt drevet frem af et Sind, der elskede og higede efter det fremmede, var han i Virkeligheden ude af Stand til at dømme om det, han tragtede efter. Jens Poulsen Winding blev nu bragt til Taus-hed. Han fandt det upassende at tage til Genmæle og besluttede at boje sig for en saadan Stormands Dom. Kansleren gav ham derefter Befaling til efter nærmere Tilsigelse fra Jesper Broch-mand at indstille sig til en offentlig Prøve ved Universitetet.

Den 5. November 1635 undergik Winding da denne Prøve og det med stor Berømmelse, som man kunde se af Universitetets (desværre ikke bevarede) Testimonium, som opvakte mange Misundelse. Næste Dag blev han efter kaldt til Kansleren, der paalagde ham at overbringe dette Vidnesbyrd tillige med et Brev til Biskop HANS MIKKELSEN i Odense, der skulde anvise ham den for ham bestemte Stilling.

Faa Dage senere tiltraadte Winding Rejsen til Odense. Biskop Hans Mikkelsen kom næsten ud af Fatning ved Kanslerens Brev, men turde ikke modsætte sig den høje Øvrigheds Vilje og besik-kede Jens Winding til Professor i Teologi (Lector theologiæ) ved Gymnasiet i Odense.¹ Med denne Begivenhed slutter Windings Rejseberetning.

19. Den nye Lector theologiæ, som nu kom til Odense, var uden Tvivl en usædvanligt veluddannet Mand. De syv—otte Aar, han havde tilbragt paa Studierejser i Europas forskelligste Egne, maa sikkert i høj Grad have udviklet ham. Hans aandelige Horizont er blevet udvidet, og de mange Aars indtrængende Studier har utvivlsomt bibragt ham en betydelig Lærdom inden for de Fag, der især havde hans Hjerte, de orientalske Sprog. Hans

¹ Det var da ikke underligt, at den gamle Poul Jensen Kolding følte sig kaldet til (den 28. November 1635) at sende Kansleren en Takkeskrivelse i Anledning af Sonnens Forfremmelse (jfvr. her Tillæg Nr. 2).

Philotheca vidner derom. Det er ikke blot de talrige nærmere Venner og Studiefæller, der i venlige og smigrende Ord taler om hans Indsigt paa dette Omraade, men ogsaa Tidens kyndigste Mænd er fulde af Lovord om det samme.

Man har da ogsaa herhjemme vidst at skønne paa dette. Den Stilling, der ved Kansler Christian Friis' Gunst var tiltænkt den kun 26aarige Lærde, var baade ærefuld og indbringende. Fra gammel Tid havde der i Odense som i andre Stiftsstæder været ansat en Lector theologiæ, som især havde til Opgave at holde teologiske Forelæsninger for de ældre Latinskoledisciple. Da der nu 1621 blev stiftet et saakaldt Gymnasium, blev Lektoratet inkorporeret i denne Institution, og Indehaveren deraf gjort til »Professor theologiæ«, almindeligvis dog kaldt »Lector«.

Baggrunden for Stiftelsen af Gymnasier (Katedralcollegia) i Stiftsstæderne var Klagerne over, at de unge kom alt for utilstrækkeligt forberedte fra Skolerne til Universitetet. For at raade Bod paa denne Nødstilstand fandt man da paa at indskyde et Mellemled mellem Skolerne og Universitetet. Ved Stiftelsen af Gymnasiet i Odense havde foruden Kansler Christian Friis især Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde, den Gang Lensmand paa Odensegaard, og Stiftets energiske Biskop Hans Mikkelsen været virksomme. Fra Regeringens Side fulgte man med Interesse denne ejendommelige Nydannelse i vor Skolehistorie, og flere private viste paa rundhaandet Maade deres Gavmildhed. Helt kom den dog næppe til at svare til Forventningerne, hvorfor Kongen den 17. Maj 1639 fandt sig foranlediget til at udstede en ny Fundats for Gymnasiet. Til de tre Professorater, man havde oprettet 1621, fojedes nu et fjerde, og der blev fastlagt meget detaillerede Regler for Stiftelsens hele Virksomhed.¹

Det var ved denne Læreanstalt, at Jens Poulsen Winding nu kom til at virke Resten af sit Liv, i en lille Snæ Aar. Hans Stilling var ansat, 1639 blev det saaledes udtrykkeligt fastslaaet, at Lector (Professor) theologiæ skulde have Rang umiddelbart efter Biskoppen, over Sognepræsten ved St. Knuds Kirke.² Han indtog saaledes fra nu af den næstoverste Plads inden for Byens og Stiftets

¹ J. C. BLOCH, Den Fyenske Geistligheds Historie I, 245—9, 250—1, 252—66. HANS DE HOFMAN, Fundationer V, 21 ff. J. OSKAR ANDERSEN, Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde S. 178 f.

² Tidligere havde han haft Rang efter Provsten ved St. Knuds Kirke jvfr. Kongebrev af 8. Decbr. 1635 (H. F. RØRDAM, Danske Kirkelove III, 251).

Gejstlighed. Hans Embedsindtægter synes at have været rundelige, ikke mindst da det 1621 var blevet bestemt, at Lectoren tillige skulde være Sognepræst i det nærliggende Aasum Sogn (som allerede 1572 var blevet knyttet til det gamle Lektorat). Han skulde dog her holde en residerende Kapellan til at bestride de løbende Forretninger. Sely synes Winding nu og da at have prædiket i Aasum, saaledes 1638 ved en Bispevisitats.¹

Foruden de regulære Indtægtskilder blev der ved flere Lejligheder tilstaaet Winding ekstraordinære Benaadninger. F. Eks. fik han 1637 tillagt 60 Bønderlæs Ved af St. Knuds Klosters Skove ud over, hvad der tidligere var tillagt ham af samme Skove, og s. A. bevilgedes der ham for hans Livs Tid Kirketienden af Aasum Kirke (mod en Afgift til Kirken). Som et Vidnesbyrd om, at man i det hele taget har sat Pris paa ham kan ogsaa nævnes, at han allerede 1638 vistnok fik Fritagelse for den byrdefulde Forpligtelse til at udstede Testimonier for Gymnasiasterne, naar de skulde dimitteres til Universitetet.²

Hvorledes Winding har bestridt Embedet som Lector, vides ikke i Enkeltheder. 1621 var det alene den teologiske Undervisning, der var blevet overdraget Lectoren, men 1639 fik han tillige Pligten til at meddele Begyndelsesgrundene i Hebraisk, hvad der sikkert ikke har været ham ukært.³ Hans Hovedopgave var dog at docere Teologi. Fundatsen af 1639 er i saa Henseende meget oplysende. Fire Gange om Ugen skulde Lectoren holde Forelesninger Kl. 6—7^{1/2}, derpaa efter Kl. 9 høre Disciplene i det gen-nemgaaede Stof. Først og fremmest skulde han lægge Vægt paa at give en dogmatisk Fremstilling (*loci communes*) med tilhørende Bevissteder af Skriften (*dicta Scripturarum*). Senere skulde Disciplene paa Grundlag af den oldkirkeelige Krønikeskriver Sulpi-

¹ H. F. RØRDAM, Danske Kirkelove II, 171 Samlinger til Fyens Historie og Topographie VII, 130. — Den 30. December 1635 aflagde Winding Præsteeden til Biskop Hans Mikkelsen (Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 3. R. V, 128). — 1621 bestemtes hans Lønning til — foruden Prætekaldet — 24 Tdr. Rug, 36 Tdr. Byg, 12 Lam, 34 Gæs, 24 Par Høns, 40 Læs Ved (Hans de Hofman, Foundationer V, 8). Hertil kom en Residens, der, da den 1637 var stærkt forfalden, delvis blev restaureret paa Kongens Bekostning (Kancelliets Brevbøger 1637—39, udg. af E. MARQUARD, S. 256).

² Breve i Fyens Bispearkev, Odense Gymnasiums Breve 1560—1785. Jvfr. Kancelliets Brevbøger 1637—39, udg. af E. MARQUARD, S. 256. Samlinger til Fyens Historie og Topographie VII, 121 (jvfr. H. DE HOFMAN, anf. Skrift V, 28, hvor det fastslåas, at det er Professor lingvæ Latinæ, der skal udstede Testimonier).

³ 1641 paatog Winding sig yderligere at undervise Biskoppens Søn Henrik i Hebraisk (Fyenske Saml. VII, 191).

cius Severus og Skriften i friere Form paa Latin gengive den hellige Histories Beretninger. Saaledes haabede man paa een Gang at tilgodese religiose, historiske og sproglige Formaal. En Dag om Ugen (om Onsdagen) skulde Disciplene udarbejde en Tale paa Latin over et af Lectoren opgivet Emne. De mere fremmelige kunde dog faa Lov til at gøre en lille Tale paa Græsk.

Hvorledes den Teologi har været beskaffen, som Jens Winding foredrog, foreligger der ingen Efterretninger om. Antagelig har det været ortodoks-luthersk Skoleteologi, som det var at vente af en Mand, der havde været Jesper Brochmands, Johann Hülsemanns og Coelestin Myslentas Discipel. Kort før Lektoratet 1635 skulde besættes, havde Biskop Hans Mikkelsen til Kansler Christian Friis skrevet, at det nu gjaldt om til denne Stilling at faa en Mand, der ikke afveg »en Tøddel fra den ortodokse Tro, som vi bekenner«.¹ Da den strengt retroende Biskop, der var øverste Tilsynsførende ved Gymnasiet, aldrig har ytret Misfornøjelse med Windings læremæssige Standpunkt, har dette sikkert virket tilfredsstillende.

Som øverste Lærer ved Gymnasiet kom Winding naturligvis til ogsaa at deltage i administrativt Arbejde vedrørende dette. Han maa saaledes oftere have været nærværende ved Examina, Translationer og økonomiske Forhandlinger.² Ubetinget behageligt har det kollegiale Forhold næppe altid været. Den 9. November 1640 fortæller Biskop Hans Mikkelsen i sin Dagbog, at Professorerne efter langvarig Forhandling endelig blev forsonede og gav hverandre Haandslag paa oprigtigt Broderskab og Enighed.³ Der maa derfor være gaaet en Periode af Uenighed forud. Fra 1644 har man en Beretning, ført i Pennen af Winding, om et Optrin, der var ved at udvikle sig til et korporligt Slagsmaal mellem Biskoppen og en af Professorerne,⁴ og 1652 maatte den følgende Biskop Laurids Jacobsen Hindholm foreholde baade Professorer og Gymnasiaster Fundatsens Bestemmelser og formane dem til at respektere deres Pligter. Ogsaa Gymnasiasterne kunde saaledes volde Bekymring. 1637 hører vi om Gymnasia-

¹ Fyenske Saml. X, 229.

² Jvfr. Fyenske Saml. VII, 165. Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 4. R. II, 663, 668, 672, 681.

³ Fyenske Saml. VII, 175.

⁴ Fyens Bispearkiv, Odense Gymnasiums Breve 1560—1785, Beretning af 1644 25. April.

sternes Gadeuorden om Natten, 1640 om natligt Indbrud i Gymnasiet, 1652 klages der over, at Gymnasiasterne drak sig drukne.¹

Hvad Windings private Tilværelse angaaer, synes han snart at være kommet til at høre hjemme i det velhavende Odense-Bourgeoisi. Til Biskop Hans Mikkelsen stod han i et godt Forhold. Jævnlig er der i Biskoppens Dagbog Tale om Gästebud i Bispegaarden, hvor Winding var med, eller hos ham selv, hvor han trakterede Biskoppen til Middag eller Frokost.² Den maaske noget ensformige Tilværelse i Odense blev nu og da afbrudt af Rejser. 1641 var han i Jylland til et Bryllup, af og til i København, hvor han besøgte sin gamle Velynder Kansler Christian Friis. En sorgelig Anledning havde hans Rejse til Sjælland i November Maaned 1640, idet han maatte begrave baade sin Fader og Moder, der døde med faa Dages Mellemrum.³

Allerede den 28. August 1636 var Jens Poulsen Winding i Odense blevet gift med den 24aarige KAREN HANSATTER BRUUN, der først havde været gift med Stifts- og Regimentsskriver Peder Rasmussen (Balslev) († ca. 1632).⁴ Gennem hende førtes han yderligere ind i Byens Patriciat. Antagelig har han faaet betydelige Midler med denne formuende Enke, der bl. a. ejede en Gaard ved Flakhaven. Senere nævnes Winding som Ejer af forskelligt Jordegods og Ihændehaver af Pantebreve paa ikke smaa Beløb.⁵ Med Karen Bruun fik Winding fire Børn, hvoraf det bekendteste blev Lic. jur. PEDER HANSEN WINDING, † 1684 som Ejer af Lamnehave i Fyen og Assessor i Kancellikollegiet, som Faderen en litterært dannet Mand.

Foruden at røgte sin Embedsgerning har Winding levet et stille Liv, helliget sine kære Studier. En Beretning, der stammer fra Odense-Tradition, synes at vidne om næsten overdreven Studieiver.⁶ Forøvrigt satte hans lærde Sysler ingen synlige Frugter.

¹ Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 4. R. II, 673. — Sst. S. 666. Fyenske Saml. VII, 109, 165.

² Fyenske Saml. VII, 99, 125, 143, 144, 148, 156, 157, 158, 162, 170, 188.

³ Fyenske Saml. VII, 190, 130, 137, 174. — BJØRN KORNERUP, Til Minde om Holger Fr. Rørdam S. 62.

⁴ Fyenske Saml. VII, 99. IX, 247 ff. Jyfr. Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift 3. R. VI, 82.

⁵ Fyenske Saml. X, 271, (272), 276, (302), 319.

⁶ Landsdommer JACOB BIRCHEROD († 1737) fortæller i sine genealogiske Samlinger (Kall, Fol., 130 S. 351—2) følgende: »Her maae jeg fortælle een lystig passage om denne Mag. Jens Poulsen og hans første hustrue. Det var hans sædvane, at hand vilde sove allene i sit Kammer, det blev hustruen Kiæd af, hun stoed ofte op om natten, og med sin pude under armen gik til hans dor, bankede paa, og

Kun kan det nævnes, at han 1637 disputerede for Magistergraden, og at det berettes, at han søgte at drage Nutte af sine Sprogkundskaber ved Bibeloversættelsesarbejde.¹ Maaske stammer en Gen-givelse af nogle af Davids Psalmer, der findes indført i det Hefte, som ogsaa rummer hans Vita, fra ham.² Det indeholder desuden nogle latinske Bønner, der er skrevet med hans Haand.

1639 laa Jens Poulsen Winding dødelig syg,³ men maa dog have rettet sig igen. Først den 21. Juni 1655 Kl. 7,45 afgik han ved Døden i Odense, 46 Aar gammel, og den 29. Juni blev han bisat i sin Hustrus Familiegrav i St. Knuds Kirke sst.⁴ En lidt senere Professor ved Gymnasiet LAURIDS LUJA, der har skrevet denne Institutions Historie til Dels med Benyttelse af den lokale Tradition, har ment at kunne berømme ham for Rettroenhed, Veltalenhed og stor Lærdom i de østerlandske Sprog.⁵

Trods al Velgang og al Haeder, der blev Jens Poulsen Winding til Del i hans Embedsaar, virker hans senere Tilværelse som en Skuffelse. Eventyret i hans Liv var til Ende. Som ung havde han i Udlandet lært, at Himlen andetsteds kunde hvælve sig højere over Ens Hoved end i Resens og Brochmands Danmark, men hans egen Udvikling synes stakket. Ikke desto mindre bliver hans *Vita* med Beretningen om den lange Studiefærd i det fremmede dog altid mærkeligt. Det er Vidnesbyrd — et blandt adskillige andre — om den uslukkelige Lærdomshunger, der drev saa mange af det 17. Aarhundredes danske Akademikere til at søger Uddannelse i den europæiske Kulturverden.

begjært at lades ind. Hand vilde ikke, hun tilbød ham saa meget Riinsk viin, som hand Kunde drikke, dette frugtede intet. Hun bod ham 50 Rdl. til bøger, og deraf efter lugte hand hende op. Imidlertid erindrede hun sin pige, som saae dette, og siden har giort det bekjendt, at hun skulle bede Gud bevare hende fra slig een Mand.⁶ — Karen Bruun († 1662) blev efter Windings Dod gift med hans Eftermand som Professor Jørgen Bertelsen Taulov († 1680).

¹ Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikel, udg. af S. Birket Smith, I, 140. L. LUJA, Statua honoris erecta Gymnasio Othniensi Regio, Hafn. 1725, 4°, p. 31.

² Jvfr. S. 46. Disse Oversættelser er ikke omtalt i Rørdams Afhandling om »danske Bearbejdelsær af Davids Psalmer i 17de Aarhundrede« i Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 2. R. I, 538 ff. (jvfr. især S. 583).

³ Fyenske Saml. VII, 139.

⁴ Optegnelse i Series pastorum i Aasum Kirkebog. C. T. Engelstoft formoder (Fyenske Saml. IX, 249), at Winding er begravet i sin Sognekirke i Aasum.

⁵ L. LUJA, anf. Skrift p. 31.

Vita
Joannis Pauli Windingii

Ego
Joannes Pauli
Windingius,

Natus sum Windingi Dresselbergiorum in Selandiâ¹, Anno ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνσαρκώσεως² 1609, die 1mo Augusti circiter IX vespertin.³ Proavum habui prudentissimum virum Paulum Joannis urbis Coldingensis senatorem⁴: Avum Joannem Pauli, urbis ejusdem senatorem consultissimum, et Serenissimo Danorum Regi Friderico II à vectigalibus⁵: Patrem virum admodum reverendum et clarissimum, M. Paulum Jani, illustris Herlovianæ Scholæ Pastorem et Præsidem, nec non Flakebergensium in Selandiâ Præpositum quondam, ah quondam! vigilantissimum ac fidelissimum⁶: Matrem piam, prudentem et honestam Matronam Johannam Petri filiam.⁷ Qui vitae meæ luctuosæ satores, veræ vitae Jesu Christo me per πολιγγενεσίας lavaerum cum inseruisserunt, enutriverunt fidelissimè ac in sincero DEI timore educarunt constantissimè. Quartum ætatis annum agentem custodiae et curæ me commiserunt privatorum præceptorum, quibus in paternis aedibus usus sum in Annum 1619⁸: quo in numerum illustris Herlovianæ scholæ discipulorum receptus, septennium, et quod excurrit, ibidem militavi sub viris Clarissimis et excellentissimis, M. Jacobo Brochmanno, νῦν ἐν ὅγιοις⁹, M. Johanne Resenio, nunc Theologiæ doctore et Professore,¹⁰ M. Nicolao Pauli hodie itidem Sanctæ Theologiæ doctore et Professore,¹¹ M. Christophoro Holbeccio, piæ memoriae,¹² et M. Vichmanno Hasebardo, Ecclesiaste et Præposito Hauniensium integerrimo.¹³

Optimo optimi hujus literariae [scholæ] ducis testimonio me stipatum, parentes desideratissimi ad Academiam Hauniensem studiorum gratiâ Anno ætat. XVII, æræ Christianæ 1626, amandarunt. Heic mox à clarissimis Academiæ Professoribus ad depositionis ritum die XIV Octobr. admissus, studiosorum matri-

culæ meum dedi nomen¹⁴; Rectore Reverendissimo Viro D. D. Johanne Resenio, Selandorum Episcopo eminentissimo,¹⁵ et Decano Spectabili M. Petro Gelstrupio,¹⁶ qui singulari me excipiens humanitate, gratiarum actionem metricè habendi honorem¹⁷ inter majores natu pusillo mihi detulit, ac in suæ erga me benevolentia testimoniun Trifolio Politico me donavit.¹⁸ Hoc in studiorum Emporio, hospite et studiorum directore usus M. Johanne Resenio,¹⁹ substi in Anni recuperatæ salutis 1628 Aprilem: quo ê suavissimorum parentum complexibus dimissus in Belgium abij, comite M. Johanne Suanningio,²⁰ hodie Lingvarum orientalium in Hauniensi Academiâ Professore, et rerum mearum fideli inspectore Petro Severini Egtvadio, beatæ memoriae.²¹ Hujus enim fidei me parens dulcissimus commissum voluit, id serio et semper curans, ne eo tempore etiam adolescens pravorum hominum commercio, aut heterodoxorum inquinarer opinionibus; nimis, Omnis in hoc gnato consistit cura parentis, ut tandem filij rectè educati ac instituti ministerio senectus foveatur. In Belgium ita faustis vialibus delatus, Amstelodamum XIV die Maij appuli: inde Lugdunum abij.²² Sed verò inclytâ hac Academiâ certas ob causas relictâ, Franequeram in Frisiâ me contuli,²³ nominis famâ excellentissimi D. Sixtini ab Amma, Lingvarum orientalium Professoris ibi celeberrimi,²⁴ potissimum exstimulatus. Biennium heic integrum agens, conversatione et institutione familiari utebar dicti Sixtini, nec non Dñi Georgij Pasoris, Lingvæ Graecæ Professoris solertissimi²⁵: de quibus asseverare illud audeo, fuisse ipsos, totius Academiæ Franequeranae lumina et columnina. In Mathematicis præceptores ibidem nactus sum celeberrimum Metium,²⁶ et D. Bernhardum Schotanum²⁷: quorum hic frequenti me complectebatur humanitate.

Anno 1630 cis festum Paschatos mihi in Galliam ê Belgio cogitanti, à charissimo parente transportantur literæ, quibus redditum in patriam suadet. Rebus itaque meis compositis, itineri me accingo, paternis parens monitis, et ratus, nihil esse iniquius, quam optimo reluctari parenti. Itineris comitem sortitus sum fidum illum Achatem Johannem Suanningum, qui unâ mecum vectus navi in patriam pridie Ascensionis Domini²⁸ rediit.²⁹

Sic numine propitio ad desideratissimos parentes reversus, actutum Hauniam adjij. Heic me ubi benevolè excepisset excellensissimus Dnus D. Casparus Brochmannus,³⁰ ad magistralem invi-

tavit laurum. Honorem hunc renuenti locum inter stipendij Regij Competitores³¹ primum dedit. Hujus enim impetrandi gratiâ in patriam, parentum jussu, redieram. Primæ ergò cum M. Jacobo Canutio³² velitationi dictus est XXX Junij dies, quo ille respondentis, ego opponentis sustinui partes. Secundo certamini designatus est VII Julij, quo ille opponentis, ego respondentis divina ope tutatus sum partes, sub præsidio Reverendiss. et eminentissimi Doctoris Caspari Brochmanni.³³ Examen tertium à Theologicâ et Philosophicâ facultate institutum VIII Julij sustinui, quo divino numine favente regium obtinui stipendum.³⁴

Hauniâ ad parentes digressus in superiorem Germaniam ire mecum statui. Ah verò interveniente luctuoso sororis meæ obitu in XXIX Augusti³⁵ intra parentum delitui parietes, quo Nestvediâ solvens IV Septemb. Lubecam appuli: jnde lustratis aliquot inferioris Germaniæ oppidis versus Wittenbergam per Marchionatum Brandenburgicum iter institui difficile et periculosum, utpote inter turmas Cæsareanas et Suecicas peractum, à quibus non semel iniquè vexabar et κενταυρικῶς excipiebar. Ita per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum tendens Wittenbergam, celebrissimam urbem 12 Septemb. ingredior, in quâ bonarum artium facturus commercium in XXI Septemb. Aⁱ 1631³⁶ commorabar: familiaritatè potissimum usus Doctoris Hulsemanni Theologiæ Professoris,³⁷ M. Trostij lingvarum Orientalium,³⁸ et M. Frankenbergeri historiarum Professoris,³⁹ et hospitis mei, M. Christiani Reinhart insignis Mathematici et Philosophiæ adjuncti,⁴⁰ et M. Welsteinij familiaris et amici mei optimi,⁴¹ quorum amicitiâ et consuetudine diutius non sine delectamento usus fuisse, nisi pestifera lues, quæ urbem invaserat, ac omnis belli moles in Saxoniam superiorem emigrans, abitum mandasset. Proinde ubi insigniora aliquot Saxonici et Anhaltini tractus oppida vidisem, rectâ Lubecam regredior, ut consensâ navi in patriam remearem amantissimi parentis nutu et arbitrio per literas mihi declarato. Cuius voto, licet nonnihil ægrè, satisfeci: quippe qui arbitrabar subitum istum in patriam redditum studiis ac rebus meis esse intertrimento. Enimverò Nestvediam fausto Neptuno XVIII Octob. appuli, atque ibi exceptus suavissimè dierum quatuordecim decursu, non sine utriusque parentis gemitu et injussu Helsingoram adij, animô navem, quæ in Angliam tenderet, descendendi. Aderat interea Anglicana è voto navis, cui me X Novemb. im-

pono: at non sine bonorum et valetudinis jacturâ ac discriminâ. Etenim cum XI Novemb. Helsingorâ solvissemus, in altum delati dimicantibus inter sese fluctibus, atque omnibus obscurâ nocte naufragium minitantibus, hinc et inde periculos[si]me jactabamur. Tandem autem pulvinis circa Angliam illisam navem, cum vita nulla appareret spes, nautæ DEO et verbo commiserunt, ut eò, quô benignissimus, deductos voluit, traheremur. Itaque vehementi adèo excitatâ tempestate, ut ventorum apertis carceribus unâ vi omnes viderentur emissi, famoso post triduum Bowenberensi pulvinari⁴² imponimur: ubi cum biduum, desperatâ salute, mansissemus, quicquid portabat navis, Neptuno dabatur. Sed verò cum exonerata navis vehementissimi Africi tumorem diutius sustinere, utpote jam quassata, non posset, obscurâ nocte horrendis fluctuum montibus jam alta usque ad sidera, jam ima usque ad tartara navem deprimentibus, nec non præsentissimam mortem minitantibus, pridie Dnic. 1mæ Advent.⁴³ singulari DEI BENIGNISSIMI auxilio omnes incolumes in terram deportamur, eodem prorsus miraculo, quo Paulus cum suis, salvus et incolmis evasit, Act. XXVII.⁴⁴ Quod cum intelligeret vir pietati consecratus, patris instar colendus, M. Paulus Paulinus Ecclesiastes Coldingensis,⁴⁵ literis testatus est, me à naufragio pericolosissimo ac faucibus mortis mirabiliter divinâ providentiâ esse conservatum. Cui ego, Laus, honor et immortalis gloria potentissimo et benignissimo יְהוָה DEO, qui me mortalem ad meos reducere dignatus est. Ô TU BENIGNISSIME DEUS porrò qui potes me mortalem serva, et ut cum Nehemiâ⁴⁶ loquar, זֶרְדָּךְ-לִילְטוֹבָה Amen.

Cæterum, admirando DEi munere Westervicum in Cimbriâ deportatus, rectâ ad parentes charissimos regredior. Quorum obtutui cum offerrer, lacrymandus iter periculos[is]simum, quod ipsis reluctantibus sponte meâ ingressus fueram, distinctè enarravi: ipsis non tam crebro ingemiscentibus, quam DEO clementissimo summas pro incolumitate meâ fundentibus gratias. Interim apud eos à XVIII Decembr. usque ad vicesimum octavum diem Martij Aⁱ 1632 diversatus sum, quo die Nestvediâ solvens, celebrem Pruterorum Academiam Regiomontum XIX. die Aprilis fausto, DEO sit gratia, appuli.⁴⁷

Heic à plusculis, mihi jam pridem in Germaniâ et Belgio familiarissimis, amicissimè exceptus, in XXVII diem Septembris substiti. Familiarem vero mihi interea habui virum eminentis-

simum, Theologiæ ac lingv. Orientalium peritissimum Dominum D. Mislentam,⁴⁸ qui cum me, alias peregrinum et quasi proselytum, sincerè amaret, de meliore notâ me Heroi amplissimo et illustrissimo, Dno Georgio à Sauken, Serenissimi Electoris Brandenburgensis Ducatus Borussiae supremo Consiliario et Cancellario commendavit. Enimverò, huic literatorum patrono, literarumque amatori nobilissimo commendatus, in numerum nobilissimorum Cancellistarum referor, qui in Poloniā dictum generosiss. dominum Cancellarium, tum Electoris Brandenburgici constitutum Legatum, comitarentur. Quam honestissimam conditionem cum aspernari nullo pacto possem, nobilissimo me adjungo comitatui, ac viam versus Ortelsburgam in limine Masoviæ sitam urbem progredior. Inde per plusculas Mazoviæ urbes profectus, Warsawiam cum comitibus exoptatissimis XVI die Octobris perveni. Aderat tum illie electus Polonorum Rex Uladislaus⁴⁹ Sigismundi tertij filius, qui ut Pontificis Romani, Imperatoris, Regis Hispaniarum, Gallorum, Angliæ, Nec non Suecorum, aliorumque principum Legatos benignè excepit: ita nostrum Georgium à Sauken singulari prosecutus est favore, dum non modo amplissimis donavit muneribus, sed et eum, nomine Ducis sui, *investituram* petentem,⁵⁰ et sub dio in Consessu universæ Lithuaniae, Masoviæ et Poloniæ nobilitatis perorantem audivit. Idem ille illustrissimus à Sauken cum me in Borussiam reducere non posset, præclarâ me ornatum commendatione, absit invidia dicto, volentem à se dimisit. Cracoviam namque proficisci constitueram, non tam ut illustrem illie Academiam contemplarer, quam ut defuneti Regis Sigismundi ejusque conjugis Reginæ funebrem pompam⁵¹ oculis usurparem. Warsaviâ ergò relictâ, ipsâ die Martini, novo me accingo itineri. In itinere autem periculoso comitem habui excellentissimum et amplissimum virum Johannem Abrahamum Poëmeren, hodie inclytæ Norinbergensium Reipub. secretarium.⁵² Qui cum à meo divelli latere nollet, ubi Poloniæ metropolin Cracoviam devenissemus, in Russiam mecum ire decrevit. Sed verò, postquam magnis itineribus Russiae fines Poloniae conterminos vidissemus, à gente civilitatis ignarâ duriuscule excipimur. Quâ re moti revocamus gressum et nobilissimum emporium Lublinum, urbem amplissimam, Judæis doctissimis refertam visitamus. Paucis hic commorari diebus volupe fuit.⁵³ Inde digressi, de novo instituendo per Hungariam in Austriam et Italiā itinere cogita-

mus. Ast cum in oppido Barthus Hungariæ primo,⁵⁴ per famulum et interpretem nostrum cognovissemus, meditari profligatissimæ vitæ quosdam homunculos necem nostram, non sine animi motu rursum in Poloniæ regredimur atque difficili satis itinere Cracoviam⁵⁵ redimus, lustratis interea arcibus et oppidis quamplurimis, quibus tamen omnibus et singulis meritò munitissimam naturâ arcem Landskorna⁵⁶ præferendam censeo. Cracoviam itaque reversi utebamur familiaritate non modò nobilissimorum virorum singulari humanitate nos tanquam Polonicam nationem peregrinatione nostrâ colentes, excipientium; verum etiam doctissimorum hominum, in quœis meritò v. Kinardum⁵⁷ et Gregorium Cnapium,⁵⁸ philologum rarum numero. Postliminio ubi redditum in Borussiam res meæ suaderent, Cracoviam egredimur XXI April. Anno 1633. In itinere autem Racoviam, urbem Socinianâ hæresi nobilem, lustramus.⁵⁹ Ubi â Crelio⁶⁰ Slincthingio,⁶¹ Moslhorovio,⁶² loci eminentissimo præside Palatinide aliisque Socinianæ sectæ faventibus plusculis, humanissimè excepti sumus. Dedit ea humanitas nobis ansam aliquot illic dies commorandi: È re verò nostrâ cum esset redditum in Borussiam porrò movere, Casimiriam et Sandomiriam rectâ ivimus. Atque postquam præcipuas tum arces, tum civitates terrestri itinere vidissemus, fluvialeti in Borussiam et Masoviam decursu alias nondum conspectas conspicari desiderabamus. Quocirea naviculâ, per Vistulam vecti, urbem amplissimam Thorunium ingredimur: inde proiecti versus Gedanum gentis Danicæ non postremum monumentum, lustratis interjacentibus oppidis et, ut vocant, castellis, nostrum instituimus iter.⁶³ Eò autem cum XXIV Maij devenissemus,⁶⁴ postridie Achaten meum, Johannem Poëmeren cum gemitu et lachrymis, quas amor reciprocus, utrique extorquebat, reliqui, atque me rectâ Regiomontum deportavi. Repperi verò illuc præter exspectationem amicos verè è Germanis pyladæos, præter conterraneum mihi dilectissimum Michaelem Mulenium Otthonianum.⁶⁵ Hic itaque inter amicos et doctos Dn. d. Cœl. Mislentam, d. M. Joan. Fabritium substiti in mensem Septembr. quo cum Otthone Langemache⁶⁶ amico meo in patriam regredior, ad honestiss. scholasticam functionem denuo vocatus â Rev. dno Episcopo doctore Joh. Resenio.

Sed verò, ut me totum visendi ac videndi, si fieri potuisset, cupido incesserat orbem, Hauniâ, sine indignatione relictâ, mari

me vicissim committo: atque in Angliam ut irem, quò semper cogitabam, compendium itineris facturus absque jacturâ, quam ante expertus fueram, Batayicam ingredior navem. Hac me cum in Flilandiam⁶⁷ detulisset, conductâ navicula in Frisiā Occidentalem pergo. Itineris hujus ansam mihi dedere Frater Petrus Pauli Windingius,⁶⁸ et Petrus Ivari⁶⁹ tum Franekeræ studiorum gratiâ commorantes. Sed verò cum non modo hi, sed et alij iter in Angliam et Galliam brumali dissuaderent tempore, fato, nescio quo, Academiam haut prorsus ignobilem Groningam⁷⁰ lustratum ivi. Detinuere itaque me quondam in diversis Academiis familiarissimi ad aliquot septimanas. Elapso itaque mense Novembri, cui rates committere hautquaquam tutum monitu et instinctu dni doctoris Christophori Hulsij⁷¹, et Reinholdi à Curikea,⁷² quorum ille contubernalis mei fidelissimi, hic amici et fratris amicissimi (prout literæ et epistulae ad me datae testantur) Musarum nidum Groningæ depono. Utebar interim familiaritate doctiss. et excellentissimi viri D. Matthiae Pasoris,⁷³ qui me, ut fratrem adamavit, nec unquam re, semel desperatâ, inter armatorum militum manus, deseruit.⁷⁴ In hujus autem beneficij memoriam, ac tanti viri laudem æviternam, sub nomine Matthiae Pasoris disputationem, DEO juvante, promulgavi Polit. Philolog. de Judæis quæ ipsa à prælo tantâ rapiebatur ab omnibus, propter materiei raritatem, aviditate, ut vix mihi tot superessent exemplaria, quòd ad amicos, quibus disputationem consecraveram, mitterem. Verum enimverò ne parentem D. Georgium Pasorem, meum quondam præceptorem, Gr. Lingvæ in Academiâ Franekeranâ celeberrimum Professorem⁷⁵ honore debito defraudarem, ejus sub præsidio disputationem institui publicam, quæ eruditorum in manibus passim hodie versatur. Post disputationem, è voto habitam, Groningam regredior: atque illuc in Augustum mensem subsisto commotus potissimum humilitate modò commemorati M. Matthiae Pasoris, hodiè ibidem Theologia, ut fama diditur, professoris non contemnendi. Cum verò res meæ me monerent, ut Belgium relinquarem, 16 Augusti Groningâ per Hollandiam me Rotterodamum confero, inde Brieland⁷⁶: ubi Anglicanam ascendo navem, rectâ et repentina, ut sperabam, itinere migratus in Angliam. Sed quæ hic discrimina, novit DEUS, et quem comitem habui dilectissimum consangvineum Dominum Petrum Ivari Pastorem Egtvediensem.⁷⁷ Minitabantur omnia interitum, imò mortem præsentissimam: sed

clementissimo Patre caelesti omnia dirigente, navis quassata, quâ vehebamur, laborioso conatu in ostium quasi Tamesis deducitur. Hinc Londinum profectus Emporium notissimum; cujus splendorem cum octiduum lustrassem, Oxonium ingredior.⁷⁸ Cujus Academiae eminentiam oculati depraedicare possunt testes. Commoratus autem heic sum usque in 2 Septembr. Anni 1635, licet in ejusdem Anni vere à parente et d. Cancellario Frisio⁷⁹ domum vocatus fuerim, ad labores scholasticos Herloviæ, vel Soræ⁸⁰ sustinendos. Nam horum hominum conatus DEUS, qui me ex utero matris ad aliud separaverat munus, irritos reddidit tunc mihi redditum in patriam paranti, atque Londini navem exspectanti, et tandem ingrediendi ventus per integras octo hebdomadas ita adversaretur, ut Harrico LX milliaribus Londino distante relicto, memoratum emporium per Colchestriam, Ibswicum, aliasque plurimas non indignas perlustratione urbes reviserem, quamvis invitus. Itaque Oxonium reversus, et benigne ab amicis exceptus non potui non meam deflere sortem: Å peregrinis quippe qui amabar, à meis, non modò parentibus charissimis, quam amicis aliis redditum meum exoptantibus, desiderabar. Sed spes confisa DEO nec heic recessit confusa. Etenim urgente vicissim per literas parente meo desideratissimo, ut si se salvum vellem, redditum, in patriam maturarem, nec unquam de itinere in Galliam aut Italiam suscipiendo cogitationem susciperem Oxonium deserо jam memorato 2 Sept. non sine animi moerore. Ægerrimè enim, non tantum ab eâ regione, in quâ, si licuisset, ætatem morari libuisset, verum et ab amicis honoratissimis divulsus sum, qui meâ in Ebræorum literarum informatione, usi sunt operâ: inter quos præcipue, et honoris gratiâ nominandi, dominus M. Sylvester Scholæ Oxoniensis Rector,⁸¹ nobilissimus Dominus Corbet,⁸² collega et M. Philosophiæ in Collegio S. Mariae, M. Aldersej in Collegio Enei nasi Professor,⁸³ aliquie nostris magistris nec virtute, nec eruditione inferiores. Londinum itaque reversus Gravesandam me confero, ubi navem ê voto repertam sive inventam intro, atque illinc in patriam redeo XVI Septembribus; sic illud octo dierum spatio conficiens, quod antea in vere non octo septimanarum decursu absoluvi potuit, DEO benignissimo, cui æterna sit laus, gressus viamque dirigente. Helsingoræ me affines benigne habuerunt exceptum hospitio. Mox Hauniam digressus exasperatum in me sentio Tum senioris Resenij, tum Brochmanni

affectum. Conquerebantur inter alia divinæ me obstitisse vocatiōni, nec paruisse literis, quas dederant et frequentius scripserant, ut oblatas functiones susciperem. Ad hæc non tam obmutescens, quam obstupescens, atque ideo me intra hospitij parietes sex septemve dierum spatio concludens, præter omnem exspectationem ad Magnif. et verè generosum dominum Cancellarium Frisium vocor, tanquam rationem stipendij regij redditurus. Multa illustris hic Heros mecum de peregrinatione, regionum situ, politia, regimine, quæstionibus civilibus, Mathematicis, Theologicis. Admiratus tanti Herois profundam eruditionem, et incredibilem humanitatem,⁸⁴ quam quatuordecim dierum spatio quasi palpaveram, Parentem desideratissimum jamjam cohonestrum⁸⁵ cum amicis aliis nuptias fratris dni Samuelis Malmogiae⁸⁶ celebratas, ita alloquor: Vidiſſe me et cognovisse Heroas alibi, neminem verò superiorem probitate, virtute et humanitate Frisio Cancellario etc. Mox rege[r]it suavissimus Parens, eundum⁸⁷ esse ad tædas nuptiales fratris, postea de his et de hoc disserendum. Parui, prout fas est, et inscio tanto Patrono ac Mecænate Malmogiam cum parente me confero, ubi octiduum inter amicos laute satis vixi. Sed reversus Hauniam plumbeas non modò Cancellarij, sed et Resenij ac Brochmanni experior iras. Gravissimè enim in eo me peccasse arbitrabantur, quod ipsis invitis Malmogiam abiissem. Rogatus à me charissimus Parens Cancellarium compellat, et quibus potuit modis contumaciam, quam mihi forte hostes affricabant, me liberavit. È vestigiō ad Cancellarium denuo vocatus, interrogor, satius, ne esset DEO in patriâ, quam in exoticis terris servire? Cum debitâ veneratione respondeo, patriam esse, ubicunque benè est.⁸⁸ Ad hæc ille multa: imprimis verò, meam, ut ingenuè fatear, acrioribus verbis castigavit infantiam, nescire me divinam providentiam, parentum et fautorum neglectui habens sollicitudinem, imo, ignarum me prorsus esse earum rerum, quas animo exotica amante et desiderante volvebam. Victus tandem tanti Herois benigno affatu, ipsius me judicio arbitrioque stare ac cadere affirmavi. Mox ille: Professorum te sistes examini publico, cuius te certiorem faciet D. Casparus Brochmannus. Obmutui quidem; at cum Heroi huic ultra adversari esset religio, salute dictâ, abeo. Commemoratus D. Brochmannus diem sequentem examini destinat, qui fuit V. Novembr. Anni 1635, quod patebit ex Universitatis Testimonio

mihi tunc dato⁸⁹ ad invidiam multorum, quam tamen malui, quam miseriam. Die insequente ad Cancellarium vocor, qui illud ipsum Testimonium literis ad D. Johannem Michaëlium Fyoniae Superintendentem⁹⁰ datis, sive exaratis inclusum mihi hac ferè verborum serie tradidit: Volo has tradas Superintendenti Fionensi, et functionem à DEO tibi destinatum illic suscipias; breve eis Otthoniae te alloquar.⁹¹ Ad hæc responsum; voluntati me Cancellarij parere. Itaque salutatis in itinere parentibus in Fyoniam migro, Otthoniamque ingredior ipsa S. Martini Vesperâ. Die proxima Superintendenti Cancellarij exhibeo literas.⁹² Ad quas licet quasi consternatus videretur, tamen ut Magnifici Cancellarij exsequeretur voluntatem, Theologiæ Professionem, quam aliàs nominamus Lectoratum, præsentibus Professoribus M. Suenone,⁹³ et M. Christiano⁹⁴ in Consistorio legitimè demandavit: quod ut felix et faustum velit esse vitæ dator DEUS Opt. Max. κηρύσθεν⁹⁵ voveo. יְהוָה חֶנְנִי אַבְנֵנִי⁹⁶

Kommentar.

JENS POULSEN WINDINGS egenhændigt skrevne Vita findes indført Fol. 4–15 i et lille Oktavhaandskrift i Karen Brahes Bibliotek i Odense (Nr. A I, 17, jfr. Anne Riising, Katalog over Karen Brahes Bibliothek i Landsarkivet for Fyn. Håndskriftsamlingen. 1956. S. 13. H. Chr. Vogelsang, Fortegnelse over Haandskrifterne i Karen Brahes Bibliothek i Odense, 1857, S. 48—9). Foruden den nævnte Selvbiografi indeholder Haandskriftet nogle latinske Bonner, skrevne af Winding, og Oversættelser af en Del af Davids Psalmer (formentlig ogsaa stammende fra Winding, skønt de ikke synes skrevne med hans Haand). Titelbladet bærer foruden et Citat paa Hebraisk den egenhændige Paaskrift: »Joannes Pauli Windingius Otthoniae XXIV Septembr. A° 1641.« Da Windings Selvbiografi standser med Aaret 1635, og Faderens Død 1640 er forudsat (S. 37), er den maaske først indført efter 1641, eller ogsaa er Titelbladets Paaskrift tilføjet paa et senere Tidspunkt.

Haandskriftet har senere tilhørt Windings Søn, ovnnævnte Lie. jur. PEDER WINDING, der i det har indført nogle danske Bonner og Fol. 65 skrevet »Lamhauge 27 Mart. 1683 P. Winding«. Efter dennes Død er det aabenbart kommet til Professor LAURIDS LUJA († 1732), der har forærret det til den berømte Bogsamlerske

KAREN BRAHE († 1736). Herom vidner hendes egenhændige Tilskrift paa et Forsatsblad: »N 54 Denne Bog er mig giefven af Professor Luja 1725 Karen Brahe«. — Enkelte Data fra Windings Vita er anført i G. L. WAD, Meddelelser om Dimitterede fra Herlufsholm. Fortsættelse. 1882. S. 317. Med Hensyn til visse Enkeltsporsgsmaal takker jeg mine Kolleger Bibliotekar Ralph Edelmann og Arkivar Holger Friis-Johansen for velvillig Hjælp.

1. Vindinge i Øster Flakkebjerg Herred, nu Furendal. Kaldtes tidligere de Dresselbergs Vindinge paa Grund af Tilknytning til Slægten Dresselberg, der 1592—1632 ejede Vindingegaard (Furendal). Poul Jensen Kolding har udgivet Ligprædikener over Vilhelm Dresselberg til Vindingegaard 1620 (nu tabt) og over hans Datter Mette Dresselberg 1640.
2. ♂: Kødvodelses.
3. Jvfr. Danske Samlinger 2. R. VI, 252. Han blev opkaldt efter sin Farfader, Raadmand Jens Poulsen. Jvfr. om Slægten »Stam tavle over den Vindingske Slægt MDIX—MCMXXV«, 1926.
4. Raadmand i Kolding Poul Jensen (1509—72). Danske Saml. 2. R. VI, 246. BJØRN KORNERUP, Til Minde om Holger Fr. Rørdam, 1930, S. 11.
5. Raadmand, kgl. Tolder og Sisemester i Kolding Jens Poulsen († 1592). Jvfr. RØRDAM i Kornerup, anf. Skrift S. 11—13.
6. Den bekendte Forstander og Præst ved Herlufsholm, Provst, Mag. Poul Jensen Kolding (1581—1640), jvfr. RØRDAMS udførlige Biografi af denne Mand i Kornerup, anf. Skrift S. 9—62.
7. Johanne Pedersdatter (1586—1640).
8. Han begyndte sin Skolegang i Herlufsholm Skole 5. April 1619 (Danske Saml. 2. R. VI, 253).
9. Mag. Jacob Rasmussen Brochmand († ca. 1621) var Rektor ved Herlufsholm 1617—21 (G. L. WAD, Meddelelser om Rektorerne paa Herlufsholm fra Skolens Stiftelse 1565 til 1878 S. 58—62).
10. Mag. Hans Hansen Resen (1596—1653), siden Dr. theolog. og Biskop over Sjællands Stift, var Rektor ved Herlufsholm 1621—24 (G. L. WAD, anf. Skrift S. 63—68).
11. Mag. Niels Poulsen Schandorph (1596—1645), siden Professor og Dr. theolog., var Rektor ved Herlufsholm 1624—25 (G. L. WAD, anf. Skrift S. 69—76).
12. Mag. Christopher Christensen (Holbeccensis) († 1638), siden Sognepræst i Stege, var Rektor ved Herlufsholm 1625—26 (G. L. WAD, anf. Skrift S. 76—80).
13. Mag. Wichmand Hasebard (ca. 1601—42), siden Biskop i Viborg, var Rektor ved Herlufsholm 1626—28 (G. L. WAD, anf. Skrift S. 80—93).
14. Winding blev dog først indført i Matriklen 13. Novbr. 1626 (Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikel udg. af S. BIRKET SMITH I, 81).

15. Biskop, Dr. theol. Hans Poulsen Resen (1561—1638) var 1626 for 4. Gang blevet valgt til Rector magnificus.
16. Professor i Logik, Mag. Peder Nielsen Gjelstrup (1581—1630).
17. Om denne Skik, som synes at have været holdt i Hævd indtil 1728, se R. J. F. HENRICHSEN, Deposits og Pennalisme, 1856, S. 48 f.
18. Aabenbart et Eksemplar af P. N. GJELSTRUPS Skrift »Trifolium politicum, rerumpublicarum formas diversas, mutationes varias, earumque causas, ac remedia mutationibus ijsdem opponenda, dilucide repræsentans«, Wittebergæ 1623, 2. Udg. 1625.
19. Winding havde til Privatpræceptor valgt den ovennævnte Hans Hansen Resen, der 1624 var blevet Professor i Filosofi.
20. Den senere Erkebiskop, Dr. theol. Hans Svane (1606—68), der 1635—46 var Professor i orientalske Sprog.
21. Peder Sørensen Egtved synes en Tid at have været (vikarierende) Rektor eller Hører i Kolding. Han blev immatrikuleret samtidig med Svane og Winding i Franeker 1628 (Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift 9. R. V, 56). Naar han her i Matrikeludtoget ved H. Glarbo udstyres med Tilmavnet »Listuannus«, er det urigtigt; Originalen har »Echtynius« (Matriklen i Franeker Universitetsarkiv). Jvfr. Kh. Saml. 5. R. II, 204. GEORG BRUUN, Dronning Dorotheas Skolehus, 1928, S. 124.
22. Winding blev ikke immatrikuleret i Leiden.
23. Hans Svane og Winding (»Joannes Pauli Vendingius«) blev immatrikulerede i Franeker den 8. Maj 1628 (Album Academiae Franekerensis 1586 ff. Fol. 130 i Franeker Universitetsarkiv (Rijksarchief, Leeuwarden)). Det er urigtigt, naar Svane i Matrikeludtoget i Personalhist. Tidsskrift 9. R. V, 56 Note 31 identificeres med den yngre Hans Svaning, siden Provst og Sognepræst i Besser, ligesom ogsaa min Formodning, at Winding først blev immatrikuleret 1635 (Kh. Saml. 6. R. IV, 61) maa opgives. Om Universitetet i Franeker og de danske Studerende jvfr. Danske Magazin 7. R. IV, 381 ff.
24. Orientalisten Sixtinus Amama (1593—1629), Professor i Franeker fra 1616, en af de betydeligste Forkæmpere for Udbredelsen af Kendskab til Hebraisk især i Nederlandene (W. B. S. BOELES, Frieslands hoogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker II, 1, S. 98—104. Meget anerkendende skildres Amama i CHR. SEPP, Het godegeerd onderwijs in Nederland, gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw, II, 1874, S. 4 ff., 47). Ogsaa Hans Svane drog særlig til Franeker for at høre Amama (M. FOSSIUS, Oratio in obitum Doct. Johannis Svaningii Bl. C 3, D. JACOB FABER, En Ypperste Præstis lefvende Contrafey (Ligprædiken over Hans Svane) S. 80). Den senere Professor Thomas Bang drog ligeledes 1628 til Franeker for Amamas Skyld (Kh. Saml. 3. R. V, 201 ff., 259. Hans Navn findes dog ikke i Matrikeludtoget). Amamas Anbefaling banede Vejen for Bang til Professoratet i østerlandske Sprog (E. VINDING, Regia Academia Hauniensis, 1665, p. 315—16). Andre Anbefalingsskrivelser fra Amama er trykt i Kh. Saml. 4. R. VI, 403—4.
25. Georg Pasor (1570—1637), Professor i Græsk i Franeker 1626 (BOE-

- LES, anf. Skrift II, 1, S. 128—31). Han blev især bekendt ved sine leksikalske Arbejder over det nye Testamentes Græcitet, som ogsaa brugtes i de latinske Skoler i Danmark (BJØRN KORNERUP, Ribe Katedralskoles Historie II, 92). Pasors Navn bidrog 1628 til at drage Thomas Bang til Franeker (Kh. Saml. 3. R. V, 259). Ph. 88.
26. Adriaan Adriani (Metius) (1571—1635), fra 1600 Professor i Matematik, Astronomi m. m. Han var en frugtbar Forfatter og en ud-mærket akademisk Lærer, der fik mange nordiske Studerende til at søge til Franeker. Han havde i sin Ungdom været i Lære hos Tycho Brahe paa Uranienborg (BOELES, anf. Værk II, 1, S. 70—75). Endnu i sine »Institutiones Astronomicæ et Geographicæ«, Amsterdam 1623, Præfatio, omtaler Metius »den alderkloeksinnigheten Prince der Astronomie Tichone Brahe«. Med Begejstring kunde han tale om »praestantissimae Matheseos dulcedo« og de solide og nyttige Frugter, den satte for Samfundslivet (BOELES, anf. Værk. S. 73).
 27. Bernardus Schotanus (1598—1652), fra 1622 Professor juris i Franeker, siden i Utrecht og Leiden, højt anset som Jurist og paa Grund af sine værdifulde menneskelige Egenskaber (BOELES, anf. Værk II, 1, S. 122—26).
 28. 5. Maj 1630. — Denne Tilbagerejse til Danmark 1630 omtales ikke hos Svanes ældste Biograf. I Jacob Fabers Ligprædiken over ham (S. 80) tales saaledes blot om, at han kom hjem »Aar 1631 in Mayo« og derpaa rejste til Leiden (immatrikuleret her 8. Oktbr. 1631, jvfr. Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift II, 120).
 29. MS.: redirt.
 30. Professor theol., siden Sjællands Biskop, Jesper Brochmand (1585—1652).
 31. Om det 1569 indstiftede Stipendium regium se KR. CAROE i Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift 6. R. VI, 139 ff. WILLIAM NORVIN, Københavns Universitet i Reformationens og Orthodoxiens Tidsalder II, 80. Forpligtelsesformular fra 1621 i Danske Magazin 5. R. I, 47.
 32. Jacob Knudsen (1603—60), siden Professor og Dr. theol. Jvfr. JESPER BROCHMAND, Disputatio theologica de divina pariter & humana filii dei natura, ved hvilken Jacob Knudsen optraadte som Respondens 30. Juni 1630 »pro Regio stipendio impetrando«.
 33. Jvfr. JESPER BROCHMAND, Disputatio theologica de libero hominis arbitrio. Disputationen foregik 7. Juli 1630 (»pro obtinendo stipendio Theologico publicè respondebit Joannes Pauli f. Windingius«). Baade denne og den foregaaende Disputats er aabenbart Forarbejder til Brochmands senere udgivne dogmatiske Helhedsfremstilling, jvfr. JESPER BROCHMAND, Universæ theologiae systema I, Hafn. 1633, p. 150 ff., 331 ff.
 34. Baade Hans Svane, Winding og Jacob Knudsen fik for samme Aar »pro anno« (1631) det kgl. Rejsestipendium (Protokollen over Uddeling af Stipendium Regium i Universitetets Arkiv Nr. 802, jvfr. Pers. Tidsskrift 6. R. VI, 147). For Vinding fornyedes Stipendiet for 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635.

35. I den Koldingske Slægtebog nævnes en Søster Magdalene Poulsdatter, født 1611, siden gift med Borgeren Hans Simensen Rostocker i Næstved. Hun angives her som død 21. August 1630 (Danske Saml. 2. R. VI, 253).
36. Winding blev med fire andre danske Studenter indskrevet ved Universitetet i Wittenberg 20. Oktober 1630 (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und des Freistaates Anhalt. Neue Reihe XIV, 351). 8. Septbr. 1631 indskrev han sig i Wittenberg i Hans Poulsen Næstveds Stambog (Kh. Saml. 7. R. II, 17).
37. Professor i Teologi, siden Superintendent, Johannes Hulsemannus († 1661), jvfr. Kh. Saml. 7. R. II, 17. Det var i hans Hus, at Hans Svane opholdt sig (M. Foss, *Oratio Bl. C 3 v.* J. Faber, *Ligprædiken S. 80*). Om Hulsemann se Th. Spizelius, *Templum honoris reseratum*, 1673, p. 259—67. A. Tholuck, *Der Geist der lutherischen Theologen Wittenbergs im Verlaufe des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 1852, S. 164—71. Ph. 62.
38. Professor i Hebraisk Martinus Trostius († 1636), jvfr. Kh. Saml. 7. R. I, 274; II, 19. E. G. Tauber, *Udsigt over Sorø Academies Forfatning 1623—1665, 1827*, S. 45. Ph. 116. I sine »Qvæstiones«, 1634, citerer Winding Trostius med Tilslutning (II, Th. 10).
39. Professor i Historie Reinholdus Franckenberg († 1664), jvfr. Kh. Saml. 7. R. II, 17. W. FRIEDENSBURG, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg* S. 497. Ph. 129.
40. Mag. Christian Reinhart († 1633). Ph. 112b.
41. En Mag. Welstein (eller maaske rettere Wetstein) nævnes ikke hos Wittenberg-Universitetets Historieskrivere eller i Matriklen. Heller ikke i Ph.
42. Vel rettere: pulvino. Der sigtes aabenbart til Bovbjerg i Ferring, Vandfuld Herred.
43. ø: 26. Novbr. 1631.
44. Act. 27, 27—28, 1.
45. Sognepræst i Kolding, Provst, Mag. Poul Poulsen Paludan († 1635). En Indførsel væsentlig af samme Indhold fra denne Mand i Ph. 170b.
46. Nehemia 5, 19.
47. Synes ikke optaget i Matriklen (jvfr. Pers. Tidsskrift 7. R. III, 103 ff.).
48. Cölestinus Myslenta (Mislenta) (1588—1653), af Fødsel en Polak, blev allerede 1619 Professor i Teologi og Hebraisk i Königsberg. Han tilhørte den strenge lutherske Ortodoksi og har udfoldet en frugtbar Forfattervirksomhed særlig i polemisk Retning. Fra sin Ungdom havde han udmaerket sig ved sine Kundskaber i Hebraisk, som han talte flydende. Jvfr. P. FREHER, *Theatrum virorum eruditissimorum* I, 565—6.
49. Wladislav IV (1595—1648), Konge i Polen 1632—48, Søn af Sigismund III (1566—1632).
50. Investituren 1633, hvorved Kurfyrst Georg Wilhelm af Brandenburg modtog Preussen som Len af den polske Krone, var i Virkelig-

heden blot en af det polske Kongeskifte 1632 foranlediget Fornyelse af den Investitur, som havde fundet Sted 1621. Naar ældre brandenburgiske Historieskrivere mener, at Grev [Adam] Schwarzenberg modtog Investituren i Kurfyrstens Sted, maa denne Efterretning aabenbart forkastes med Henblik paa Windings Udtalelse som Førstehaandsvidne. Omtalen af Grev Schwarzenberg skyldes formentlig en Sammenblanding af Investiturhandlingen 1633 og Kong Sigismunds Begravelse i 1632, ved hvilken Lejlighed Greven repræsenterede sit Land (G. C. RENSCHEL, Des Durchleuchtigsten Hauses Brandenburg Stammbaum, 1668, S. 145, 148. J. W. RENTSCHE, Brandenburgischer Ceder-Hein, 1682, S. 501, 503. SAMUEL BUCHHOLTZ, Versuch einer Geschichte der Churmarck Brandenburg, III, 1767, S. 667).

51. Begravede i Domkirken i Krakau i Psalteristernes Kapel (A. ESSENWEIN, Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale der Stadt Krakau, 1869, S. 91).
52. Johann Abraham Poemer (1604—86) var udgaaet af en lerd Patriegerslægt i Nürnberg, kendt fra Reformationstiden. Han foretog i sin Ungdom mange Rejser, paa hvilke han tilegnede sig baade betydelige Kundskaber og en friere Betragtningsmaade af religiøse Spørgsmaal. I saa Henseende betød navnlig Opholdet i Polen meget for ham. Han traadte i Forbindelse baade med Socinianeren Martinus Ruarus og med Irenikeren Johannes Duræus (jfvr. MARTINI RUARI Epistolarum selectarum Centuria altera, 1681, Ep. 42, 92. G. RICHTER, Epistolæ selectiores I, 170). I Danzig, hvor Winding traf ham, ægtede han en Enke og fik med hende en Søn. Senere vendte han tilbage til sin Fødeby, hvor han bl. a. blev brugt i diplomatiske Sendelser, men forlod igen denne for at gaa til Sulzbach, hvor han blev »Chur-Maynzischer und Hochfürstlicher Pfalz-Sulzbachischer geheimer Rath«. Her gik han 1655 over til Katolicismen. (G. A. WILL, Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon, III, 210—12). Betegnende for hans Ungdoms Frisind var det vistnok, at han i Windings Stambog (Ph. 139) indskrev et liberalt Ord af den franske Digter Pierre Charron († 1603): »C'est une injuste tyrannie et folie enragée, | de vouloir assujettir les esprits, à croire | et suiure tout ce, que les anciens ont dit, | et ce, que le peuple tient, qui ne sait ce | qu'il dit, ny ce qu'il fait.«
53. I sine »Qvæstiones«, 1634, (II, Th. 4) henviser WINDING bl. a. til den Udtale af Hebraisk, som træffes hos »Judæis . . . Poloniam inhabitantibus«.
54. Bartfeld (Bartfa)? Byens Navn latiniseres ellers Bartpha (MARTINUS ZEILLER, Neue Beschreibung desz Königreichs Vngarn, 1660, S. 48—9).
55. Tilbage i Krakau var Rejsefællerne 14.—27. Februar 1633 (Ph. 167, 165).
56. Skønt der findes et Slot Landskrona i Böhmen ved den mähriske Grænse, er det vist efter Sammenhængen mest nærliggende at tænke

- paa en By af samme Navn i Galizien med en Borg liggende paa en høj Klippe (BÜSCHING, Neue Erdbeschreibung I, 2, S. 1187).
57. Professor Henryk Barycz i Krakau har velvilligt meddelt, at det er hans bestemte Opfattelse, at den af Winding brugte Navneform beror paa en Misforstaelse. Efter al Sandsynlighed sigtes der til Jan Cynerski Rachtamowicz (1600—54), fra 1632 Medlem af det filosofiske Fakultet ved Universitetet i Krakau, fra 1649 teologisk Professor sst. Han var en frugtbar Forfatter af latinsk Poesi og Rhetorik.
 58. Gregorius Cnapius (1574—1638), polsk Jesuit, Professor.
 59. Besøget i Rakau maa sættes til 20.—22. Marts 1633 (Ph. 86b, 114, 106b). Om Socinianerne i Rakau jvfr. GOTTFRIED ARNOLD, Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie II, 1699, S. 557 ff. G. G. ZELTNER, Historia Crypto-Socinismi, 1729, p. 297 ff.
 60. Formentlig Johan Crell (1590—1633), Rektor og Professor i Rakau, en overordentlig flittig Forfatter. Ph. 106b.
 61. Formentlig Præsten i Rakau Jonas Szhelichtink († 1661), opr. polsk Ridder af tysk Herkomst (KARL VÖLKER, Kirchengeschichte Polens, 1930, S. 256). KAI JORDT JØRGENSEN, Ökumenische Bestrebungen unter den polnischen Protestanten bis zum Jahre 1645, 1942, S. 356—60). Ph. 86b.
 62. Formentlig Petrus Morscovius a Morscow, en polsk Adelsmand og Pastor Czarcoviensis (C. C. SANDIUS, Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum, 1684, p. 141—2). Ph. 114. — Palatin er en polsk Værdigheds-indehaver.
 63. I Maj 1633 var Winding i Fischenhausen i Østpreussen. Her traf han en Mand, der betegner sig: S. FRIEDERICH, Sueciæ Reginæ p. t. divisoriorum designator legionarius (Ph. 205). Der er aabenbart Tale om den svenske Regimentskvartermester, siden Kaptajnløjtnant, Salomon Friedrich (velvillig Meddelelse fra Arkivråd, fil. dr. Ernst Nygren).
 64. De maa være kommet tidligere til Danzig, idet de var her allerede 5.—8. April 1633 (Ph. 117, 118).
 65. Formentlig den i Matriklen under 11. Oktbr. 1632 indførte »Michael Monsenius[!]. Fonia—Danus« (Pers. Tidsskrift 7. R. III, 104). Mikkel Mule (1609—53) blev 1637 Magister og 1645 Sogneprest i Vejlby i Vends Herred (Kh. Saml. 2. R. VI, 741). Ph. 160b.
 66. Jvfr. Ph. 180. Hans senere Skæbne er ubekendt.
 67. Den vestfrisiske Ø Vlieland.
 68. Immatrikuleret i Franeker 19. Juli 1633 (Matriklen Fol. 133). I Matrikeludtoget (Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift 9. R. V, 58) kaldes han Umdinkius! — Peder Poulsen Winding (1613—45) var Mediciner, foretog aarelange Udenlandsrejser, blev gift med en katolsk Dame i Louvain, men døde faa Aar efter i Herlufsholms Praestegaard (Danske Saml. 2. R. VI, 253—4. G. L. WAD, Meddelelser om Dimiterede fra Herlufsholm, 1882, S. 48—9). — Et Minde fra hans Studietid i Franeker er den af ham forfattede Disputatio philosopho-

- phica, 1634, som han forsvarede under Juristen Arnold Verhels Praesidium. Den er af Respondenten tilegnet de tidligere nævnte: hans Fader Poul Jensen Kolding, Prof. Hans Hansen Resen, Christopher Holbek, Wichmand Hasebard, desuden Sognepræsten i Nykøbing F. Laurids Pedersen (Thura) og Sognepræsten i Slots Bjergby-Sludstrup Bartholomæus Jørgensen Gerson.
69. Aabenbart ikke identisk med den Praest ved den nye Kirke uden for Nørreport ved Navn Peder Iversen Munk († 1654) (Kh. Saml. 2. R. I, 372 ff., 510), som det angives Pers. Tidsskrift 9. R. V, 58; 10. R. II, 149. Der er Tale om den Peder Iversen, der siden blev Praest i Egtved-Ølsted og døde 1659 (jvfr. Note 77). Han immatrikuleredes i Franeker 4. Juni 1633. I den i Note 68 nævnte Disputats af P. P. Winding findes Æredigte til Respondenten af »Petrus Ivari Haunia-Danus«.
 70. Immatrikuleret 28. Oktbr. 1633 i Groningen som »Joannes Paulus Windingius, Danus. Ling. Orient. — Ex Academia Regiomontana« (Pers. Tidsskrift 5. R. VI, 263).
 71. 24. Septbr. 1630 var i Königsberg blevet immatrikuleret Christophorus Achatius Hüls (GEORG ERLER, Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg I, 1910, S. 320). Han døde 1684 som Dr. jur. utriusque og Advokat i Nürnberg (G. A. WILL, Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon II, 205). Jvfr. Ph. 156b (1634 1. Aug.).
 72. Reinholdus Curike (Kuerike) († 1667), Sekretær i Danzig, juridisk og topografisk Forfatter (A. CHARITIUS, De viris eruditis Gedani ortis, 1715, p. 31—2). Immatrikuleret i Königsberg 16. Juli 1630 (anf. Matrikel I, 318). Ph. 157 (1632 20. Septbr.).
 73. Matthias Pasor (1599—1658), en Søn af Georg Pasor i Franeker, havde været Professor i orientalske Sprog i Oxford, da han 1629 blev Professor i Etik i Groningen, siden (fra 1645), i Teologi. (Effigies & Vitæ Professorum Academiæ Groningæ & Omlandiae, 1654, p. 109—11. (Her hans Portræt). W. J. A. JONCKBLOET, Gedenkboek der hogeschool te Groningen, 1864, Bijlagen S. 20—1. CHR. SEPP, anf. Skrift II, 86).
 74. Mærligt nok omtaler Winding ikke her, at han utvivlsomt maa have truffet den senere saa bekendte Separatist Niels Svendsen Chronich, der fra Maj 1633 studerede orientalske Sprog i Groningen og var nøje knyttet til Matthias Pasor, under hvis Praesidium han disputerede (Kh. Saml. 6. R. IV, 61—2).
 75. MS.: honore debito Professorem.
 76. ∅: Brielle paa Voorne. Det var vistnok ofte Skik herfra at rejse til England (HOLGER JACOBÆUS' Rejsebog udg. af Vilhelm Maar S. 153).
 77. MS. ved en Metatesis: Etgvediensem. Om Peder Iversen jvfr. Note 69. Han indskrev sig i Windings Philotheca i Oxford 30. Aug. 1635 med et Citat paa Græsk og disse Ord: »Præstantissimo et Doctissimo Viro, Dno Ioanni Pavli Windingio, patrueli, faytori et amico suo hono-rando, pavcula haec, cum in gratiarum actionem ob singularia præ-

- stita beneficia, tum in recordationem svavissimæ cev fraternæ conversationis nostræ relinqvere voluit Petrus Ivari Havnia-Danus (Ph. 184b).
78. Jens Poulsen Winding og Peder Iversen indførtes 4. September 1634 i Liber admissorum ved det Bodleianske Bibliotek i Oxford (velvillig Meddelelse fra Biblioteket, jvfr. Addit., 4°, 845b). Datoen 9. Septbr. i Udtoget af »Liber« i Personalhist. Tidsskrift 10. R. II, 149 er følgelig urigtig. — Behandlingen af de Danskes Studier ved Universiteterne i England i det 17. Aarhundrede i Ethel Seaton, *Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford 1935, p. 199 f. er ikke fyldestgørende.
 79. Kansler Christian Friis (1581—1639) til Kragerup.
 80. Rektoraterne baade ved Herlufsholm og Sorø Skoler blev vacante i Foraaret eller Sommeren 1635.
 81. Maaske Edward Sylvester († 1653) af Balliol College, »who was a professed Tutor in the Latin and Greek tongues« (A. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, II, 1721, Fasti, p. 21. Publications of The Oxford Historical Society XII, 285).
 82. Ved »Collegium S. Mariae« maa Winding tænke enten paa Magdalen College eller paa St. Mary Hall. I Fortegnelsen over det førstnævnte Kollegiums Medlemmer findes Corbets Navn ikke, og det paatræffes heller ikke i de faa Meddelelser, der er kendt om det sidstnævntes (velvillig Meddelelse fra Bodleian Library, Oxford).
 83. Collegium Aenei Nasi ∅: Brasenose College (A. Wood, *Historia et Antiquitates Oxoniensis*, II, 1674, p. 212 ff. ANDREW CLARK, *The colleges of Oxford*, 1891, S. 252 ff.). Der sigtes aabenbart til Mag. William Aldersey (Alderseye, Aldersay) (ca. 1612—42), der blev Fellow i Kollegiet 1633 (Brasenose College Register 1509—1909, I, 157). »Gul. Aldersey« har indskrevet sig 27. Aug. 1635 i Ph. (58).
 84. Andre kompetente Dommere i Samtiden udtalte sig paa lignende Maade, jvfr. HANS HANSEN RESEN, *Oratio funebris de Dn. Christiano Frisio*, 1640, Bl. D 3 v. JESPER BROCHMAND, *Ligprædiken over Christian Friis*, 1640, S. 37).
 85. MS.: Cohenosturum.
 86. Sognepræsten i Fræninge Samuel Rasmussen Winding (1607—c. 1655) blev 25. Oktbr. 1635 gift i Malmø med en Datter af Sognepræsten sst. Hans Hansen Ravn. Som Søn af J. P. Windings Moder i hendes første ægteskab var han en Halvbroder til ham (Danske Saml. 2. R. VI, 262. S. CAWALLIN, Lunds Stifts Herdaminne III, 139. G. CARLQUIST, Lunds stifts herdaminne 2. ser. II, 34. VI, 500). Han havde aabenbart været Windings Skolekammerat paa Herlufsholm og var blevet immatrikuleret samme Dag som han (Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikel I, 81).
 87. MS.: eundem.
 88. Jvfr. Pacuvius hos Cic. Tusc. 5, 37.
 89. Herom findes intet i Acta consistorii, ligesom det omtalte Testimonium heller ikke ses indført i Konsistoriums Kopibog.

90. Biskop over Fyens Stift, Dr. theol. Hans Mikkelsen (1578—1651).
91. Kansleren skulde til Odense for at give Møde ved Herredagen sst.
16. Novbr. 1635 (KR. ERSLEV, Aktstykker og Oplysninger til Rigsraadets og Stændermødernes Historie i Kristian IV's Tid II, 403).
92. Hans Mikkelsens Dagbog mangler uheldigvis for November 1635
(jvfr. Samlinger til Fyens Historie og Topographie VII, 96). Som
Præst i det til Lectoratet knyttede Præsteembede i Aasum aflagde
Winding Ed 30. Decbr. 1635 (Kh. Saml. 3. R. V, 128).
93. Professor i Logik og Metafysik ved Gymnasiet, Mag. Svend Pedersen
(1590—1636), en af Holger Rosenkrantz' Disciple (J. C. BLOCH, Den
Fyenske Geistligheds Historie I, 358—63).
94. Professor i Filosofi, siden i Græsk, ved Gymnasiet Christen Hansen
Lund (1596—1672) (J. C. BLOCH, anf. Skrift I, 378—82).
95. Ordet skrevet utydeligt. Det kan se ud til, at Winding har foretrukket den sjældnere Form κηρόθεν for den sædvanlige κηρόθι.
96. ὁ: Herren være mig naadig.

Tillæg.

1.

[1631] Jens Poulsen Windings Forpligt til Københavns Universitet i Anledning af hans Studierejse til ikke-lutherske Universiteter.

Qvum S. Reg. Majestas, piâ et providâ suâ erga Patriam curâ cautum voluerit, ut qui stipendio Theologico ex liberaliss. Reg. M. munificantâ fruuntur, in exteris Academiis orthodoxæ religioni Lutheranæ addictis illud consumant; temporum autem in quæ incidimus, ea sit difficultas, ut in exteris Germaniæ Academiis Lutheranis, non uno malorum genere miserè afflictis, fixa et quieta studiorum sedes cuiquam vix concedatur: Ego Joannes Pauli Windingius, qui in dictæ Regiæ liberalitatis participatum anno superiore admissus, in alias Belgij vel Britanniæ Academias jam emitto, bonâ cum veniâ et benignâ S. R. Majestatis indulgentiâ, suffragante Magnif. Dno Cancellario, nec abnuentibus Reg. Academiæ Hafniensis Professoribus; spondeo eapropter et sanctè polliceor

I. In exteris hisce Academiis ab orthodoxâ religione dissidentibus, Divinâ præveniente et concomitante gratiâ, me ita piè, prudenter et circumspectè versaturum, ne fidei meæ agnitæque veritati Euangelicæ tabes ulla inferatur, unde meæ aut aliorum saluti periculum aliquod imminere possit.

II. Deinde, si quando ex heterodoxis istis Academiis in patriam reducem me voluerit divina benignitas, me tum unicuique ad hoc munus delegato, et â me poscenti, fidei meæ rationem redditurum, maximè in istis fidei articulis, quæ orthodoxæ religionis Lutheranæ nervum tangunt, atque adeo acutiores adversariorum experiuntur aculeos.

III. Ubi verò optata pax Germaniæ restituta fuerit (quod largiatur DEUS benignissimus) heterodoxis aliarum nationum

Academiis valere jussus¹, Germaniæ tunc Academias γνησίως Lutheranas me rectâ repetitum, ibidemque cœptum studiorum curriculum, conatibus annuente DEO ter Opt. Max., absolu- turum.

Fidei stipulationis
hujus firmandæ manum
meam subscribo
Joannes Pauli
Windingius.

(Egenhændig Original i Universitetets Arkiv Nr. 800).

2.

1635 28. Novbr. Poul Jensen Kolding takker Kansler Christian Friis for hans Velvilje ved Sønnens Ansættelse som Lector i Odense.

Ingens istuc beneficium, Illustris et Magnifice Domine Can- cellarie, quo tantâ humanitate, tantâque usus gratiâ filium meum Joannem dudum suscepisti fovendum, ac modò Othoniq ad honestissimam functionem Theologicam promovisti, et quantum intelligo porrò etiam tibi promovendum ipse indixisti, Evidem nunquam satis deprēdicandum beneficium, quod eò etiam illu- strius ęstimo suspiciōque, quò ab Illustriore Mæcenate profectum est, utpote cujus judicio et arbitrio vel maximum quemque stare aut cadere par est.² Adeoque beatiores nos, felicioresque censeo, qui vel cum aliorum ęmulatione et invidia tanti viri principis judicium et gratiam invenimus impetravimusque. Neque enim homini in hac mortalitate quicquam contingere potest beatius, quam ab ipso primū Deo, inde à summo in Republ. viro, ejusdemque columine certissimo, et pietate illustrissimo, respici, suscipi et foveri. Nec quicquam magis clientem aliis commendat, quam tanti patroni eminentia et splendor. Deo itaque ęterno laus sit immortalis, qui spem meam, quam dudum in summas illas immortalesque tuas virtutes defixi, frustrà esse non voluit, sed ita te excitavit, ut non sine admiratione senserim, non dico, te descendisse, sed irruisse piissimis raptum affectibus in istam promotionem. Atque ita jam ego, quia proletarium est, nimisque dilutum, verbis, pro tam luculentis beneficiis, gratias agere, et

¹ Orig. synes at have: justis.

² Slægtskabet med en tilsvarende Ytring i Vita (p. 45) er umiskendeligt.

ipse honorum fortunarumque tuarum splendor et hoc et alia pauperis tugurii officiola respuit, ad vota pia, sancta et seria pro tua salute et incolumente perpetua recurro, enixè precatus Deum Universi Rectorem omnisque pietatis et beneficiorum remuneratorem memorem, velit tibi tuisque liberis hoc abundè remetiri, omnibusque modis benefacere, vosque omnes cum matre Nobiliss. piissimaque diutissime ac perpetim salvos et incolumes prestare et conservare. Faxit et idem ille celestis pater, ut etiam juvenis ipse Illustri tuę exspectationi respondeat satis-faciatusque, ac spartam ornet doctrinā, industriā, sanctisque moribus, ne collocati in ipsum beneficij te unquam paeniteat, sed, quod potissimum respexisti, ut eluceat divini nominis gloria et juventutis emolumentum et commodum. Vale Heros Inclite, et Evergeta benignissime, nosque porrò in clientum tuorum numero cense, ac favore et gratiā dignare. Nestadioli 28 Novembr. 1635.

III. M. T.
observantissimus
cliens
Paulus Janus
Coldingius
m. m.

[*Udskrift:*] Erlig vellbyrdig och Strenge Ridder, Her Christian Friiβ till Kragerup, Kong. Majest. Cantzeler, och Dan Markis Rigit Raad, min gunstige Herre och Patron, ydmygeligen tillskreffvett.

(Egenhændig Original i Danske Kancellis Arkiv, Indlæg til Registre og Tegnelser 1635).

3.

1638 9. April. Dedikation til J. P. Winding i Johannes Fabricius, Muhammedis Testamentum, Rostochii 1638.

Viro Cl. Dn. M. Johanni Pauli Windingio Dano, S. S. Theol. Lectori Ottoniensi, Amico suo optimo S. D. Johannes Fabricius Dantiscanus.

Quomodo tibi hactenus, V. Cl. curae cordique fuerit studium linguarum Orientis, nemo rectius me novit. Praeterquam enim quod Wittebergæ, ubi una eramus, sub communi nostro Praeceptore Cl. Dn. Trostio p. m. diligens mecum Ebrææ pariter & Syriacæ linguæ auditor extiteris; Regiomontum quoque; nobile Po-

russorum Lycaeum frequentasti, studio addiscendi unice idiomam Arabicum, ab inclito illo Theologo Dn. Doctore Mislenta, istius linguæ peritissimo. Cui desiderio tuo, cum Excellentissimus Vir propter multiplices occupationes, cùm Academicas tūm Ecclesiasticas, satisfacere non posset, meae institutioni & curae Te commisit. In quam eo libentius quoq; consensi, quo rectius præclaræ ingenij tui dotes mihi cognitæ perspectæq; erant. Quid verò præstiterim, malo id à Te & aliis audire, quām à me impræsentiarum referri. Gaudeo tamen gratulorq; mihi, quod tantum discipulum nactus fuerim, qui posthac non tantum publicos sermones de quæstionibus quibusdam Arabicis in Frisiorum Academia Franequerana eruditè sociaverit, sed & tām nobilem functionem in Daniæ Regno consecutus sit, ut publicus jam Theol. Lector in Gymnasio Ottonensi audiat. Quam spartam uti variâ tuâ eruditione præclarè exornare potes: Ita non possum non, quin Patriæ tuæ de tanto ornamento gratuler. Imprimis verò, quod in Te Virum habeat, qui Rabbinos, quorum commentaria, quotquot in Biblia V. Instrumenti extant, sedulo evolvisti, sieubi erraverint, accuratè refutare possit. Ut taceam cæteras tuas laudes, quas lubens prætero, ne auribus tuis aliquid dare videar. Quas in ejusmodi præconiis utrinq; nos obthurare æqvum est. Quod cæteram interiorem vitam nostram, animorumq; consensionem spectat, volui ego maximè prævertere affectioni tuæ, adeoq; te ad mutui amoris recordationem suscitare. Accipe igitur serenâ fronte pagellas hasce, qvas Nomini Tuo inscriptas esse vides, & quantum in Te est, consilio tuo editionem Alcorani feliciter promote. Benè recteq; vale, & Fabricium tuum, qvod facis, amare perge. Dabam RostochI, qvinto idus Aprilis, Anno M. DC. XXXVIII.

4.

Fortegnelse over Indforsler af Danske i J. P. Windings Philotheca (Kall, 8°, 681).

I den nedenstaaende, kronologisk ordnede Fortegnelse meddeles foruden Datering og Dateringssted Navnet paa dem, der har indført sig i Philotheca i den Form, de paagældende selv har anvendt ved Indforslen. Derefter anføres i skarp Parentes den almindeligt brugte, danske Navneform samt Oplysning om vedkommendes Dødsaar og Slutstilling. Det afsluttende Tal angiver Sidetallet i Philotheca.

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Joh. Pavl. Resenius. [Hans Poulsen Resen, † 1638, Sjællands Biskop, Dr. theolog.]. 49.

- 1628 17. Juli. Hafniæ.
 Johannes Johannis Resenius. [Hans Hansen Resen, † 1653,
 Sjællands Biskop, Dr. theol.]. 112.
- 1628 23. Juli. Herloviæ.
 Paulus Janus Coldingius. [Poul Jensen Kolding, † 1640,
 Provst, Sognepræst ved Herlufsholm]. 3.
- 1630 18. Juli. Hafniæ.
 N. Paschasius. [Niels Paaske, † 1636, Biskop over Bergens
 Stift]. 54.
- 1630 30. Juli. Soræ Danorum.
 Joannes Meursius. [Johannes Meursius, † 1639, Professor
 i Sorø]. 91.
- 1630 [Juli]. Soræ.
 Wichmannus Hasebardus. [Wichmand Hasebard, † 1642,
 Biskop over Viborg Stift]. 141.
- 1630 28. Aug. Herloviæ.
 Johannes Joannis Klynius. [Hans Jensen Klyne, Kapellan
 ved Herlufsholm]. 163.
- 1630 28. Oktbr. Wittebergæ.
 Jacobus Petri Spielderupius. [Jacob Pedersen Spjellerup,
 † 1650, Provst, Sognepræst i Hyllested-Venslev]. 148.
- [1631] Wittebergæ.
 Johannes Joh. Svaningius. [Hans Svane, † 1668, Erke-
 biskop]. 148b.
- 1631 21. Febr. Vittebergæ.
 Paulus Baggerus. [Poul Bagger, † 1672, Sognepræst i Köl-
 strup-Agedrup]. 151.
- 1631 23. Febr. Witteberg.
 Torchillus Langeweid Cimbro-Danus. [Ikke identificeret]. 155.
- 1631 11. Marts. Witteb.
 Christian Thomesen. [Christian Thomesen (Sehested),
 † 1657, Kongens Kansler]. 36.
- 1631 3. Maj. Wittenbergæ.
 Janus Petri Schelderup. [Peder Jensen Skjelderup, † 1646,
 Biskop over Trondhjems Stift]. 155b.
- 1631 6. Maj. Wittebergæ.
 Andreas Sommerus Cimb. Danus. [Anders Sommer, Stu-
 dent fra Aarhus 1626]. 159.

- 1631? 12. Juli. Servestæ Anhalteriorum.
 Christianus Sommer. [Christian Sommer, † 1668, Mag., Sognepræst i Tyrsted-Ut]. 151 b.
- 1631 13. Septbr. Witteberg.
 Henric Fabricius. [Søn af Christian IV's Livlæge, Dr. med. Jacob Fabricius]. 141 b.
- 1631 6. Oktbr. Hauniæ.
 Nicol. Petræus. [Niels Pedersen Orelose (Aurilesius), † 1634, Professor, Dr. theolog.]. 75.
- 1631 27. Oktbr. Herluffsholmiaæ.
 Bartholom. Georgij Gersonius. [Bertel Jørgensen Gerson, † 1650, Mag., Sognepræst i Bjergby-Slundstrup]. 194.
- 1631? 1. Novbr. Roeschildiaæ.
 Johannes Laurentius. [Hans Lauridsen, † 1654, Lector philosophiae ved Gymnasiet i Roskilde]. 159 b.
- 1631 1. Decbr. In curia pastorali Weyrum.
 Petrus Lassonius Liem. [Peder Lassen, † 1642, Mag., Sognepræst i Vejrum]. 166.
- 1631 6. Decbr. Egtveddi.
 Ansgarus Severini. [Ancher Sørensen, † 1682, Mag., Provst, Sognepræst i Kolding]. 163 b.
- 1631 9. Decbr. Coldingæ.
 P[aulus] P[aludanus]. [Poul Paludan, † 1635, Mag., Provst, Sognepræst i Kolding]. 170 b.
- 1632 13. Maj.
 Joannes Fredericj Splet. [Hans Frederiksen Splet, † c. 1652, Sognepræst i Krummerup-Fuglebjerg]. 158 b.
- 1633 3. Septbr. Regiomont. Borus.
 Michael Moulenius. [Mikkel Mule, † 1653, Mag., Sognepræst i Vejlby]. 160 b.
- 1635 2. April. Londini Anglorum.
 Johannes Joh. Alburg. [Hans Hansen Aalborg, † 1685, Mag., Sognepræst i Vejlby]. 207.
- 1635 23. April. Londini.
 Godschalceus ab Alefeldt. [Ikke identificeret]. 65.
- [1635] 24. April. de Londres.
 Otho Brockenhus. [Formentlig Otte Brockenhush, † 1645, Kancellisekretær]. 63.

1635 30. Aug. Oxoniæ.

Johannes Brockenhuis. [Johan Brockenhus, † 1673, Oberst, Ejer af Sebberkloster]. 63 b.

1635 30. Aug. Oxoniæ.

Petrus Ivari Havnia-Danus. [Peder Iversen, † 1659, Sognepræst i Egtved-Olsted]. 184 b.

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Casp. Brochmand. [Jesper Brochmand, † 1652, Biskop over Sjællands Stift, Dr. theol.]. 69.

Summary.

Introductory a survey is made of the study tours of the Danes from the 12th century to the beginning of the 17th century. The importance of the universities of Rostock and Wittenberg for Scandinavia after the Reformation is especially emphasized. From the middle of the 16th century a study tour to the great civilized countries, a *peregrinatio academica*, was considered one of the most important means of acquiring a more comprehensive education. While in the case of the young noblemen these tours often were of a somewhat external character, they came in the case of the university men—thanks to their greater qualifications—to mean an actual transmission of European intellectual life into Denmark.

Whereas in the case of a number of the leading personalities in the 17th century the importance of such tours has already been treated in detail, it would be desirable, if when trying to give a picture of the Danes' foreign travel, the researcher would also include accounts of the profits brought home from their stays abroad by the minor minds of the time. As a contribution of that kind the present writer presents an autobiography by JENS POULSEN WINDING, M. A., Senior Master in Odense (d. 1655), kept in Karen Brahe's Library in Odense (No. A I, 17), in which a detailed description is given of Winding's journey to a number of the well-known seats of learning in Europe during the years 1628—35. As supplementary and corrective material especially Jens Winding's *Philotheca* (now in the Kall Manuscript Collection No. 681, 8°, in the Royal Library, Copenhagen) has been used.

Jens Poulsen Winding, who was descended from a patrician family from Kolding, was born on August 1, 1609, as the son of the highly deserving principal and chaplain at Herlufsholm

School, POUL JENSEN KOLDING (d. 1640), known as well as an esteemed philological author. After seven years' schooling at Herlufsholm under five headmasters Jens Winding in 1626 was sent up to the University of Copenhagen and—as it seems—introduced to the leading circles through the Rector of the University, the impressive Bishop of Zealand, HANS POULENSEN RESEN, the faithful benefactor of his family. As early as 1628 he began to contemplate his *peregrinatio academica* and in the spring went to Holland accompanied by a tutor and a friend, the later, as a theologian and politician, so famous Archbishop HANS SVANE.

A planned visit to Leiden for some unknown reason had to be abandoned, and instead the young men settled at the University of Franeker in West Friesland. This university perhaps did not belong to the most famous of Europe, but it was considered an excellent place of study for undergraduates in their first years. Furthermore it was easy to reach the town by sea, for which reason many Danes, especially from Ribe, went there. Besides, the university at that time possessed two prominent names, SIXTINUS AMAMA, the orientalist (d. 1629), and GEORG PASOR, the Greek philologist (d. 1637). Winding got into close contact with both of them. He seems especially to have benefited by Amama's teaching, as his interests first of all concentrated on the study of the oriental languages, which he may already have studied in Copenhagen under the eminent Hebrew scholar NIELS PEDERSEN (AURILESIUS), who later characterized himself as his intimate friend.

In the spring of 1630 Winding was recalled by his father. Indeed, he returned to Copenhagen, where he was received with open arms by his patron, Professor JESPER BROCHMAND, later Bishop of Zealand, who offered him permission to defend a thesis for the master's degree. He did not, however, feel mature enough for that, but instead was allowed to compete for the royal travelling scholarship, founded in 1569, which it was customary to allocate to the most promising junior university men. Having twice defended a thesis under the chairmanship of Jesper Brochmand, he had the scholarship allocated to him.

On August 29, 1630, Winding again went abroad, first visiting Lübeck, where he saw the Superintendent of the town, NICOLAUS HUNNIUS, and on September 12, 1630, arrived at Wittenberg,

where he remained for about one year. He closely attached himself to the strictly orthodox and eagerly polemical theologian JOHANNES HÜLSEMANN, in whose house his friend Hans Svane was staying, but also got into touch with a number of university teachers from the other faculties. Under MARTINUS TROST he studied Hebrew and Syriac together with a young orientalist from Danzig, JOHANNES FABRICIUS.

Minor trips to neighbouring towns interrupted the regular studies at Wittenberg. Thus in March 1631 he visited Leipzig and saw the Superintendent, Dr. POLYCARP LYSER (II), and in July of the same year he was at Zerbst, the Gymnasium illustre of which attracted many strangers. He visited the headmaster of the school, the very fertile author MARCUS WENDELINUS. — The troubles of the Thirty Years' War, e. g. plague-like diseases, in September 1631 drove Winding away from Wittenberg, and in October he was again at Herlufsholm.

He did not, however, intend to settle at home. He constantly had an intense longing for going to England, which was still visited by comparatively few Danish students, and to the great sorrow of his parents and without their approval he soon left home again. A recently found, peculiar document by his hand presumably dates from this time in his life. The strict confessionalism of the time had made it a duty for theologians who wanted to study abroad, to stay only at decidedly Lutheran universities, but when Winding wanted to set out in the autumn of 1631, the unrest of the Thirty Years' War prevented him from visiting such universities. He then succeeded in obtaining permission to go to Holland and England, but only after giving a written undertaking in which he promised to conduct himself in such a way that his faith did not suffer; furthermore, after his return to give an account of his general views with special regard to the most disputed articles of faith, and finally, when the peace had been made, to go to Lutheran academies and continue his studies there.

Prepared like this Winding could on November 10, 1631, at Elsinore go on board an English ship, which was to take him to the England for which he had so long been yearning. It was, however, the most unfavourable season in which to start such a voyage. In a very dramatic description Winding relates how it

soon was blowing up for a gale, and before long every hope of rescue seemed excluded. The ship was stranded—probably on one of the Jutland sand bars—and only as if by a miracle the crew were thrown ashore at Bovbjerg. In an exhausted state Winding was sent the long way back to his home, where his parents forgot their anger at their son's rash departure at seeing him walking straight in.

After four months' stay at Herlufsholm Winding in the spring of 1632 went to the fairly remote Königsberg, the university of which was held in high esteem because of its strict Lutheran character. Winding there established particularly close relations with the principal light of the university, the Polish-born COELESTIN MYSLENTA, a theologian of an extraordinarily polemical stamp, but also a great linguist. He had especially gone in for Arabic, and young Winding now got an opportunity to penetrate more deeply into this language together with his friend from Wittenberg, JOHANNES FABRICIUS, whom he met there again and who later highly lauded his diligence as a student.

After six months prospects opened up for the young man who was so keen on travelling, to travel further about, as through Myslenta he was recommended to the Chancellor of the Elector of Brandenburg, GEORG VON SAUCKEN. The latter invited him to accompany him on a journey to Poland, where the Chancellor in Warsaw according to an old custom, on behalf of the Elector, received the investiture of East Prussia from the Polish King Wladislaus IV. The Chancellor wanted Winding to accompany him back to East Prussia, but the latter wanted to go farther away, preliminarily to Cracow. As his travelling companion he got an interesting personality, JOHANNES ABRAHAM POEMER, descended from a patrician family in Nuremberg, a talented man with an open mind, who died a privy councillor at Sulzbach after being converted to Catholicism.

Both of the young men were keen on travelling. They decided to visit Russia and, indeed, crossed the Russian frontier, but as they were received inhospitably, they soon withdrew and went to the enterprising commercial town Lublin. There Winding obviously was highly impressed by the fact that this town was teeming with the most learned Jews. From there the friends went towards Hungary, but when they had in time picked up informa-

tion that a gang of wicked people lay in wait for them in order to kill them, they returned to Poland.

Obviously they then travelled about here and there, visiting a number of towns and castles; but especially they felt comfortable at Cracow, where the Polish noblemen were very obliging to them. On their return journey they had the strange experience of visiting the small town of Rakau, the headquarters of the Socinians, which probably few Danes had ever visited. Prominent representatives of the Socinian society received them with great courtesy, and in Danzig they also later made the acquaintance of a well-known Socinian, MARTINUS RUARUS. In the spring of 1633 Winding was again in Königsberg—alone, as Poemer, his fidus Achates, had had to take leave of him at Danzig.

Winding stayed in Königsberg until September 1633 and continued studying the oriental languages until he was recalled by Bishop Hans Poulsen Resen, who wanted to entrust him with a post at a school. After his return to Copenhagen the young man must, however, have succeeded in softening the heart of even such an imposing personality as the elder Resen, for the appointment to a post at a school came to nothing, and after some weeks Winding again set off, this time for West Friesland in order to reach England from there.

At Franeker Winding renewed the contact with his old teacher GEORG PASOR, but as the stormy autumn made the passage to England impossible, he settled at the University of Groningen (in October 1633). There it was of no small importance for him that he was closely attached to a son of Georg Pasor, MATTHIAS PASOR, a former Professor of Oriental Languages in Oxford. On more than one occasion Pasor acted as his friend and benefactor.

His acquaintance with this man made Winding enter upon a literary career, as he in 1633 at Groningen for use at the public defence of a thesis published his first work, the *Disputatio Politico-Philologica de Judaeis*. Unfortunately this work seems to have been lost. As early as 1685 it was searched for in vain by the great book-collector Peder Resen, and it has never been found since then, either. The contents of the disputation must have been of rather a sensational character as Winding himself tells that the sheets were torn from the printing-press with such eagerness that

he could hardly himself be permitted to keep copies to be used as presents for his friends.

However, Winding got afraid that by publishing this work he should perhaps have given offence to his old teacher Georg Pasor, and so he made up his mind to defend a thesis under the chairmanship of the latter at Franeker. The defence took place on January 18, 1634, on the basis of the thesis *Qvaestiones ex Linguâ Ebraeâ, Syriacâ, Arabicâ & Græcâ Depromptæ, ad Scripturam intelligendam pertinentes*, the only work now known from Winding's hand. The small work shows an author who with diligence had studied Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, and who was well up in the approach to the scientific problems of the time. A characteristic feature in Winding as an old pupil of Sixtinus Amama is his tendency towards considering the interpretations of the rabbinical theologians, which are fairly often mentioned with appreciation. The thesis has attached to it a laudatory poem by Georg Pasor, who praises the young writer for his wide knowledge of languages.

Winding's *Philotheca* shows that during his second stay in Holland he established contact with a number of learned men, older and younger. Whereas his closest associates at Groningen preferably seem to have been undergraduates from various regions in Germany, he also seems to have made the acquaintance of some eminent Netherlanders. Among these, mention may be made of the later so famous classical philologist JOHANNES FREDERICUS GRONOVIVS, the poet CASPAR BARLÆUS, Professor in Amsterdam, and at Leiden JACOB GOLIUS, perhaps the most outstanding student of oriental languages of his century.

In August 1634 Winding left Holland in order to reach the goal he had looked forward to for so many years, England. It seemed, however, that for some time he should not fare better than he did on his first unsuccessful voyage to England in 1631. The sea proved to be in its most inclement mood, and he was faced with certain death, when at last they succeeded in steering the ravaged ship into the Thames estuary, from where Winding and a Danish friend without difficulty reached London. From there it was only a short distance to Oxford, where he settled until September 1635.

In several respects the stay in Oxford probably denotes the high-water mark of Winding's study tours. He was very comfortable in this place, where he might have wished to stay until his dying day. He obviously earned his living by teaching Hebrew, improved his knowledge by studies in the excellent Bodleian Library, and made many friends among English as well as foreign fellow students. Among his acquaintances from this time especially the learned librarian JOHANNES VERNULIUS (JEAN VERNEUIL) should be mentioned.

However, in Denmark they got impatient; they wanted the young man, who had then for so many years been travelling at the public expense, to come back and turn his knowledge to account in his native country. In the spring of 1635 letters arrived from home in which he was urgently requested to return home. He had to obey and went to London to obtain a passage to Denmark. Unfavourable winds for eight weeks prevented his departure, and so he made up his mind to return to Oxford, where he stayed until the late summer of 1635. He was even planning a journey to France and Italy. More letters from home, however, at last made him depart. In the beginning of September he left England and on the 16th of September saw his native country again (at Elsinore). It may be supposed that his disinclination to return home was connected with an affair of the heart. An album leaf (see pp. 29—30) is suggestive.

In Copenhagen Winding was received with great coolness by his old patrons Hans Poulsen Resen and Jesper Brochmand, who reproached him for having been disobedient to the divine vocation to be active in his native country which through their letters had gone out to him. Before the King's Chancellor, CHRISTIAN FRIIS of Kragerup, he had to give an account of his travels, and in him met with great humanity. A short trip to Malmö in order to be present at a wedding, however, made Resen's, Brochmand's and the Chancellor's anger flare up. During a conversation with the Chancellor, the latter took vehement offence when Winding—as the cosmopolitan into which he had obviously developed—invoked Cicero's famous words: "patriam esse ubicunque bene est". The Chancellor then severely took him to task and ordered him on a special summons to appear for a test of his learning. The outcome

of the test was the best one conceivable, and before long the young man was sent to Odense to take up the post which the Chancellor had held in readiness for him.

On November 11, 1635, Jens Poulsen Winding was appointed Professor of Theology (*Lector theologiæ*) at the Senior School founded in Odense in 1621, a peculiar transitional form between the grammar school and the university. In this honourable and lucrative post he spent the rest of his lifetime until his death on June 21, 1655. He married into the patriciate of the town, became a wealthy man, and led a quiet life, occupied by his official duties and by studies. In 1637 he passed his examination for the M. A. degree, but he did not publish any works after his return home.

Undoubtedly Jens Poulsen Winding was an extraordinarily well read man, who especially possessed a wide knowledge of the oriental languages, but his development seems to have been checked after his return to Denmark. The adventures of his life were over at the end of his foreign travels. Still, the account of his travels is of interest as a piece of evidence—one among many, of the craving for learning which in the 17th century drove so many Danish university men to try to acquire a training and a wider intellectual horizon in the European cultural world.

The description summarized here forms the Introduction to the edition of Winding's Latin Vita (pp. 37—46), to which is added a Commentary (pp. 46—55) and an Appendix (pp. 56—62) consisting of various documents, among them the formal undertaking mentioned above, p. 65, and a list of the names of the Danish students who entered their names in his Philotheca.

Register.

I nedenstaaende Register er optaget de i alle Dele af nærværende Skrift forekommende Sted- og Personnavne, idet dog Navne, der blot nævnes i Forbigaaende, ikke er medtaget. Stillingsbetegnelse ved Personer gælder som Regel vedkommendes Slutstilling. Ved Gengivelse af latinske Navne er den Navneform valgt, som kunde skønnes at være den almindeligst brugte, uden at streng Ensartethed i saa Henseende er tilstræbt. — Forkortelsen Pr. betyder Praest, Prof. Professor, uden Stedsangivelse, at vedkommende var ansat i København.

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RANDBEMERKUNGEN
ZU K. M. NIELSENS TEXTAUSGABE

von

JOSEF SZÖVÉRFFY



København 1958
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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Vor einigen Jahren erschien die erste umfassende Sammlung spätmittelalterlich-dänischer Gebetbücher im Druck.¹ Die dargebotenen Texte enthalten wertvolles Material nicht nur für Sprachwissenschaftler und Literarhistoriker, sondern auch für Volkskundler. Unsere ursprüngliche Absicht war, dieses Material vom Standpunkte der vergleichenden Volkskunde restlos auszuwerten, doch mussten wesentliche Teile des ursprünglichen Planes aus technischen Gründen gestrichen werden. Man hätte z. B. viel über den Einfluss der volkstümlichen Heiligenverehrung,² über Spuren von Zahlenmystik, über die volkstümliche Umgestaltung des Ablaßwesens³ usw. in Zusammenhang mit den von NIELSEN gedruckten dänischen Texten sagen können. Es fehlt an Parallelerscheinungen im Volksaberglauben und in Volksgebeten (Zaubersprüchen usw.) nicht, und Einzelerscheinungen verbreiteter Volksüberlieferungen hätte man mit Hilfe der Ausschnitte der dänischen Gebete eingehend erörtern können. Leider mußten viele Fragen doch nur kurz behandelt, oder gar völlig weggelassen werden.⁴

(1) Einleitend möchte ich nur darauf hinweisen, dass die Rubriken (Überschriften) der meisten dänischen Gebete diese Texte Päpsten, Heiligen usw. zuschreiben, ebenso wie manche Zaubersprüche (und Segen) nach der Volkstradition von Gott, Christus, oder den Heiligen herstammen sollen. Andererseits finden wir phantastische Angaben von Ablaßspendungen in diesen Rubriken: Tausende Jahre Ablässe werden den Benützern der Gebete in Aussicht gestellt. Nicht weniger phantastisch sind die Beschreibungen der Umstände, unter denen diese Gebete zu stande gekommen sein sollten: Christus, Maria, oder Engel sollten sie den betreffenden Heiligen, Päpsten usw. übergeben haben. Unter den Empfängern der Gebete, sowie unter den Ablaß-

spendern und Verfassern der Einzeltexte stossen wir auf Namen wie Papst Gregor der Grosse (und andere gleichen Namens), Johannes XXII, Bonifazius VIII, Julius II, Heilige wie Augustinus, Bernhard von Clairvaux, Birgitta von Schweden, Mechtild, Priester, Einsiedler, Laienbrüder usw.

(2) Dass jene Gebete, die von Gott, Maria, den Heiligen oder gar Päpsten herstammen, eine besondere Wirksamkeit haben und ihren Benützern viele Vorteile sichern, ist eine Selbstverständlichkeit nach volkstümlicher Auffassung. Der grosse Mann hat eine ausserordentliche Kraft, und sie wirkt sich in jeder Hinsicht aus, so glaubt man bei allen Völkern und zu allen Zeiten. Diese Idee ist die Wurzel des sakralen Königtums, sei es in Afrika,⁵ oder sei es im mittelalterlichen Europa,⁶ und dieser Gedanke hat viel zu der einst so blühenden und häufig abergläubisch ausgenützten Heiligenverehrung beigetragen.⁷ Infolgedessen ist es nicht überraschend, dass die ausführlichen Überschriften (Rubriken)⁸ die heilsame und vielfache Wirkung dieser von grossen Männern oder von den Himmlischen usw. stammenden Gebete sehr stark betonen. Einzelmomente dieser angeblichen Wirksamkeit werden später noch getrennt unter die Lupe genommen, hier beschäftigen wir uns nur mit einigen allgemeinen Erscheinungen. Die schon oben erwähnten Ablässe gehören jedenfalls zum Wirkungskreis dieser Gebete. Manche Überschriften versprechen den Benützern der Gebete nicht nur Ablässe, sondern, was schlimmer ist, auch Sündenvergebung: so z. B. »Hwo som thenne forscreffne bon dagelich læser han schal fanghe syndens forladelse . . .«⁹ oder ein anderes Mal: »oc han skal fange rwelsæ oc vederkennelse for alle synae synder . . .«¹⁰ An einer anderen Stelle stellt man die Vergebung der vergessenen Sünden in Aussicht: »och alle hans for glømdæ *synder til giuen . . .«¹¹ Ich erwähne in diesem Zusammenhang, dass viele Gebete getrennte Ablässe für Tod-Sünden (schwere Sünden) und Erlass-Sünden usw. versprechen: z. B. »fæm hundrete aar afflat for allæ hoffuet synder oc 'v' twsende aar bodhe for dødelige synder oc nadelige . . .«¹²

Manchmal werden die heilsamen Wirkungen der Gebete in den Rubriken zahlenmäßig angegeben: man kann z. B. fünf Vorteile durchs Beten gewinnen (»oc faar han fæm nader aff gudh . . .«¹³) oder zwölf (»oc ther ære tilgiffnae xii gode gaffuer«¹⁴)

fünfzehn¹⁵ oder gar zwanzig: »hanum kommer xx tingh ther aff . . .«¹⁶ Das Lesen gewisser Gebete soll ebensoviel Wert haben wie das Rezitieren von einer grossen Anzahl von Ave Maria und Pater Noster: »tha fangher han then samme løn aff gudh som han læsde forscreffne C pater noster oc Aue maria . . .«¹⁷ Nicht weniger verblüffend ist der folgende Ausspruch: »Item then tridiaæ ær ath hans løøn vorder so stoor som han haffde toldh martirium oc giffuet alt sith blod . . .«¹⁸ d. h. der dieses Gebet regelmäßig liest, erwirbt so viel Verdienst, als ob er Martyrium gelitten hätte . . . Die folgende auf uns etwas merkwürdig wirkende Geschichte soll ebenfalls die Wirksamkeit eines bestimmten Gebetes beweisen: Ein andächtiger Mönch betete immer fünf Psalmen (mit den Anfangsbuchstaben MARIA) zu Ehren der Gottesmutter. Als er starb, wuchsen fünf Rosen aus seinem Kopf: eine aus dem Munde, zwei aus den Nasenlöchern und zwei aus seinen Augen.¹⁹

(3) Die obigen Versprechen sind nur ein Teil des Gesamtinhaltes der Überschriften (Rubriken), und die übrigen Teile enthalten außer den obigen Einzelheiten viel interessanten Stoff.

Die volkskundlichen Parallelen zu den unten folgenden Einzelfragen sind zahlreich, und wir können infolge Mangels an Raum nur eine magere Auswahl bieten. *Die Vergleichung der dänischen Textausschnitte mit den volkskundlichen Parallelens wird uns doch nahelegen, dass man nicht ohne Grund den kirchlichen und religiösen Charakter dieser Texte in Zweifel zieht und dass man sie mit Recht in die Kategorie der Segens- und Zaubersprüche verweist.* Das Vorwort der Textausgaben unterstreicht diesen Umstand, indem es behauptet: » . . . tide- og bønnebøgerne . . . giver herigennem kendskab til den personlige fromhedsytring og det enkelte menneskes religiøse forestillingskreds; og de »rubrikker«, der er knyttet til bønnerne, og som meddeler detaljerede oplysninger om aflad, bønnernes overnaturlige kraft o. s. v., giver et indblik i den overtro, der var en så væsentlig del af datidens trosliv . . .«²⁰

Wie schon oben gesagt, versprechen die Rubriken den andächtigen Benützern der Gebete vielerlei Vorteile, und diese Versprechen gehen weit über die religiöse Sphäre hinaus. Es folgt nun eine Auslese solcher Stellen aus den dänischen Gebetbüchern, mit volkskundlichen Parallelen:

Gewisse Gebete sollen (nach den Rubriken) unbehinderten Weg und gute Reise sichern: »... huilkaenveyfarindhæ man then læs, han skal ey hindræs i sin vey . . .«²¹ Solchen Zwecken dienten aber auch die volkstümlichen »Ausfahrtsegen«,²² der »Tobiassegen«²³, »Reisegebete« wie z. B. »The Journey Prayer«²⁴ und »Prayer for Travelling« (*Ora Turais*)²⁵ in der schottischen Volkskunde.

Diesem wird in manchen Überschriften der dänischen Gebete noch hinzugefügt, dass man dadurch auch vor Ertrinken geschützt wird: »om then dag skal han ey drogne . . .«²⁶ Dies erinnert uns (abgesehen von den oben angeführten und ähnlichen Reisesegen) auch an eine irische Erzählung, in welcher der hl. Columba ausspricht, dass keiner, der Gott, Maria und Columba vertraut, ertrinken wird.²⁷ Manche dieser dänischen Gebete stellen auch Schutz vor Flut, Sturm und Donner, Blitz, usw. in Aussicht: »Thennæ for skreffnae tallæn, troligh och gudæligh læst, aer krafftigh modh allæ vodhæ . . . och standær amodh allæ flode, leffwindhe ildh, tordæn och vodæs ildh . . .«²⁸ Diese Funktion ist in mancher Hinsicht jedenfalls ein Seitenstück zu den herkömmlichen Wettersegen.²⁹

Man kann diese dänischen Gebete auch beim Meeresturm in Anspruch nehmen: »Oc hwo som bedrøwes i haffs nødh han skal taghe eet beghere eller kaar meth watn aff hawet oc læsse thenne bøn ther ower och In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti oc slaa sithen thet watn i hawet tha skal stormen saktet . . .«³⁰ Dass diese hier beschriebene Handlung nicht religiös, sondern magisch ist, ist einem jeden klar. Zwar sind die Dinge nicht ganz miteinander identisch, doch erinnert diese Stelle an zwei verbreitete abergläubische Handlungen: in Estland und anderswo schleuderte man ein Messer in den Wirbelwind³¹, und in Irland tut man dasselbe im Meeresturm: man schleudert es gegen die sich nähernden, aufgepeitschten Wellen.³²

Die Wirksamkeit dieser dänischen Gebete erstreckt sich auch aufs Löschen von Brand und Feuerbrunst, was bei der grossen Beliebtheit der Feuersegen³³ gar nicht zu verwundern ist. Wir lesen nämlich an manchen Stellen: »Item om nogher hws bren-dher tha tagh eth kar meth watn oc læs thenne bøn ower oc kasthe i eldhæ. Tha skal eldhæ vtslyckes . . .«³⁴

Eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle spielen diese Gebete als

Schutz vor Feinden; eine Rubrik erzählt z. B., dass ein Ritter das darauf folgende Gebet täglich gegen seine Verfolger las: »Oc riddheren læsde daglige oc offuerkom oc forwan alle syne døtz fiendhe oc wuenner till siæll oc liiff . . .«³⁵ Ein anderes Mal steht geschrieben: »hanum ma ey . . . noger vnd menniske skade«³⁶ und dazu vgl. noch: »han skal ouer vinne allæ sine v vænner«.³⁷ Man betete in diesen Gebeten um Rettung aus Gefangenschaft, um Heilung von Vergiftung usw.³⁸ Diese dänischen Gebete berühren sich also in ihren Funktionen mit den Zauber- und Segenssprüchen ähnlichen Zwecks (gegen Feinde), die Ohrt³⁹, Bang⁴⁰ und andere mitteilen. Wir finden in den dänischen Texten auch Parallelerscheinungen zu Schwert⁴¹ – und Waffensegen⁴²: »Item læss man oc thenne bøn offuer sith swærth oc signer sigh meth swærdet tha skal han enghen skadhe fange til sith liiff . . .«⁴³ Noch deutlicher ist die folgende Formulierung: »then dagh skal han bæræ hinne owær sigh, tha skal han ey falle i stridh . . . Item skal man gangæ i stridh, och læs han thennæ bøn ower sit suerdh, tha skal han ingæ skadæ fongæ til sith liiff . . .«⁴⁴ Die Ähnlichkeit mit den volkstümlichen Waffensegen ist aus einem besonderen Grunde sehr auffallend: nämlich, wie aus diesem Text erhellt, sollen diese Gebete das eigene Leben sichern, und die Rubriken sprechen gar nicht vom Glück (Sieg) im Waffengang, ebensowenig wie die volkstümlichen Waffensegen, worüber sich Ohrt folgendermassen äussert:⁴⁵ »Während die Ritterbenediktionen⁴⁶ auch das tapfere Drauflosgehen und den Sieg betonen . . . liegt in den Waffensegen ein Hauptgewicht auf dem eigenen Davonkommen.« In diesem Zusammenhang müssen wir auch darauf hinweisen, dass die Verwendung solcher (geschriebenen) Zaubergebete im Mittelalter nicht nur im Krieg, sondern auch bei Gottesurteilen und Zweikämpfen üblich war, obwohl dies besonders streng verboten wurde. Einen merkwürdigen Fall aus England erwähnt Kittredge: »In 1355 a wager of battle between the hired champions of the Bishop of Salisbury and the Earl of Salisbury was postponed, because, when the bishop's champion was searched by the judges, several rolls of prayers and charms were discovered in his coat. This was a pretty good joke on the bishop, or so it seems to us when we reflect that trial by combat was an ordeal . . . and that the appellant had to swear that he was not fortified by magic . . .«⁴⁷ Die Verwendung solcher ma-

gischen Gebete und Kampfamulette hörte mit dem Mittelalter nicht auf: wir wissen, dass man von ihnen auch in den letzten grossen Kriegen unzähligemale Gebrauch machte.⁴⁸

Eine weitere Stelle der Rubriken lautet: »... och huo som thennæ bøn skreffuaen haffuar och liggar paa sith hoffuet, nar* han skal talæ for herrær, tha fongær han strax nadhæ i sinæ ordh, saa ath the skullæ væl tagæs, och skal til fornæ lade læse tre messær aff vor frue som ær Vltum tuum deprecabuntur . . .«⁴⁹ Etwas modifiziert ist es an einer anderen Stelle: »Item hwo som ladher sighe en mæsse aff wor Frwaæ som hedher Wltum tuum deprecabuntur ower thenne bøn oc bæræ hennæ sidhen paa sigh hans ordh och gerninge skulle tacknemeligh wäre for herrer och prelather . . .«⁵⁰ Der Sinn dieser und ähnlicher Stellen ist nicht ganz eindeutig, doch vermute ich, dass es sich um einen Schutzsegen bei Gerichts- und Rechtsverfahren handelt (»han skal talæ for herrær«). Die Verbindung von Rechtsbräuchen und Aberglauben ist uns wohlbekannt,⁵¹ und es gibt viele bei solchen Gelegenheiten gebräuchliche Zauber- und Segenssprüche. Ich weise nur auf einige Beispiele bei Ohrt⁵² und Carmichael⁵³ hin. Ein schottischer Text zu diesem Anlasse lautet:

Force be in my mouth,
Sense be in my speech,
The taste of nectar on my lips,
Till I return hither . . .⁵⁴

Manche dänischen Texte versprechen dem Benutzer der Gebete Verlängerung des Lebens: »Item vill iek hans liiff forlænge / om han æn skulde døø raskelige . . .« verspricht Christus selber in einer Rubrik.⁵⁵ Dazu gesellt sich ein schottischer Zauberspruch, welcher heisst: »Charm of the lasting life«⁵⁶

Wir finden unter den volkstümlichen Segens- und Zaubersprüchen vielfach Krankheitssegen,⁵⁷ ebenso wie unter den kirchlichen und halb-kirchlichen »Benediktionen«, welche Franz untersuchte.⁵⁸ Es ist daher also keine Überraschung, dass die dänischen Rubriken Anweisungen enthalten, dass man manche Gebete auch über Kranke rezitieren soll,⁵⁹ und behaupten, dass ihr Rezitieren vor »Pest« schützen werde: »... then skal være then dagh trygh . . . aff pestilencie . . .«⁶⁰

Ich leite die folgende verblüffende dänische Stelle aus dem

Einfluss der im Mittelalter sehr populären Einsegnung von Speisen⁶¹ und den verschiedenen Formen des Minnetrankes (Johannesminne usw.)⁶² ab: »... oc huilken menniske som gæste-bwdh vill giore oc læss han thenne bon offuer madhen/allæ the ther aff ædhe vorde allæ glade oc loffue gudh . . .«⁶³

Diese Gebete würden ungenügende Kraft besitzen, wenn man sie nicht bei Geburten in Anspruch nehmen könnte. Auch heutzutage verwendet man noch immer vielerlei magische Zaubermittel bei solchen Gelegenheiten, um die schwere Stunde der Frauen zu erleichtern; unter ihnen findet man allerlei Segenssprüche,⁶⁴ wunderwirkende Agathen-,⁶⁵ St. Annenzettel,⁶⁶ Himmelsriegel,⁶⁷ Gebetbücher,⁶⁸ usw.⁶⁹ Im Mittelalter verwendete man dazu verschiedene Benediktionen⁷⁰ und von den Priestern ausgefertigte Zettel.⁷¹ Die entsprechende Stelle der Rubriken in den dänischen Gebetbüchern lautet: »... och læs then owær vandh och giiffwær qwinnæ ath drickæ ther meth barne thwingæs, tha skal hwn væl sith barn fødhæ . . .«⁷² d. h. man soll dieses Gebet über Wasser lesen und das Wasser der Kreißenden reichen, und ihre Niederkunft wird dann erleichtert. Diese Stelle erinnert einerseits an die vielfache Verwendung des Weihwassers (die Handlung mag also gewissermassen als eine Nachahmung der Wasserweihe gelten),⁷³ andererseits an verschiedene in der Volksmedizin übliche Zauberhandlungen, in denen das Wasser eine bedeutende Rolle spielt,⁷⁴ sowie auch ans »Aufessen« und »Trinken«⁷⁵ der Zauberworte.

Wir können endlich noch hinzufügen, dass einzelne Rubriken, so z. B. diejenigen zu den St. Annengebeten,⁷⁶ Schutz und Gedeihen nicht nur dem Beter, sondern auch seiner ganzen Familie versprechen.

Wenn wir also die oben angeführten Einzelheiten auswerten, dürfen wir sagen, dass die Gesamtwirkung dieser Gebete nichts anderes ist als das, was man in der modernen Volkskunde als »Festmachen« bezeichnet.⁷⁷ Mit anderen Worten: diese Gebete gewähren ihren Benützern einen allgemeinen und vielseitigen magischen Schutz, nach den Rubriken wenigstens, und dadurch ragen sie in die Sphäre des Magisch-Zauberhaften hinein.

Ähnliche, weitgehende Erwartungen knüpfen sich an gewisse mündlich (oder handschriftlich) überlieferte Volksgebete und Segen (Zaubersprüche), die wir in unzähligen volkskundlichen

Sammlungen finden.⁷⁸ Ich zitiere nur zwei Beispiele. Ein irisches Beispiel ist: »Whoever would say the White Prayer/One by night/One by day,/Surely ‘twere well for him.«⁷⁹ Und ein anderes aus Schottland:

»Each day and each night
 That I say the ‘*Descent of Brigit*’
 I shall not be slain,
 I shall not be wounded,
 I shall not be put in cell,
 I shall not be gashed,
 I shall not be torn asunder,
 I shall not be despoiled,
 I shall not be down-trodden,
 I shall not be made naked,
 I shall not be rent,
 Nor will Christ
 Leave me forgotten . . .«⁸⁰

Oben haben wir schon festgestellt, dass diese dänischen Gebete in die Kategorien der zauberhaften Segenssprüche eingereiht werden können, und sie stehen mit ähnlichen volkstümlichen Gebilden in engster Verbindung, *was ihr Wirkungsfeld angeht*. Es wäre unzweckmässig, die ausgedehnte Fachliteratur über Zauber- und Segenssprüche und ihre Einzelfragen zu wiederholen. Doch gibt es zwei Einzelheiten, die hier berücksichtigt werden müssen. Unter den dänischen Gebeten finden sich nach dem Zeugnis der Überschriften und Anweisungen zwei getrennte Kategorien: bei gewissen Gebeten ist es genügend, dass man sie liest, oder rezitiert, um die erwartete Wirkung zu erzielen.⁸¹ Bei anderen wird man angewiesen, sie niedergeschrieben bei sich zu tragen.⁸² Bei der ersten Kategorie handelt es sich um einfache »Zaubergebete« (Segenssprüche), bei der zweiten um sogenannte »Schutzbriefe« oder »Zettelamulette« usw.⁸³ Wenn wir aber auch noch den Nebenumstand berücksichtigen, dass die meisten dieser wirkungsvollen dänischen »Zaubergebete« entweder von Heiligen oder von Himmlischen (Gott, Engel usw.) stammen, dürfen wir noch ergänzend feststellen, diese Gebete (Schutzbriefe) berühren sich mit der Kategorie der »Himmelsbriefe«⁸⁴ sehr eng. Damit

ist also die genaue Stellung dieser Gebete in Zusammenhang mit der Volksüberlieferung, im Rahmen des Volksglaubens, eindeutig bestimmt: sie gehören also vielfach in die Kategorie der Zaubergebete (Segenssprüche), andererseits sind sie Abarten der bekannten »Schutz- und Himmelsbriefe«.

Es ist für die Himmelsbriefe und Schutzbriebe kennzeichnend, dass ihre Texte (Einleitungen usw.) nicht nur auf ihre Wirksamkeit hinweisen, sondern auch Beispiele anführen, die die Aufgabe haben, diese Wirksamkeit einem jeden zu zeigen. (‘*Festigkeitsproben*’).⁸⁵ Zu dieser Kategorie gehören die Anspielungen auf die Geschichte des Grafen Philipp von Flandern,⁸⁶ auf einen alten Zigeuner von Königsberg, der nicht hingerichtet werden konnte,⁸⁷ usw. Ein einleuchtendes Beispiel ist die Einleitung zu den ‘Heiligen Sieben Himmelsriegeln’: »Die heiligen sieben Himmelsriegel sind auch zu Prag an einem Weibe probiert wurden, welche schon fünf tote Kinder auf die Welt geboren, als sie aber mit dem sechsten schwanger war . . . so wurden ihr die Himmelsriegel auf das Haupt gelegt, und in dem Augenblick ist sie mit einer lebendigen Leibesfrucht erfreut worden . . .«⁸⁸ Manchmal sagen die Texte nur so viel: »probatum est et verum . . .«⁸⁹ Man beruft sich gelegentlich darauf, dass auch die Obrigkeit die Wirkung dieser Schutzbriebe auf die Probe stellte und ihre Verteilung erlaubte: »Weil er solches entdeckt und von einer Königlich-Preussischen Regierung durchsucht, vom Superintendenten für gut befunden, und öffentlich zu drucken erlaubt wurde . . .«⁹⁰ Manche Texte ermuntern einen jeden, die Wirkung der Schutzbriebe auszuprobieren: »Wer diesen Segen gegen die Feinde bei sich trägt, der wird vor Gefahren beschützt bleiben. Wers nicht glauben will, der schreibe ab und hänge es einem Hunde um den Hals und schiesse nach ihm, so wird er finden, dass es wahr ist . . .«⁹¹ Dass solche und noch viel gefährlichere ‘*Festigkeitsproben*’ fehlschlügen, davon weiss Peuckert uns zu berichten . . .

Unsere dänischen Texte versichern die Leser, dass die vielfachen Wirkungen der Gebete schon oft erprobt wurden. So z. B. »oc thetær forsøcht oc prøffwt i manghe madhe . . .«⁹² Eine ähnliche Rolle spielt der oft belegte Ausdruck ‘vden twiffuel’⁹³ und die Behauptung, dass »thet hauer manghe menniske prouet meth thisse bøner oc hauer fonghet hielp aff iomfri maria . . .«⁹⁴

In dieser Hinsicht sind aber diejenigen kurzgefassten Erzählungen, welche in den Rubriken oft auftauchen, nicht weniger bedeutsam. Die Geschichte des Laienbruders aus dem Zisterzienser-Orden,⁹⁵ des Mönches, aus dessen Mund, Ohren und Augen Rosen wuchsen (siehe oben)⁹⁶ und dessen Geschichte der dänische Text als ‘sant iærtægn’ bezeichnet, die Schilderung des Todes einer Äbtissin, die von Maria besucht wurde,⁹⁷ der gottlosen Gräfin, die von ihrer Hofmeisterin bekehrt wurde,⁹⁸ die Geschichte des Ritters, der seine Todfeinde mit Hilfe eines der betreffenden Gebete überwinden konnte,⁹⁹ usw. dienen einem einzigen Zwecke: sie sollen die Glaubwürdigkeit der Überschriften und zugleich die Wirksamkeit der betreffenden Gebete beweisen und einen jeden bewegen, sie zu gebrauchen. Dieses Ziel soll auch die Erzählung von dem Einsiedler erreichen, der von Gott durch das betreffende Gebet viele Wunder erwirkte (»i then samme skow var oc eth hermitte som gudh theedæ mange iærtægn særlestis meth tesse bøner«).¹⁰⁰ Diese Geschichte endet mit einem köstlich-naiven Schluss, der auf uns äusserst amüsant wirkt, und zugleich die Einstellung der Benutzer und Schreiber dieser Gebetbücher deutlich macht. Der Einsiedler hört grossen Lärm im Walde, er geht hinaus und findet einen erbosten Teufel, der darüber klagt, dass er die Menschen ein so wirksames Gebet lehrte: »Diaffuelen swared i thenne skow ær een gammell kærlingh som haffuer openbaret een bøn som ær gudh meget tæckeligh for huilken wi haffue fanget stoor skadhe . . .« Jeder, der die spätmittelalterlichen Darstellungen von der Versuchung des Abtes Antonius mit allerlei merkwürdigen Nebenfiguren und Phantasiegebilden kennt, wird sich im grotesk-köstlichen Stimmungsbild der oben geschilderten Szene zurechtfinden . . .

Nach dem oben Gesagten wird es keinen überraschen, dass manche Texte sich auf »Damascenus« (sicherlich ist Johannes von Damascus gemeint) und auf die vierte Synode von Calcedon als Befürworter dieser Gebete berufen: »Thette sigær damasce-nus och ær tagæt aff thet the giordhæ i fiærdhæ prestæ modhe i calcedonia . . .«¹⁰¹

Dass man diese Gebete nach bestimmten Vorschriften gebrauchen soll, ebenso wie die Zauber- und Segenssprüche,¹⁰² interessiert uns nur wenig. Die Rubriken schreiben gelegentlich vor, sie dreimal nacheinander, jeden Tag, jeden Sonntag während

eines Jahres oder fünfzehn Jahre lang usw. zusammen mit einer Anzahl von Vaterunsern, Ave-Marias und Credos zu verrichten. Diese Angaben variieren ziemlich frei.¹⁰³

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(4) Die Stellung, die Zugehörigkeit und der allgemeine Charakter dieser dänischen Gebete sind damit also genügend gekennzeichnet. Nun gehen wir auf gewisse Einzelfragen über, die uns zum Erkennen von weiteren Berührungs punkten zwischen diesen (dänischen) Gebeten und anderen Zauber-(Segens)-Sprüchen verhelfen können.

Vor allem sieht man die Tendenz in den Rubriken, die Gebete nicht nur mit einzelnen Päpsten, Heiligen usw., sondern auch mit Rom in Verbindung zu setzen. So betont man bei einem Gebet: »Sanctus anastasius paffua i rom giordhae . . .«¹⁰⁴ und bei einem anderen: »Innocencius pawe i rom han gaff . . .«¹⁰⁵ Es kommt ebenfalls öfters in den Texten vor: »Thennae lidlae bon aer vd skreffuaet i rom . . .«¹⁰⁶ Das Rom-Motiv taucht gelegentlich auch in Zaubersprüchen auf: »A day as I was going to Rome / I forgathered with Columba, Peter and Paul . . .«¹⁰⁷ (Ich glaube jedenfalls, dass diese Anspielung auf die Reise nach Rom die Wichtigkeit des Tages unterstreichen will und eine symbolische Bedeutung hat: der Tag der Romreise muss derjenige der grossen Begegnungen, der Wunscherfüllung und Befreiung sein.) Rom hatte ein grosses Ansehen im Mittelalter, nicht nur als Papstsitz,¹⁰⁸ sondern auch als Gnaden- und Reliquienstätte¹⁰⁹ mit vielen Heiligengräbern und Wallfahrtslegenden, und es galt als ein heiliger Ort. Wie aber Dünninger feststellt: »Der Glaube des Volkes, dass alles auf den Ort ankommt, ist auch die Grundlage des gesamten Wallfahrtswesens . . .«¹¹⁰ Ein Gebet, also, das aus Rom stammt, oder das in Rom in einer Kirche ausgehängt ist, muss (nach volkstümlicher Auffassung) eine erhöhte Wirkung haben. Diese Idee wiederholt sich auch im Falle der Anspielungen auf den Papst Gregor, der nach verschiedenen Rubriken eine Messe in der Kirche des hl. Kreuzes zelebrierte und dem eine Offenbarung zuteil wurde: »Christus teedæ sigh sancto Gregorio i rom i helli kors kyrkæ i then cappell som kallis iherusalem . . .«¹¹¹ Ich kann mit einiger Sicherheit annehmen, dass es sich um die Santa Croce in Gerusalemme handelt. Hat aber

diese Ortsbestimmung wieder einen besonderen Hintergrund? Einen geschichtlichen jedenfalls kaum . . . Wir wissen zwar, dass diese Kirche in der Liturgie der Karwoche eine wichtige Rolle spielte.¹¹² Doch ist dies nicht ausschlaggebend, sondern der Name »Santa Croce in Gerusalemme«. Diese Kirche heisst also *nach dem hl. Kreuz* und ihr Name steht *mit Jerusalem* in Verbindung. Was dieser Umstand für die volkstümliche Denkart bedeutet, versteht man aus den folgenden Einzelheiten: Das hl. Kreuz spielt eine bedeutsame Rolle nicht nur in den Riten des kirchlichen Exorzismus,¹¹³ sondern auch in unzähligen Zauber- und Segenssprüchen.¹¹⁴ Dasselbe kann auch vom Namen Jerusalem gesagt werden.¹¹⁵ Dass diese angebliche Gregorius-Vision nach der Kirche Santa Croce in Gerusalemme verlegt wurde, erklärt sich aus diesem erhöhten volkstümlichen Interesse und nicht aus irgendeiner tatsächlichen oder legendären Beziehung Gregors zu Jerusalem.¹¹⁶

Im Zusammenhang mit einem anderen dänischen Gebet liest man in der Rubrik: »hwo som thenne effterscreffne bøn læss i noghen mæsse/tha vordher han lottagen aff alle the mæsser oc gudelige bøner ther bedhes oc sighes so vidhæ som all cristen-dommenær then dagh . . .«¹¹⁷ Ich finde ein merkwürdiges Seitenstück dazu in der irischen Volkskunde-Sammlung von Hyde: »Mayest thou give us our share of every Mass/That is read in Rome today/And throughout the great world . . .«¹¹⁸

* * *

Wir stossen auf die folgende Behauptung in einer der dänischen Überschriften: »sancte michaelis som skreff hinne meth for gyltae bogstaue och gaff hinne vdi ien iermidæs handh . . .«¹¹⁹ Dieses Gebet stammt also nicht nur vom Himmel, sondern es wurde sogar durch die Hand des Erzengels Michael mit goldenen Buchstaben niedergeschrieben . . . Was für ein merkwürdiges Wunder! Es ist leider nicht ganz alleinstehend: Etwas ähnliches wird vom hl. Petrus in einem Hymnus gesagt, nach dem er den Namen seiner (angeblichen) Tochter, Petronilla, niedergeschrieben haben soll: »Nomen natae sollicite / Manus Petri scripserunt: / Dilectissimae filiae / Sic litterae dixerunt, / Haec aureae reliquiae / Petronillae fuerunt / Ut manus apostolicae / Et terrae motus publice / Nobis propalaverunt . . .«¹²⁰ Der Sinn dieses

Textes ist nicht absolut klar; wir wissen dagegen, dass die Bezeichnung »Goldenes Gebet« im mittelalterlichen Schrifttum öfters vorkommt: so nennt man ein Gebet »Bernhards Gyldene Ave«¹²¹ und ein anderes Mal stossen wir auf den Titel »gyllenæ siæle trøst.«¹²² Viel wichtiger ist es für uns, dass *'Himmelsbriefe'* oft mit »goldenene Buchstaben« geschrieben wurden. So finden wir in Kristensens dänischer Sammlung: »Himmelbrev, som Gud selv har skreven med Guldbogstaven og hængt det i sin Kirke over Døren . . .«,¹²³ aber auch in französischen¹²⁴ und deutschen¹²⁵ Himmelsbriefen steht oft etwas Ähnliches.

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Unter den Versprechungen der Rubriken wiederholt sich ein Motiv: wer dieses oder jenes Gebet so und so verrichtet, wird Maria vor seinem Tode sehen können. So ist es kurzgefasst im folgenden Fall: »Oc skal thet menniske vidhe oc snarlighe see iomfru maria nær hans døtz timæ kommer . . .«¹²⁶ Viel gewöhnlicher ist die folgende Formulierung in den Rubriken: » . . . oc skal han ickæ mystæ iomfru marie sywn *tre dage foræ syn dødh /* oc frælse hanum fra hælffuede . . .«¹²⁷ Der Termin des Erscheinens Marias ist oft modifiziert: »och saa mangæ aar som han les hinnæ, sa mangæ daue skal han see iomfru maria, føræ æn han dør.«¹²⁸ In gewissen Fällen soll ihm Maria dreissig Tage vor seinem Tode erscheinen¹²⁹ (oder fünfzehn usw.) Ein St.-Erasmus-Gebet verspricht das Erscheinen eines Engels,¹³⁰ andere Texte dasjenige der hl. Anna.¹³¹ Mit anderen Worten: ein und dasselbe Thema wird verschiedentlich abgewandelt. Dieses Motiv kommt auch in Volksgebeten und Segenssprüchen vor. Ich zitiere wieder aus Hydes irischer Sammlung: »This is a very blessed prayer: Anyone who shall say this prayer every day, he shall obtain that much favour from God that *he shall see the Mother of God over against him before he dies . . .*«¹³² und ein anderes Mal: »There is no one would say the article of the Cregil Crua / Once and each time / *who shall not see Mary three times / Before his death.*«¹³³

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Unzählige Hinweise in den Rubriken beziehen sich auf das Fegefeuer und auf die Befreiung der Seelen daraus. Einerseits

findet man Anspielungen darauf, dass das Aufsagen gewisser Gebete die eigene Seele vor den Qualen des Fegefeuers rettet,¹³⁴ andererseits liest man phantastische Angaben über die Zahl der Seelen, die dadurch aus dem Fegefeuer erlöst werden können.¹³⁵ Manchmal wird in Aussicht gestellt, dass *alle* Verwandten und Familienmitglieder der Benutzer der Gebete an diesen Begünstigungen teilhaben werden. So wird z. B. erzählt, dass auch die hl. Birgitta von Schweden durch eines der mitgeteilten Gebete ihre Eltern aus dem Fegefeuer befreite.¹³⁶ Die Zahl der zu befreien Seelen ist einmal mit zwölf,¹³⁷ ein anderes Mal mit fünfzehn¹³⁸ angegeben. Dieses Motiv taucht auch in volkskundlichen Aufzeichnungen auf: »Welcher Mensch die heiligen sieben Himmelsriegel sieben Freitage nacheinander betet . . . so kann er eine arme Seele aus dem Fegefeuer erlösen.«¹³⁹ Dazu ein irisches Beispiel aus Hydes Sammlung: »Whoever would say this poem three times / There would be nine times nine safe out of Purgatory / And his own soul the last day . . .«¹⁴⁰ In den dänischen Rubriken sowie auch in späteren volkskundlichen Texten wird das Versprechen so formuliert, dass der Benutzer nie die Hölle sehen werde¹⁴¹ oder dass sich ihm das Tor des Himmels öffnen werde.¹⁴²

Viel überraschender wirkt jedoch die Behauptung verschiedener dänischer Überschriften, dass das Rezitieren der Gebete die Seelen auch aus der Verdammnis retten kann, wie z. B. »fæm aff hans slæcht som ær i fordømlestaaθ skullæ omwændes oc vorde gutz børn oc hymmerigis arfuinge . . .«¹⁴³ (Manchmal wird dies dem Beter selber in Aussicht gestellt.)¹⁴⁴ Diese Behauptung ist desto überraschender, da es im Mittelalter als eine fast allgemeine Regel galt, dass man für Verdammte nicht beten darf. Ein Beispiel dafür findet sich in der schon erwähnten Sammlung '*Sjælens Trost*': die Erzählung vom Sohne eines Wucherers, welcher Mönch geworden ist. Der Mönch erhält durch den hl. Bernhard von Clairvaux eine himmlische Warnung, dass er aufhören soll, für seinen verstorbenen Vater zu beten, da der Vater verdammt wurde.¹⁴⁵ Eine grosse Ausnahme bildete der Papst Gregor der Grosse, dem (nach der Legende) gegönnt wurde, die Seele des verstorbenen Kaisers Trajan ausnahmsweise von der Hölle zu erlösen. Er musste jedoch dafür mit seiner Gesundheit zahlen.¹⁴⁶

». . . then fyrste nadæær, ath huo som seer alle daue hinnae
billedede och hinne hellige slekte, then vordær lyksaligh bode til
siel och liff meth alle sine slektae . . .«¹⁴⁷ heisst es in einer Rubrik
über die hl. Anna. Jørgensen berichtet eingehender von den
Hauptzügen des mittelalterlich-dänischen Bildkultes,¹⁴⁸ hier han-
delt es sich aber um etwas Merkwürdiges und Besonderes, da
sich die Formulierung der Rubrik deutlich dem wohlbekannten
Aberglauben nähert, den man mit den Christophorus-Bildern
trieb. Im Spätmittelalter hat sich der Glaube immer mehr ver-
breitet, dass der Anblick der Christophorus-Bilder vor jähem
Tod schützt.¹⁴⁹ Hier verspricht man sich Glückseligkeit durchs
tägliche Anblicken der St.-Annens-Bilder (aus dem Text erhellt,
dass es sich um sogenannte Dreierbilder: Anna und Maria mit
dem Jesuskind handelt).

*

Die Überschriften (Rubriken) der St.-Annens-Gebete enthalten
auch sonst manche beachtenswerten Züge; es wird behauptet,
dass diese Gebete auch kreißenden Frauen helfen: »oc huilkken
qwinnae meth barn ær / tha skal hwn gærne thette gjoræ tha
frælses hwn . . . Oc hwn skal lade brennae eth vogkss lywss een
handh langt vor herris ihesu christi føtzsell / oc then hellige
iomfru maria hennes føtzsell oc alle theris hellighe slæcht til
loff hedher oc æræ . . .«¹⁵⁰ In diesen Sätzen glaube ich die Über-
reste und Trümmer von weitbekannten Segenssprüchen entdeckt
zu haben. In einem französischen Segen lesen wir nämlich:
»Sainte Anne, qui enfanta la Vierge qui enfanta Jésus-Christ . . .«¹⁵¹
Dazu gesellt sich die noch besser bekannte lateinische Formel:
»De viro virgo, de virgine vir. Elizabeth peperit sanctum Joha-
nem, Anna peperit sanctam Mariam, Maria peperit Salvatorem
mundi . . .«¹⁵² Zum obigen dänischen Text gesellt sich noch eine
andere Rubrik, die sich ebenfalls an die St.-Annens-Segen (Zau-
bersprüche) anschliessen dürfte: »Item tagh sex lywss then an-
nen dagh næst effter allæ vor frue dage / eth aar omkringh / oc
offræ for sancte anne billædhe ii lywss i henne hedher forthi ath
hwn var moder oc oldæmoder / offræ iomfru maria ii lywss /
forthi ath hwn værdugh var til ath vare iomfru oc moder / offræ
vor herre ii liwss / thi ath han ær gudh oc menniske«¹⁵³. Die
Verwandtschaft dieser Stellen mit den Segenssprüchen ist nicht

ganz deutlich, doch kann man spüren, wie der Hintergrund (= die Segenssprüche) in der geänderten Formulierung durchschimmert und nachwirkt.

*

Zwar kann ich die direkte Verbindung zwischen den folgenden Stellen nicht eindeutig beweisen, doch sind es wenigstens interessante Parallelen: »Item hwo som thenne effterscreffne bøn læss hwer dagh i vor herris ihesu christi pynes amynnelse / tha gaff innocencius pawe hanum so mange dage til afflat som santzkorn ære på hafsns bwtn . . .« sagt der dänische Text.¹⁵⁴ In einem irischen Segen steht dagegen: »May not more numerous be / The grains of sand by the sea, / . . . than the blessings upon thy soul / And the souls of the dead with thee . . .«¹⁵⁵

*

Die dänischen Texte verlangen, dass man diese Gebete »andachtsvoll«, »andächtig«, »mit Achtung«, »gern« liest: »gudelige læss«¹⁵⁶, »meth gudelighetz atwokt«,¹⁵⁷ »læss athvoetlige,«¹⁵⁸ »meth stor gudelighet och meth iet ødmyg hiærte . . .«,¹⁵⁹ »myghet giærne læse«¹⁶⁰ usw. Es wäre aber falsch, diese Ausdrucksweise allein der andächtig-religiösen Stimmung der Schreiber zuzuschreiben, da man solche Ausdrücke auch in den Anweisungen zum Gebrauch von Zaubersprüchen reichlich findet; hier ein schottisches Beispiel: »It was necessary that the man around whom the charm should go should have a *right heart and good thoughts and a clean spirit . . .*«¹⁶¹

*

Die Rubriken schreiben an verschiedenen Stellen der dänischen Gebetbücher vor, dass man so und so viele Pater Noster und Ave Maria mit den Gebeten zusammen aufsagt. Die Zahl der zu verrichtenden Pater und Ave variiert stark,¹⁶² man findet gelegentlich in den Anweisungen zehn, dreissig usw. angegeben. Scheinbar haben diese Stellen keine Bedeutung für uns, in Wirklichkeit kann man aber die Spuren einer ähnlichen Tradition in den Zauber- und Segenssprüchen entdecken. Die Nebeneinanderstellung der volkstümlichen Varianten und der

Beispiele aus den dänischen Rubriken gibt uns eine Erklärung für gewisse, bisher ziemlich unverständliche Stellen der Zauber- und Segenssprüche.

Vor allem einige einfache Beispiele aus Zauber- und Segenssprüchen: »Dites trois Pater et trois Ave pendant neuf jours...«,¹⁶³ »Sprich 3 pater noster, 3 ave maria« (Schwertsegen);¹⁶⁴ »Sprich 5 pater noster vnd 5 ave Maria vnserem herren seinen 5 wunden«;¹⁶⁵ »A Pater, Ave and Creed and to repeat the oration three times over the sick person«;¹⁶⁶ »... og læs 3: Gange Fader Vor ...«¹⁶⁷ usw.¹⁶⁸ In diesen Fällen ist der Zusammenhang ziemlich eindeutig. Nicht so in den folgenden Stellen, wo die Text-Ausschnitte nicht zu den beigegebenen Anweisungen, sondern zum eigentlichen Text der Zauber- und Segenssprüche gehören: »Three Paters, three Ave Marias and a Creed / For the Souls of the Dead«,¹⁶⁹ oder in den folgenden, noch kennzeichnenderen Fällen:

Sain of the seven paters, one,
 Sain of the seven paters, two,
 Sain of the seven paters, three,
 Sain of the seven paters, four,
 Sain of the seven paters, five,
 Sain of the seven paters, six,
 Sain of the seven paters, seven,
 Upon thee now . . .«,¹⁷⁰

und in einem Zauberspruch gegen den bösen Blick:

Rosary one,
 Rosary two,
 Rosary three,
 Rosary four,
 Rosary five,
 Rosary six,
 Rosary seven,
 Rosary eight,
 Rosary nine,
 The nine rosaries kindly
 Through the Holy Three
 To lift from thee each illness,
 Each blindness, each affliction . . .«¹⁷¹

Ich weiss, dass man hier eventuell einwenden kann, diese Aufzählung könne auch aus der bekannten Formel der Zaubersprüche abgeleitet werden, die man »Rückwärts-Zählen« (Tællefomler = Counting Formulae¹⁷²) nennt. Dies wäre aber unrichtig. Im Gegenteil, die einzige verständliche Erklärung solcher Stellen der Zaubersprüche (wie »Rosary one«, oder »Pater Mary one«, »Pater one« usw.) ist ihre Ableitung aus den traditionell gewordenen Anweisungen zu mittelalterlichen Gebeten, wobei wir beobachten können, dass die erstarren Wendungen »Rosary one« usw. an die Stelle des tatsächlichen Rezitierens der betreffenden Gebete getreten sind.

Auf eine detaillierte Betrachtung der Berührungs punkte und Parallelerscheinungen der dänischen Textstellen und der Zaubersprüche müssen wir leider verzichten. Abschliessend möchte ich nur noch darauf hinweisen, dass der Glaube ans Dämonische in den dänischen Texten sehr stark in den Vordergrund tritt, was mit dem gesteigerten Volksglauben des Spätmittelalters wiederum völlig zusammenstimmt.¹⁷³ Dass dieser Geist den immer mehr um sich greifenden Hexenprozessen eine reichliche Nahrung bieten musste, liegt auf der Hand. . .

*

(5) Unter den Rubriken findet man auch den folgenden, gelegentlich variierten Text:

»Thennæ for skreffnæ bøn diktæ och skreff een hiedærlich paffuæ i rom som hiedæ Sanctus leo och sændæ hinnæ til sin brodær karl magnus konningh i franckæ rigi och lodh sighæ hanom so, ath huær som bær hanom skreffwæn paa sigh hellær hoor læsæ hellær seer for sigh hellær sielff læs, then dagh skal han ey drognæ, ey brennæ, ey dræbæs, och huerkæ menniskæn hellær diaefflin maa hanom skadhæ giordh til liiff hellær siæl, och ther til haffuær han stort afflath, och huær tid man læs, skal han meth sin handh gjøræ thet helligæ kors tegæn for sigh, so offlæ som han thet helligæ kors ther vdi næffnær . . .«¹⁷⁴

Andere Varianten nennen den Sender »sanctus leo« und den Empfänger des Gebetes« sin brodær keysær karl . . .«

Dieser Text bietet uns auf den ersten Blick nur wenig Neues. Die darin enthaltenen Elemente sind wesentlich die folgenden:

(1) Ein Heiliger (Papst) machte dieses Gebet; (2) der Benutzer des Gebets kann allen Gefahren entkommen; (3) dabei wird er vieler Ablässe teilhaftig. (4) Er muss den Text lesen (lesen hören) und (5) geschrieben bei sich haben.

Dass es sich um einen gewöhnlichen »Schutzbrevier« handelt und dass der Text keinen historischen Hintergrund hat, steht schon beim ersten Blick ausser Zweifel. Trotzdem ist es interessant, dass der Text sich auf den Papst Leo III. (795–816)¹⁷⁵ und Karl den Grossen bezieht. Ein anderer Papst und ein anderer Kaiser können schon aus chronologischen Gründen nicht in Betracht kommen. (Die dänischen Texte stammen vom Ende des 15. oder vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts.)

Man brauchte dieser Stelle keine grössere Bedeutung zuzuschreiben als den übrigen, wenn dieses Gebet nicht zu einem Ruf gekommen wäre und man seinen Weg nicht bis in unsere Zeit weiterverfolgen könnte. Doch erwähnt Peuckert es unter den bis zum heutigen Tag noch verwendeten Himmels- und Schutzbrevieren: »Wenn da vom St. Georgsgebet, Christophel-, Colomansgebet oder -brief, vom Leogebet, oder Papst Leonis Segen ... die Rede ist, so weisen solche Gebete schon zu den schriftlich fixierten, die als Schutz- und Himmelsbriefe erscheinen und noch heute in Geltung sind, und von denen es heisst, dass man früh vor Sonnenaufgang in Gottes freier Natur niederknien und den Brief abbeten muss . . .«¹⁷⁶

Stübe beschreibt diesen Schutzbrevier als »Karl-Segen«.¹⁷⁷ Nach seinen Angaben tritt dieser 'Segen' als selbständiges Stück in mittelalterlichen Zauberbüchern auf. Nicht immer wird der Text dem Papst Leo zugeschrieben: »Die späteren Ausgaben meinen statt Leo magnus (440–461) Leo III. (795–816), wie aus dem Titel 'Enchiridion Leonis Papae serenissimo imperatori Carolo Magno' hervorgeht, bzw. Leo X. (1515 bis 1521) oder Urban VIII. (1623 bis 1644).«¹⁷⁸ Dieser Segen kommt in neuerer Zeit unter dem Namen »Geistlicher Schild« vor, und man findet ihn auch in späteren Gebetbüchern, wie z. B. im Schildwachtbüchlein usw.¹⁷⁹

Es ist keineswegs unsere Aufgabe, die Entwicklungsetappen dieses 'Schutzbreviers' genauer zu untersuchen. Man kann aber nicht verschweigen, dass er einmal auch *in der Schweizer Geschichte* berüchtigt geworden ist. Damit ist die »Escalade« von

Genf 1602 gemeint, worüber ein längerer Bericht im »Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde¹⁸⁰ vorliegt. Es erübrigt sich, die dortigen Ausführungen nochmals zu wiederholen, ich will in diesem Zusammenhang nur auf zwei Einzelheiten hinweisen: der Umstand, dass ein solcher Schutzbefehl 1602 noch unter den an der 'Escalade' teilnehmenden Soldaten massenhaft mit Erfolg verteilt werden konnte, zeigt, dass das 'Leogebet' damals seine Volksbüttlichkeit noch nicht eingebüßt hatte und dass es eine vielseitige Karriere durchlief, indem es aus mittelalterlichen Zauberbüchern in mittelalterliche dänische Klosterhandschriften und in Privatgebetbücher gelangte, von dort aus in die Hand der Genf bestürmenden Savoyarden kam und in späteren 'Schildwachtbüchlein' und anderswo bis heute weiterlebt. Ausserdem möchte ich die Übereinstimmung des dänischen Textes mit demjenigen in den Taschen der Savoyarden durch eine einfache Nebeneinanderstellung der zwei Texte zeigen:

Dänischer Text:¹⁸¹

Wors herræ ihesu christi kors
vær meth mik, ihesu christi
kors ær thet tegen som iec til be-
dær, ihesu christi kors ær sand
hielsen, ihesu christi kors ouer
gaard alle suerde, ihesu christi
kors losaer døtzens bandh, ihesu
christi kors ær ieth stadæ-
ligh vaben, ihesu christi kors
ær ieth vitterligh tegen, ihesu
christi kors verie myn siæl och
myn liiff, ihesu christi kors
væræ mynveyæ ledær til alle
dygdæ, ihesu christi kors vt
tyder alt got, ihesu christi
[kors] tagæ fra mik alt vnt,
ihesu christi kors tagæ fra mik
ewinneligh pine, ihesu christi
kors hiele mik och være i dagh
for mik och ower mik och æff-
ter mik, saa ath v vennen dieff-

'Billets' der Savoyarden:¹⁸²

Christus mecum. Istam crucem semper adoro, Crux certa salus mea, Crux dividit gladios. Crux solvit vincula. Crux est in me. Crux est in anima mea. Crux est immobile signum. Crux est via, veritas et vita. Per crucem intrat divina virtus. Crux Christi fundit omne bonum. Crux Christi aufert omne malum. Crux Christi aufert poenam mortis. Crux Christi dat vitam aeternam. Crux Christi divina salva me. Quam super me et ante me gero quum antiquus inimicus ab homine in quo te videt fugit . . .

welen flyær fraa mik, ther han
seer mik i vors herræ ihesu
christi naffn; ihesus nazarenus
iødae kongæ velsigne mik, ihe-
sus han verie mik, gud han
vændæ fra mik alt vnt, i naffn
gud fader och sön och then
helligand. Amen.

Der dänische Text ist zwar etwas länger, doch stimmen beide miteinander wesentlich überein.

*

Es gibt aber noch ein zweites Gebet in den dänischen Gebetbüchern, das ebenfalls unter dem Namen des Papstes Leo verzeichnet ist. Ich werde wieder die entsprechenden Rubriken zitieren: Zuerst kommt darin eine Berufung auf die Ablass-Spendung des Papstes Benedikt XII., und dann lesen wir: »Item til thinne æffter skreffne bøn som var antwordhet then hellige paue sancte leo aff ængelsens handh, then tid han saude messe for sin broders siel keysær karl gjorde ien dødæligh synde, huilken han torde ey skrifte, then same leo paue gaff oc allæ huer, sa thit som the les thinne bøn i vors herræ ihesu christi pines amynnelsæ i messen meth gudelig atwokt, try M ars afflat, so somær iet M for dødelig synder oc iet M for nadligh synder oc M ar for synde bedring som for glomdeær i satte boden, hwilke for neffnd afflat skal blifue varig til ewig tidh. Amen.«¹⁸³ Das darauffolgende Gebet ist vom oben zitierten völlig verschieden. Mich interessiert vor allem die obige Einleitung (Rubrik), worin wir folgende Einzelheiten entdecken können: (1) Das Gebet wird auch diesmal mit dem Papst Leo und seinem Bruder Kaiser Karl in Beziehung gebracht. (Kein Zweifel besteht darüber, dass es sich wieder um Leo III. und Karl den Grossen handelt.) (2) Dabei wird erzählt, dass das Gebet von einem Engel dem Papst überantwortet wurde, (3) und zwar während einer Messe für das Seelenheil seines Bruders, der versäumte, eine Todsünde zu beichten. (4) Verschiedene Ablässe sind mit dem Gebet verbunden.

Ohne Zweifel ist diese Darstellung eine Sonderform der oben schon besprochenen Rubrik, die das (erste) Leo-Gebet betrifft.

Die zwei Gebettexte haben jedoch nichts miteinander zu tun. Man darf also annehmen, dass das zweite Gebet von ganz anderer Herkunft ist als das erste. (Darüber noch später).

*

(6) Schon die Untersuchung eines lateinischen Gebetbuches englischer Herkunft führte mich zu der Erkenntnis,¹⁸⁴ dass die dem hl. Gregor zugeschriebenen oder mit ihm verschiedentlich in Verbindung gebrachten Gebete ein interessantes und beachtenswertes Problem darstellen. Diese Auffassung wird nach der gründlichen Durchstudierung der dänischen Gebetbücher noch weiter verstärkt: man entdeckt nämlich in ihnen eine ziemlich grosse Anzahl von Beziehungen zu Papst Gregor.¹⁸⁵ Eine eingehende Untersuchung dieser Stellen ist leider hier unmöglich. Ich greife aber einen Abschnitt aus den Rubriken heraus: »Item til tesse effterscreffne bønerær gifuet xx M aar afflat / oc xxiiii aar och xxiii dage / oc the skullæ læsis for then figura som christus teedæ sigh sancto Gregorio i rom i helli kors kyrkæ i then cappell som kallis iherusalem.¹⁸⁶ Diese Textvariante ist unvollständig: *der ursprüngliche Text* enthält einen Hinweis darauf, dass *der Papst Gregor eine Messe las*, als ihm eine Vision der Leiden Christi zuteil wurde, wie auch aus einem Paralleltext erhelljt: »ther han saude ther messe« bzw. aus einem anderen: »(T)hen tidh sanctus gregorius pawæ i rom sadhe mæssæ innen en cappellæ . . .¹⁸⁷

Hier haben wir also die folgenden Momente: (1) Papst Gregor zelebriert eine Messe, (2) hat eine Vision der Leiden Christi, (3) welche auch in den darauffolgenden Gebeten gefeiert wurden, (4) er knüpft verschiedene Ablässe an sie, (5) und andere Päpste, Bischöfe usw. folgen seinem Beispiel. Anschliessend findet man auch eine Anspielung auf Papst Sixtus und den dänischen König Christian I.

Ein Gregor-Gebet wird unter anderem von Dom Wilmart¹⁸⁸ in Zusammenhang mit dem Bury-Psalterium erwähnt, und Paulus macht in seinem Buche verschiedene Angaben über die Gregor-Ablässe zugänglich: »Sowohl in Einblattdrucken, als in Gebetbüchern begegnet man häufig den sogenannten Gregorius-Ablässen, die Gregor der Grosse und andere Päpste für Gebete vor

einem Bilde des leidenden Heilands erteilt haben sollen. Bezuglich der zu verrichtenden Gebete weichen die Angaben von einander stark ab... Diesen Gebeten hätten spätere Päpste andere beigefügt... Spätere Päpste, die neue Gebete beifügten, hätten den vor ihnen bewilligten Ablass stets verdoppelt... Gregor dem Grossen wird auch ein Gebet zu den fünf Wunden Christi zugeschrieben.«¹⁸⁹

Wie kommt aber der hl. Gregor der Grosse zu dieser zweifelhaften Ehre? Und wie lässt sich seine Popularität im Spiegel der modernen Volkskundeforschung erkennen?

Die Beantwortung der ersten Frage ist äusserst schwer, denn sie würde eine monographische Untersuchung der mittelalterlichen Gregorius-Überlieferungen voraussetzen, die ich hier natürlich nicht durchführen kann. Ich kann deshalb nur einige erklärende Worte hinzufügen.

Man darf vor allem nicht vergessen, dass die Erinnerung an den hl. Gregor den Grossen im Mittelalter vielfach wachgehalten wurde. Dazu trugen seine Werke, nicht zuletzt seine »Dialoge« wesentlich bei. Daneben brachte man seinen Namen mit der Liturgie- und Kirchengesangreform ('dem gregorianischen Gesang') in Verbindung. Es waren aber zwei Legenden bei der Popularisierung seines Namens *vor allem* ausschlaggebend, wenigstens m. E.: einerseits die Legende von der Befreiung der Seele des Kaisers Trajan (siehe oben), andererseits die Erzählung von der Stiftung der Institution der »gregorianischen Messe«.¹⁹⁰ Die zweite Erzählung steht in ihren wesentlichen Grundzügen schon in den Werken Gregors, und sie wurde später noch weitergebildet.¹⁹¹ Jacoby fasst den Hintergrund dieses kirchlich-volkstümlichen Brauches (30 Seelenmessen) folgendermassen zusammen: »Die gregorianische Messe geht zurück auf eine Erzählung Gregors des Grossen, wonach der Papst, um die Seele des verstorbenen Bruders Justus, dessen Leiche auf seinen Befehl wegen Übertretung des Gebotes der Armut (man fand bei ihm drei Goldstücke) in eine Mistgrube geworfen worden war, aus dem Fegfeuer zu erlösen, 30 Tage nach dem Tode des Justus dem Prior des Klosters Auftrag gab, 30 Messen an den folgenden 30 Tagen für den Toten zu lesen. Nach dieser Frist erschien der Verstorbene zur Nachtzeit seinem Bruder im Kloster und sagte ihm, dass er von seinen Qualen erlöst sei...«¹⁹² Dieser Brauch

wurde dann nachgeahmt, fortgesetzt und mit allerlei abergläubischen Elementen ergänzt. Wichtig ist auch, dass die Überlieferung dem Altar des hl. Gregor (in der Kirche auf dem Mons Celius), auf welchem Gregor selbst Messen für Verstorbene zelebriert hatte, eine besondere Kraft zuschrieb.¹⁹³ Ein weiterer Schritt vorwärts war es, als alle »gregorianischen Altäre« besondere Privilegien erhielten. Unter solchen Umständen ist es kein Wunder, dass der Volksglaube den dem Papst Gregor zugeschriebenen (oder von ihm angeblich mit Ablässen versehenen) Gebeten ebenso wie »der gregorianischen Messe« und seinem Altare eine besondere Kraft zuschrieb und dass man diese Gebete eifrig kopierte und unendlich variierte.

Wie reagiert aber die spätere Volksüberlieferung auf all dieses? Wie aus den Angaben des 'Handwörterbuchs des deutschen Aberglaubens' und anderer Quellen hervorgeht, knüpfen sich zahlreiche Traditionen an den Tag und an die Person Gregors des Grossen.¹⁹⁴ Wichtiger ist jedoch für uns, dass ein Gregorius-Segen gegen Mäuse und Ratten überall in den nordischen Ländern gebraucht wurde,¹⁹⁵ dass die Volksüberlieferung ein anderes Gregorius-Gebet bewahrt, worüber sich Jacoby folgendermassen äussert: »Ein Gebet, ähnlich dem Christophorus- und dem Veronicagebet, bestimmt zum Schatzgraben. Schon im Anfang des 18. Jhs. weithin bekannt, entstammt es wohl dem vorhergehenden Jh.«¹⁹⁶

Ich möchte hier nur noch kurz darauf hinweisen, dass der Umstand, dass die nordischen Ratten-Segen des Gregor mit Gregorius Turonensis in Verbindung gebracht werden können, nicht gegen ihre indirekte Beziehung zu den mittelalterlichen Gregorius-Gebeten und Gregorius-Ablässen spricht. Wer die Haltung und Einstellung des Volkes kennt, weiss, dass das Volk selten die gleichnamigen Heiligen (und Helden) voneinander unterscheidet: »Nie wird man vom Volk verlangen können, dass es Personen gleichen Namens unterscheide. Die grossen Männer sind so selten! Wie klein ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass es zwei desselben Namens gebe . . .«¹⁹⁷ sagt ein ausgezeichneter Kenner des Legendenstoffes, H. Delehaye.

Die Gregorius-Traditionen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit sind in volkskundlicher Hinsicht ziemlich unerforscht, doch kann man aus den obigen dürftigen Angaben ersehen, dass das üppige

Gewächs dieser mittelalterlichen Gregorius-Gebete (u. dgl.) verschiedentlich beim Volke in Segens- (Zauber-) Sprüchen und Volksgebeten weiterlebte.

*

Und nun zurück zum zweiten Leo-Gebet, wo die Rubrik auf die vom Papst Leo für das Seelenheil seines Bruders zelebrierte Messe Bezug nimmt.

Nach dem oben Gesagten ist die Herkunft dieser Darstellung der Rubrik ganz klar: sie ist nichts anderes als ein Widerhall der Überlieferung von der »gregorianischen Messe«, übertragen auf den Papst Leo. Sie ist also die Kontamination zweier Reminiszenzen: der Einleitung des ursprünglichen Leo-Gebets mit dem Kaiser Karl-Motiv einerseits und der Legende der gregorianischen Messe bzw. ihrer weitergebildeten Form, der Gregorius-Vision der Gebetbücher, zusammen mit den Gregorius-Ablässen, andererseits. Dieser Umstand erklärt also die Verschiedenheit der Leo-Tradition in den dänischen Gebetbüchern.

*

Abschliessend können wir noch feststellen, dass der Geist, der in diesen dänischen Gebetbüchern zum Ausdruck kommt, in Dänemark und in den skandinavischen Ländern nicht schnell ausstarb. Wir wissen, dass sogenannte »katholische Gebete« unter dem Volke noch lange weiterlebten. Ein kräftiger Beweis für das Weiterleben und die Weiterentwicklung des mittelalterlichen Volksaberglaubens an die Wunderwirkung solcher Gebete (wie auch die oben besprochenen dänischen Texte) ist die reiche Ernte der Zauber- und Segenssprüche, die vielfache Variierung und Anwendung des Cyprianus-Gebetes (u. dgl.) in den skandinavischen Ländern und in Nord-Europa überhaupt. Man kann natürlich das oben untersuchte Material der dänischen Gebetbücher nicht ganz von der gesamteuropäischen Tradition trennen, *und die Wichtigkeit der dänischen Textausgabe liegt eben darin, dass eine wichtige Schicht von Quellenmaterial dadurch zugänglich gemacht wurde.*

Wie schon einleitend angedeutet, ist die endgültige Auswertung dieses Materials keineswegs unsere Aufgabe. Zurück-

blickend können wir nochmals konstatieren, dass liturgische und halbliturgische Gebete sowie magisch-abergläubische Schutz- und Himmelsbriefe in diesen Gebetbüchern nebeneinanderstehen. Dies ist aber nicht überraschend, da wir wissen, dass der abergläubische Geist des Mittelalters überall Eingang gefunden hatte und dass Geistliche nicht wenig fürs Weiterbilden und Bewahren solcher halbkirchlichen und halbzauberspruchartigen Gebete verantwortlich waren.

Eines ist jedenfalls auffallend: die weitgehende Spezialisierung der Heiligenverehrung des Spätmittelalters tritt in diesen Gebeten gewissermassen in den Hintergrund. Zwar beobachtet man hier eine betonte Hinwendung zu den vierzehn (bzw. fünfzehn) Nothelfern und zu volkstümlichen Patronen, doch kommen die Einzelfunktionen dieser Heiligen nicht ausgeprägt zu Wort. Dagegen springt der Drang nach Häufung und Steigerung ins Auge: Einzelnen Gebeten werden vielfache, verschiedenartige Funktionen und eine allgemeine Zauberkraft zugemutet: sie werden in den Rubriken als allgemeine, vielseitige Schutzmittel hingestellt.

Die Mischung des Religiösen mit dem Magisch-Zauberkräftigen ist keineswegs ein gutes Zeugnis für den Zeitgeist des ausgehenden Mittelalters. Der Zauberglaube, der sich in diesen Gebetbüchern ausdrückt, ist klar erkennbar und niemand kann seine Existenz leugnen. Eine Einschränkung muss hier jedoch gemacht werden: man findet zwar Abwehrzauber in diesen Texten, nie aber die Absicht, Schadenzauber auszuüben. Soweit kommt doch ein gewisser Ausgleich zwischen Religion und Aberglauben in diesen Texten zustande.

Wenn man die allgemeine Grundhaltung der damaligen Menschen aus diesen Texten ableSEN will, sieht man darin Leichtgläubigkeit, innere Unsicherheit und Furcht. Furcht vor Krankheiten, Feinden und dämonischen Einwirkungen kennzeichnet den Inhalt nicht nur dieser dänischen Gebetbücher, sondern auch die allgemeine Stimmung des ausgehenden Mittelalters, und man findet ihren Niederschlag sowohl im Gebetbuch für den Fürsten Jean sans Peur als auch im Christophorus-Hymnus des Wiener Schottenklosters und anderswo. Besonders zwei Momente sind hier in den dänischen Texten zu beachten: die Furcht vor Dämonen und die Angst vor 'jähem Tod', der

auch im abergläubischen Christophorus-Kult des Spätmittelalters eine wichtige Rolle spielte.

Damit kommt unsere kurze und unvollständige Untersuchung zum Abschluß. Wir betrachteten die von Nielsen herausgegebenen dänischen Texte vom Gesichtspunkt der Volkskunde aus, und wir sind in unserer Erwartung nicht enttäuscht: in der kirchlich-religiösen Einkleidung der Texte stecken viele Erscheinungen, die einerseits sichtlich und direkt mit Volksglauben und Aberglauen verbunden sind, andererseits Dinge, die als Parallelerscheinungen zu wohlbekannten Momenten in Zauber- und Segenssprüchen in Betracht kommen.

Eine gründlichere und allgemeine, systematische Untersuchung des zur Verfügung stehenden Gesamtmaterials auf diesem Gebiet wird vielfach unseren flüchtigen Überblick noch vertiefen und noch interessantere Momente zutage fördern können. Diese Arbeit ist nur ein sehr kleiner Schritt vorwärts.

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Noten.

¹ K. M. NIELSEN, *Middelalderens danske Bonnebøger*, I—II (Med Indledning af ALFRED OTTO S. J.) København, 1945—1949 (udgivet af Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab). Band III. ist nach dem Abschluß dieser Arbeit erschienen.

² Über Heiligenverehrung in Dänemark vgl.: ELLEN JØRGENSEN, *Helgen-dyrkelse i Danmark*, København, 1909.

³ Vgl. NIKOLAUS PAULUS, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, I—III, Paderborn, 1922—1923 und FRANZ BERNINGER und P. A. STEINEN, *Die Ablässe, ihr Wesen und Gebrauch*, Paderborn, 1921, I—II.

⁴ Die wichtigsten unten zitierten Werke sind: F. OHRT, *Trylleord, Fremmede og danske*, København, 1922 (Danmarks Folkeminder Nr. 25), KAARLE KROHN, *Suomalaisen Runojen Uskonto*, Helsingissä, 1915; *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, hrsg. G. M. DREVES und CL. BLUME, Leipzig, 1886—1922 (55 Bde); E. T. KRISTENSEN, *Danske Sagn*, København, (zwei Serien); A. CARMICHAEL, *Carmina Gadelica*, Edinburgh, 1900—1954 5 Bde; E. FRANDSEN, *Mariaviserne — Den lyriske Madonnadigtning fra Danmarks Middelalder*, København, 1926; DOUGLAS HYDE, *The Religious Songs of Connacht*, London-Dublin, o. J. (1905/1906) I—II; ALOIS JOHN, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen*, Prag, 1905. Auf weitere Literaturangaben über Segens- und Zaubersprüche usw. muss ich leider hier verzichten.

⁵ TOR IRSTAM, *The King of Garda, — Studies in the Institutions of Sacral Kingship in Africa*, Lund, 1944.

- ⁶ M. BLOCH, *Les rois thaumaturges*, Strasbourg, 1924. J. G. FRAZER, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, London, 1919—1920 (*The Golden Bough I—II*) passim.
- ⁷ A. FRANZ, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen des Mittelalters*, Freiburg i. Br., 1909, II, 450—459.
- ⁸ Vgl. z. B. NIELSEN, II, 318, 33, 30, 23, 250, 297, 40, 45, 133—135, 139—141, 164, 166, 188, 208, 221, 232, I, 240—241, 331, 300, 293, 281—282, 215—216, 144, 141—142, 128, 127, 86, 82 usw.; siehe Einzelheiten unten.
- ⁹ NIELSEN, II, 297.
- ¹⁰ NIELSEN, II, 232 (Nr. 283) vgl. I, 99 (Nr. 22).
- ¹¹ NIELSEN, I, 90 und dazu PAULUS, II, 88—89 ‘Peccata oblita’.
- ¹² NIELSEN, II, 181—182.
- ¹³ NIELSEN, II, 45 f. Gelegentlich werden 5 Gnaden (Freuden) versprochen: NIELSEN, II, 77—78 (Nr. 207).
- ¹⁴ NIELSEN, II, 51 (Nr. 189).
- ¹⁵ NIELSEN, II, 133—134 (Nr. 240).
- ¹⁶ NIELSEN, II, 89 (Nr. 220).
- ¹⁷ II, 45 (Nr. 179) dazu noch: I, 128 (Nr. 37) und »tha ær thet iomfru maria saa tackælig som thu læste halff tridie sinne xx aue maria« NIELSEN, I, 127 (Nr. 36).
¹⁸ daselbst II, 45.
- ¹⁹ NIELSEN, II, 160 (Nr. 244). Dies ist eine internationale Erzählung mit deutschen und spanischen Varianten, unter anderem.
- ²⁰ NIELSEN, I, Forord.
- ²¹ NIELSEN, I, 232 (Nr. 88) usw. vgl. auch I, 99 ‘hwilken vey farinde man thinne bøn les, then dagh skal han ey hindres i sin vey aff noget vnt heller veder modh’.
- ²² F. OHRT, *Ausfahrtssegen* (Hwb. dtsc. Aberg. I, 726,) vgl. FRANZ II, 261—271, 268—269.
- ²³ H. HARMJANZ, *Volkskunde und Religionswissenschaft* (Alt-Preussen, Vierteljahrsschrift f. Vor- und Frühgeschichte, II, 1936, S. 3), JOHN, *Westböhmien*, S. 279—280.
- ²⁴ CARMICHAEL, III, 179, 181.
- ²⁵ daselbst, I, 321.
- ²⁶ NIELSEN, I, 75, vgl. I, 203, usw.
- ²⁷ Sean Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN, *Scéalta craibhtheacha*, Dublin, 1951—1952, S. 198—199 (Nr. 87).
- ²⁸ NIELSEN, I, 209.
- ²⁹ FRANZ, II, 49—74.
- ³⁰ NIELSEN, II, 297.
- ³¹ O. LOORITS, *Grundzüge des estnischen Volksglaubens*, Uppsala, 1949—1951 I—II, (Wirbelwind, I, 190—197).
- ³² Aufzeichnungen im Archiv der ‘Irish Folklore Commission’, Dublin.
- ³³ H. HARMJANZ, *Die deutschen Feuersegen und ihre Varianten in Nord- und Osteuropa*, Helsinki, 1932 (FFC 103). — F. OHRT, *Feuersegen*, (Hwb. dtsc. Aberg. II, 1434—1437).
- ³⁴ NIELSEN, II, 297, usw.
- ³⁵ NIELSEN, II, 30.
- ³⁶ NIELSEN, I, 126 (Nr. 31 g).
- ³⁷ NIELSEN, I, 283, (Nr. 111).
- ³⁸ vgl. NIELSEN, II, 27 usw.
- ³⁹ F. OHRT, *Danmarks Trylleformler*, København, 1917—1921, I, 364—82, II, 57—60.
- ⁴⁰ A. CHR. BANG, *Norske Hexeformularer, og magiske Opskrifter*, Kristiania, 1901—1902, S. 536 (Aus dem Jahre 1790).
- ⁴¹ Vgl. z. B. J. BOLTE, *Deutsche Segen des 16. Jhs* (ZfV, 1904, S. 437—438). BANG, S. 545, OHRT, *Danmarks Trylleformler*, I, 352—356.
- ⁴² F. OHRT, *Waffensegen* (Hwb. dtsc. Aberg. IX, 22—24). H. GALLANZ, *The Book of Protection, Being a Collection of Charms (Syrian MSS)* London,

1912, S. xxx, lxxxvi; vgl. auch OSKAR EBERMANN—MAX BARTELS, Zur Aberglaubensliste in Vintlers Pluemen der Tugent, I, (ZfV 1913, S. 15 mit Literatur); OHRT, Danmarks Trylleformler, I, 352—356, II, 56—57.

⁴³ NIELSEN, II, 36 (Nr. 174).

⁴⁴ NIELSEN, I, 233 (Nr. 88).

⁴⁵ OHRT, Waffensegen (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. IX, 22).

⁴⁶ FRANZ, II, 270—271, 289—300 (Schwertweihe: II, 291—295).

⁴⁷ G. L. KITTREDGE, Witchcraft in Old and New England, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, S. 53—54.

⁴⁸ W. E. PEUCKERT, Schlachttod und Verwundung, (Hwb. dsch. Abergl. IX, N. bes. 245—246). A. WUTTKE, Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart, Leipzig, 1925⁴ S. 178—179.

⁴⁹ NIELSEN, I, 232—233 (Nr. 88) vgl. dazu II, 297, 26, I, 99 f.

⁵⁰ NIELSEN, II, 297.

⁵¹ E. Frh. von KÜNSSBERG, Rechtliche Volkskunde, Halle a/S, 1936 S. 69—83 ‘Aberglaube’, Aberrecht usw.

⁵² OHRT, Danmarks Trylleformler, I, 377 (Nr. 863—865).

⁵³ CARMICHAEL, I, 52—59, IV, 145—147 (Invocation for Justice, Ora Ceartais). Vgl. dazu daselbst, I, 53, »On entering the court, and on looking round the room, the applicant for justice mentally, sometimes in an undertone said:

God sain the house,
From site to summit:
My word above every person,
The word of every person below my foot . . .«

⁵⁴ CARMICHAEL, I, 59, Gallanz, S. xxix, xxvii—xxviii.. lxxviii, usw.

⁵⁵ NIELSEN, II, 134.

⁵⁶ CARMICHAEL II, 29—33.

⁵⁷ OHRT, Krankheitssegen, (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. V, 378—381).

⁵⁸ FRANZ, II, 467—513 usw.

⁵⁹ NIELSEN, I, 233 usw. »owar sygt folk . . .«

⁶⁰ NIELSEN, I, 207 (Nr. 75).

⁶¹ FRANZ, I, 575—603; vgl. 264—278.

⁶² Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. Index (Bd. X) S. 234 usw. HEDWIG SCHOMMER, Die Heiligenminne als kirchlicher und volkstümlicher Brauch (Rhein. Jb. f. Vlk., V (1954) S. 184—231.) FRANZ, I, 296—334.

⁶³ NIELSEN, II, 36 (Nr. 174).

⁶⁴ F. OHRT, Gebärsegen (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. III, 344—346).

⁶⁵ A. JACOBY, Agathenzettel (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. I, 211—212).

⁶⁶ TIEMANN, schreiben, Schrift (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. IX N., 348).

⁶⁷ JOHN, Westböhmien, S. 304.

⁶⁸ RÜHLE, Gebetbuch (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. III, 369.).

⁶⁹ Vgl. J. S. MØLLER, Moder og Barn i dansk Folkeoverlevering, Kobenhavn, 1940 (Danmarks Folkeminder 48) 13—140.

⁷⁰ FRANZ, II, 189—213.

⁷¹ FRANZ, II, 198.

⁷² NIELSEN, I, 232 (vgl. I, 99—100, II, 297, I, 311 usw.) siehe unten.

⁷³ HÜNNERKOPF, Weihwasser (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. IX, 286—289), FRANZ, I, 43—220.

⁷⁴ OHRT, Krankheitssegen (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. V, 380—381); HÜNNERKOPF, Wasser (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. IX, 107—122) bes. 113—116; HYDE, II, 379 usw.; A. JACOBY, Zwei Diebssegen (Hessische Bl. f. Vlk., XXV, 1926, S. 204) aus dem Rituale von St. Florian: »aqua in uno uase sumpto et super nomina hunc psalmus canta«.

⁷⁵ JOHN, Westböhmien, S. 272. ECKSTEIN, Trinken (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. VIII, 1150—1165) bes. 1156; ders., Trank (daselbst, VIII, 1109—1117) usw.

⁷⁶ NIELSEN, I, 304.

⁷⁷ Vgl. W. E. PEUCKERT, festmachen (II) (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. II, 1353—1368).

- ⁷⁸ F. OHRT, Gamle danske Folkebonner, S. 33—39 mit Hinweisen auf ausländische Seitenstücke. (*'Hvad Bonnen virker'*).
- ⁷⁹ HYDE, I, 367.
- ⁸⁰ CARMICHAEL, III, 157—159, vgl. III, 161—163.
- ⁸¹ NIELSEN, I, 77, 82, 86, 135, 144—145, usw.
- ⁸² NIELSEN, I, 75 (Nr. 1), vgl. I, 99—100.
- ⁸³ Vgl. OHRT, Trylleord (1922) S. 27, JOHN, Westböhmien, 279, TIEMANN, schreiben (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. IX, N, 350), A. JACOBY, Abgarbrief (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. IX, N, 1.) KITTREDGE, S. 389—393, 396, 453, FRANZ, II, 420—438, WUTTKE, S. 178—181.
- ⁸⁴ P. SAINTYVES, Les reliques et les images légendaires, Paris, 1912, bes. 312—315. A. DIETRICH, Kleine Schriften, Berlin, 1911, S. 234—242; STÜBE, Himmelsbrief, (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. IV, 21—27), ders., Schutzbrev (daselbst VII, 1384—86). Cl. BRUNEL, Versions espagnole, provençale et française de la Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel (Analecta Bollandiana, LXVIII, 1950, S. 383—396.); ders., Nouvelle version provençale de la lettre du Christ tombée du ciel (daselbst, LXIX, 1951, 55—56). H. FEILBERG, Bidrag til en Ordbog over jyske Almuesmål, Kjøbenhavn, 1886—, I, 609.; WUTTKE, S. 178—181, A. SPAMER, Deutsche Volkskunde, Leipzig-Berlin, 1935² II, 2—5.
- ⁸⁵ Vgl. PEUCKERT, festmachen (II) Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. II, 1364—1365).
- ⁸⁶ JOHN, Westböhmien, S. 305, KÜNNSBERG, Rechtliche Volkskunde, S. 74, STÜBE, Philipp v. Flandern, (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. VII, 11).
- ⁸⁷ JOHN, Westböhmien, S. 296.
- ⁸⁸ JOHN, Westböhmien, S. 304.
- ⁸⁹ Ein lateinischer Spruch f. Liebeszauber aus Norvegen: BANG, S. 570. (von 1520).
- ⁹⁰ JOHN, Westböhmien, S. 296.
- ⁹¹ WUTTKE, S. 178—179.
- ⁹² NIELSEN, II, 38.
- ⁹³ z. B. NIELSEN, II, 40, 188.
- ⁹⁴ NIELSEN, I, 117 (Nr. 28).
- ⁹⁵ NIELSEN, II, 42—43.
- ⁹⁶ NIELSEN, II, 160.
- ⁹⁷ NIELSEN, II, 308 (ausführlicher II, 200 usw.).
- ⁹⁸ daselbst, II, 139—141.
- ⁹⁹ NIELSEN, II, 30.
- ¹⁰⁰ NIELSEN, II, 135.
- ¹⁰¹ NIELSEN, I, 209; vgl. 208, 207, usw.
- ¹⁰² Vgl. z. B. HYDE, II, 386. n. 3; BANG, S. 536 (Nr. 1210); JOHN, Westböhmien, S. 304.
- ¹⁰³ Vgl. dazu: NIELSEN, II, 188, I, 331, I, 322, 259, 207, 144, 139, 126, 117, 104—112, 92, usw.
- ¹⁰⁴ NIELSEN, II, 120.
- ¹⁰⁵ NIELSEN, II, 308.
- ¹⁰⁶ NIELSEN, I, 209, 88 usw.
- ¹⁰⁷ CARMICHAEL, II, 137.
- ¹⁰⁸ Vgl. MÜLLER-BERGSTROM, Rom-Römisches (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. VII, 773—776).
- ¹⁰⁹ Vgl. dazu: J. DÜNNINGER, Ort (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. VI, 1308—1311).
- ¹¹⁰ daselbst Sp. 1310.
- ¹¹¹ NIELSEN, II, 53—54. NIELSEN gibt im Apparat verschiedene Varianten, die sich gegenseitig ergänzen.
- ¹¹² FRANZ, I, 507—508.
- ¹¹³ FRANZ II, 545—558. Vgl. II, 559—615.
- ¹¹⁴ JACOBY, Zwei Diebssegen (Hessische Bl. f. V. XXV, S. 201). R. TH. CHRISTIANSEN, En prøve av en ny utgave av norske trollformler (Festschrift til H. FALK, 1927, S. 271—272, Nrn. 73—81), J. BOLTE, Deutsche Segen des 16. Jhs (ZfV. 1904, 435, 438), A. JACOBY, Segenssprüche und Zauberformeln aus

Luxemburger Handschriften (Ons Hemecht-Festschrift, 1924, S. 27—28). Vgl. Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. I, 1035 ff., V, 478 ff. usw.

¹¹⁵ Vgl. F. OHRT, Jerusalem in den Segen (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. IV, 661—662), JACOBY, Luxemburger HS, S. 25, 30. — F. OHRT, Zu den Jordansegen (ZfV, 1930, S. 3 ff.). Jerusalem usw. in Sonntagsbriefen und Himmelsbriefen, siehe: SAINTYVES, Les reliques.. S. 313 usw.

¹¹⁶ Vgl. dazu die Goldene Legende: T. DE WYZEWA, La Légende Dorée, Paris, 1935² S. 170.

¹¹⁷ NIELSEN, II, 85 (Nr. 216).

¹¹⁸ HYDE, I, 383.

¹¹⁹ NIELSEN, I, 291; vgl. dazu: »oc hun star skrewen meth vt grauen bogstaue i en stien i sancte iohannes kirki i rom til latran . . .« (NIELSEN, I, 87, Nr. 16).

¹²⁰ Analecta Hymnica, Bd. XXIV, S. 261. Vgl. dazu die Bemerkungen J. SZÖVÉRFFY, The Legends of St. Peter in Medieval Latin Hymns (Traditio (New York) Bd. X (1954), S. 289).

¹²¹ OTTOS Einleitung, I, S. xxxiv.

¹²² NIELSEN, II, 102 (Nr. 223). 'Siele Trost' heisst auch die nordische Übersetzung von Stücken der mittelalterlichen Erbauungsliteratur. Siehe KLEMMINGS Ausgabe oben; vgl. noch: NIELS NIELSEN, Sjælens Trøst, København, 1935—.

¹²³ E. T. KRISTENSEN, Danske Sagn (Ny Række II) (1928 II, 226). vgl. dazu: OHRT, Trylleord (1922) S. 27.

¹²⁴ O. EBERMANN, Le Médecin des Pauvres, (ZfV, 1914, S. 142).

¹²⁵ JOHN, Westböhmen, 302.

¹²⁶ NIELSEN, II, 308.

¹²⁷ NIELSEN, II, 188 (Nr. 257).

¹²⁸ NIELSEN, I, 291.

¹²⁹ NIELSEN, I, 281 (Nr. 109), vgl. I, 126.

¹³⁰ NIELSEN, I, 331, vgl. I, 145.

¹³¹ daselbst, II, 23, 229.

¹³² HYDE, II, 293. HYDE bemerkt dazu: «This promise is attached to more than one prayer» (daselbst n. 1).

¹³³ HYDE, I, 361, vgl. II, 295, II, 399.

¹³⁴ NIELSEN, II, 42—43, II, 141, I, 90, I, 229.

¹³⁵ NIELSEN, II, 45, 212, 213—214, I, 92, I, 220; zur Frage des Fegefeuers, usw.: M. LANDAU, Hölle und Fegefeuer in Volksglauben, Dichtung und Kirchenlehre, Heidelberg, 1909; W. E. PEUCKERT, Fegefeuer, (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. II, 1294—1299).

¹³⁶ NIELSEN, II, 213—214 (Nr. 273). Vgl. PAULUS II, 347—349: »Solvuntur non solum de peccatis sed etiam a poenis« (Revel. Birgittae, Lib. VI, c. 102).

¹³⁷ NIELSEN, I, 92.

¹³⁸ NIELSEN, I, 220.

¹³⁹ JOHN, 304.

¹⁴⁰ HYDE, I, 363.

¹⁴¹ HYDE, I, 371, II, 29, 207, 13, 9—11.

¹⁴² OHRT, Gamle danske Folkebønner, S. 32—33 (Typen A—C) Französisch: daselbst S. 25.

¹⁴³ NIELSEN, II, 45 (Nr. 179) usw.

¹⁴⁴ NIELSEN, II, 48, 66, I, 90, 229.

¹⁴⁵ Dänische version, NIELS NIELSEN, Sjælens Trøst (I, 105) und schwedisch bei KLEMMING (S. 499). 'af enum ogirkarl'.

¹⁴⁶ Vgl. LANDAU, S. 258—260, DE WYZEWA, 173—174.

¹⁴⁷ NIELSEN, I, 304.

¹⁴⁸ JØRGENSEN, S. 75—77.

¹⁴⁹ A. WREDE, Christophorus, hl. (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. II, 65—72, bes. Sp. 69—71).

¹⁵⁰ NIELSEN, II, 226.

¹⁵¹ EBERMANN, Médecin des Pauvres, (ZfV, 1914, S. 137).

¹⁵² JACOBY, Luxemburger HS, S. 22—23; BANG, S. 474 (Nr. 1073), OHRT,

Trylleformler, I, 192 (Nr. 232); St. Anna wird in Segensprüchen erwähnt; vgl. OHRT, Trylleformler, II, Nr. 1140, OHRT, Dreifrauensegen (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. II, 442) usw. FBANZ, II, 198 f.

¹⁵³ NIELSEN, II, 215, usw. verschiedentlich.

¹⁵⁴ NIELSEN, II, 50, vgl. I, 205.

¹⁵⁵ HYDE, II, 67, vgl. PAULUS, III, 300—301: »Derartige Ablässe mit merkwürdiger Zahlenbestimmung sind nichts Seltenes . . . In einem handschriftl. niederdeutsch. Gebetbuch . . . Christus selber habe dazu 50000 Jahre Ablass verliehen; als der Papst das gehört, habe er noch so viele Jahre hinzugefügt,« als druppelen waters regenen mogen op enen dach« usw.

¹⁵⁶ NIELSEN, II, 23.

¹⁵⁷ daselbst, II, 232.

¹⁵⁸ NIELSEN, II, 35, I, 79.

¹⁵⁹ NIELSEN, I, 100.

¹⁶⁰ NIELSEN, I, 139.

¹⁶¹ CARMICHAEL, III, 95. Auch in nordischen Sprüchen.

¹⁶² NIELSEN, II, 42—43, 160, 212, I, 333, 297, 260, 259, 215, 216, 140, 104—112, usw.

¹⁶³ EBERMANN, *Le Médecin des Pauvres* (ZfV, 1914, S. 137).

¹⁶⁴ BOLTE, *Deutsche Segen des 16. Jhs* (ZfV, 1904, S. 438).

¹⁶⁵ daselbst, S. 437, vgl. JOHN, Westböhmen, S. 302.

¹⁶⁶ HYDE, II, 386 n. 3.

¹⁶⁷ NILS LID, *Um Bilet-Trolldom* (Maal og Minne, 1928, S. 93).

¹⁶⁸ CARMICHAEL, IV, 171.

¹⁶⁹ HYDE, II, 273, usw. vgl. II, 383.

¹⁷⁰ CARMICHAEL, II, 37.

¹⁷¹ CARMICHAEL, IV, 179; ähnliche Beispiele daselbst: II, 17, IV, 165, II, 43, 73 usw.

¹⁷² F. OHRT, Rückwärts (in Segensprüchen) (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. VII, 845—46), OHRT, Trylleformler I, Nrn. 510—512, 546—562, 566—572; VALTER W. FORSBLOM, Magiske Räkneformler (*Nordisk Folkminne* = von Sydow Festschrift, Stockholm, 1928, S. 126—135); A. A. BARB, *Animula, Vagula, Blandula* (Folklore, 1950, 20—21).

¹⁷³ W. E. PEUCKERT, Deutscher Volksglaube des Spätmittelalters, Stuttgart, 1942, S. 119—129 usw., vgl. dazu: »Die Macht der Dämonen über die Menschen« (FRANZ, II, 518—528), »Der Exorcismus im Mittelalter« (FRANZ II, 545—558).

¹⁷⁴ NIELSEN, I, 203, vgl. I, 75, II, 33, und JØRGENSEN, S. 75.

¹⁷⁵ Vgl. F. MOURRET-J. CARREYRE, *Précis d'Histoire de l'Église*, Paris, 1930, I, 397.

¹⁷⁶ PEUCKERT, festmachen (II) (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. II, 1358).

¹⁷⁷ STÜBE, Karl-Segen (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. IV, 1006—1007); ders., Schutzbrief, (daselbst, VII, 1385).

¹⁷⁸ A. JACOBY, geistlicher Schild, (Hwb. dtsch. Abergl. III, 566—567).

¹⁷⁹ JOHN, Westböhmen, S. 280—281.

¹⁸⁰ W. DEONNA, *A l'Escalade de 1602: Les »billets« du Père Alexandre* (SAVk, XLI, 1944, S. 74 ff., 115 ff.). Eine ausführliche Literatur, (vornehmlich französische Quellen), ist hier angegeben, bes. S. 82—90.

¹⁸¹ NIELSEN, I, 75.

¹⁸² DEONNA, S. 88.

¹⁸³ NIELSEN, I, 85, (Nr. 14) vgl. I, 236, II, 88.

¹⁸⁴ J. SZÖVÉRFY, Medieval People's Prayer-Book (The Irish Ecclesiastical Record, LXXXII, 1954, S. 42—47), vgl. S. 45: »I believe that it would be an interesting problem to trace the characteristics, history and development of certain prayers attributed in the Middle Ages to St. Gregory«. Dieses Gebetbuch gehörte zum Sarum-Typus; vgl. E. HOSKINS, *Horae B. M. V. or Sarum and York Primers*, London, 1901.

¹⁸⁵ Vgl. besonders in Bd. II, S. 52—54 die angegebenen Varianten, die stark ins Gewicht fallen, dazu noch: NIELSEN, II, 58, 70, 179, 181—182, 300, 311, I, 77, 83, 89, 219 usw.

¹⁸⁶ NIELSEN, II, 52—54.

¹⁸⁷ daselbst.

¹⁸⁸ Downside Review, 1930, October, S. 209.

¹⁸⁹ PAULUS, III, 294—295.

¹⁹⁰ Zu diesem Punkte vergleiche: A. JACOBY, »gregorianische Messe« (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. III, 1127—1128), PAULUS, I, 39—45 usw. »Die Absolution der Verstorbenen im früheren Mittelalter.«

¹⁹¹ PAULUS, I, 39—40, 44—45, DE WYZEWA, S. 175, Sektion XIV, usw.

¹⁹² Handwörterb. dtsch. Aberg. III, 1127.

¹⁹³ BERINGER, I, 522, »Der Altar des hl. Gregor des Grossen, in Rom; die gregorianischen Altäre und die dreissig gregorianischen Messen« daselbst S. 522—529.

¹⁹⁴ P. SARTORI, Gregorius (12. März) (Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. III, 1128—1129).

— A MAGYARSÁG NÉPRAJZA, Budapest, o. J. III, 347—352; IV, 328. — G. GU-GITZ, Das Jahr und seine Feste im Volksbrauch Österreichs, Wien, 1949—1950, I, 114—119. P. HEUGREN, Husdjuren i nordisk Folktron, Örebro, 1925, S. 160—161.

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¹⁹⁶ Hwb. dtsch. Aberg. IX, N, 7—8.

¹⁹⁷ H. DELEHAYE, Hagiographische Legenden S. 21. — Dasselbe gilt für die Textstelle, welche den Papst Gregor IX. erwähnt.

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STUDIES IN MAORI RITES AND MYTHS

BY

J. PRYTZ JOHANSEN



København 1958
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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Preface.

The present work on Maori rites and myths deals with some selected subjects which the sources make it possible to investigate comparatively thoroughly. My motive for the choice of subject is connected with the method used, which is explained in detail in the Introduction. Although of course I am highly indebted to students of religion of past and present I have as far as possible made my studies of the Maoris be self-contained without drawing on current theories of e.g. myth and rite, etc., as I am of opinion that these phenomena can vary somewhat and therefore must preferably be elucidated in each separate case.

The Introduction is followed by the first main section, which deals with the sacred precincts and the mythology connected with them. This subject is fundamental to any detailed treatment of Maori rituals, which amongst other things appears by the fact that all cosmogonic ideas are connected with the sacred precincts and that these in their function are based on the Maoris' fundamental dualism: Day and Night, Heaven and Earth, Life and Death. Furthermore, the study of the cosmogonies give occasion for a thorough discussion of the high god Io.

The next section is a study of the whole cycle of agricultural rites among the Ngati-Porou and related tribes. Here I have attached great importance to adducing the mythical associations and contents of the rites, my work being especially based on the ritual text (the *karakias*). In this way I have succeeded in translating and interpreting the majority of these texts. I am not so rash as to believe that these translations should be faultless; but I hope that the method applied as well as some of the individual interpretations of difficult passages of the texts may be of per-

manent value. Several of the motifs which thus appear in the ritual, e.g. the 'theme of vengeance' may be found connected with other aspects of Maori culture in "The Maori and His Religion".

As some readers' knowledge of Maori naturally is limited, a few words about Maori pronunciation perhaps will be welcome. The stress is on the first syllable, ng is pronounced [ŋ], wh [ʍ], and the vowels have continental values.

Mr. Torben Monberg, M.A., has revised the references to the sources, Cand. mag. Niels Haislund has done the translation into English, Mr. A. G. Drachmann, Ph. D., has critically revised the MS., Mr. Georg Jensen and Mrs. Johanne Kastor Hansen have assisted at the reading of the proofs. I offer all of them my best thanks.

Finally I am obliged to the Rask-Ørsted Foundation for the grants which alone have made it possible for me to have my works on the Maoris published in English.

Introduction.

On the Study of Maori Religion.

Although the total material to illustrate Maori religion is of considerable dimensions, it will easily throw the student into a state of hopelessness because of its scattered and disconnected character. Actually it is difficult to decide where to start. It would seem a natural idea to start with the gods and the Maori's relation to them. Unfortunately the very concept of god is rather unwieldy. The Maori word for 'god', *atua*, on closer acquaintance proves to cover a protean multiplicity. Everything from flies, iron nails, and guns by way of great chiefs and Europeans to the highest gods may be termed *atua*, and in another dimension everything from the most arrant demons to the most faithful tribal gods is also covered by the concept of *atua*. It is true that only a fly with a certain extraordinary something about it is an *atua*, and iron nails had only a short golden age as *atua* before their commonness banished them from the anonymous part of the Maori's spacious pantheon. So vague is the concept. An *atua* need neither distinguish himself by *mana*, *tapu*, immortality nor any established determination. The young girl who is sent for water by night will say, "The grass of the road is an *atua*, whom I fear."¹ A deserted girl will sing about her lover,

"Mitiwai's peak vanishes in the haze
At its foot is my *atua*, for whom I am longing . . ."²

A Maori will declare, "My *atua* is boils."³

What then does *atua* mean but something which produces an impression because it is extraordinary, annoying, or great?

¹ AHM. IV, 123.

² Shortl. Trad. 180.

³ Best Rel. 120.

Thus we are compelled to use another kind of determination as our basis. Here, it seems, there are two ways. We may confine ourselves to dealing with the gods known from the myths, or we may define a god as an *atua* to whom the Maori has a practical religious relation, which is almost identical with a ritual relation.

In fact, it was by combining these points of view that ELDSON BEST attained to a classification and description of the Maori gods in his *Maori Religion and Mythology*.

If we want to reach farther than Best, it is natural to go further and concentrate our investigations on rituals or myths. In this way we give up the idea of describing Maori religion primarily through the relation to the gods. In return we shall no doubt obtain possibilities of a more thorough and exact determination of this relation; but hardly before a number of studies of details have laid a solid foundation by an inquiry into myths and rites. The following pages are a modest attempt of that kind. It is an inquiry into two complexes which I have found particularly ripe for study, viz. the sacred precincts and the agricultural ritual, both of them viewed in the light of and interpreted by the myths belonging here.

Rituals.

In *The Maori and His Religion* I have tried to penetrate to the foundations of the Maori's experience. The following remarks on the general character of the rituals should amongst other things in broad outline show how the consequences of the Maori's basic attitude inform rites and myths. Thus we shall try to draw the lines from the above-mentioned work further to the present one. Some of the documentation will not be found until further below in this paper, as it could only be adduced here to the detriment of the general view and coherence.

Rituals may be of a most different importance. There is the kind of magic prayer which anybody can use, e. g. if you get something down the wrong way or the like. The rites which we shall examine here, are of a less private, more weighty character. Generally they require the presence of a priest with a special training. They are surrounded by *tapu*, indeed, we may say that they mainly turn on the relation to *tapu* contents.

Even this has important consequences. I have previously dealt with the more negative aspect of the matter: the avoidance of what is *tapu* and the removal of an undesired *tapu*. We know from there that the danger of the violation of a *tapu* is that it creates an *aitua*, a pollution of life with fatal consequences.

But the Maori does not always shun what is *tapu*, he seeks it out in ritually controlled situations. He recites most sacred rituals, seeks out the most *tapu* sacred precincts, creates new *tapu* spheres in which he acts ritually, exactly in difficult or dangerous situations he resorts to the connexion with what is *tapu*. Exactly such rituals we shall find in what follows. It is evident that what the Maori seeks is not at all an *aitua*; it is a rather safe conclusion that the increased contents of life which he seeks, thus must increase his *mana*, or at least the *mana* of the things with which he has to do.

This, again, has significant consequences: on the one hand we find here the reason for the effect of the rituals. The character of *mana* as a communal life gives power to the rituals in people and country. On the other hand this character of the *mana* involves that more important rituals, which implicate the *mana* of the chief or the tribe, get a cosmic character. A renewal of the great *mana* becomes a kind of re-creation. It is not strange that we just find this motif attached to the sacred precincts and that we have instances of the typical Polynesian myth of creation;—a mythical amplification of the genealogy, as genealogies were just recited at births.

We have here touched on an important question, viz. the relation between myth and rite. The fact that there is an intimate connexion between certain mythical motifs and certain rites will appear from numerous examples during the following investigations of details. In this place we shall only offer some general observations.

The Maori himself does not make any nice distinction proper between myth and history; it is all *korero*, history. There is, however, the difference that the earliest history, the most mythical one, is *tapu*, i.e. it is only recited with observation of the demands made by the *tapu*.

The myth is history. This fact connects us with Chapter VII in *The Maori and His Religion*. There we have seen that history

can be reproduced in the events of the present day. In what follows we shall find numerous instances of myths being reproduced in the rites, a phenomenon which, indeed, is known from other religions as well. Furthermore, we have seen that time and event are inextricably coupled together, the mythical time itself being resurrected in the rites. This has an important and interesting consequence. The ritual act itself is mingled and merged with the mythical events. We see the result in numerous myths, where actual ritual details form part of the myths, frequently in a peculiar, apparently abrupt way. But these leaps from mythical events to rituals actually are no leaps. They look so to us, but they are simple consequences of the Maori's experiences of myth and rite.

It must so far be left undecided how much of Maori mythology should be considered ritual myths. In the present investigations the question will be discussed in each single case; see further below. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the myths have acquired a certain general character from their relation to the rituals. Even on an immediate view the myths appear as a number of loosely connected episodes. This feature is quite natural when the individual motifs of the myths are closely connected with ritual situations which need not be related to the chronological sequence of the myths themselves. To the Maori this interdependence between myth and rite athwart the myth's own sequence, has no doubt weakened the sense of the consistency of the myth as mere narrative. After the loss of the old experience it might happen that a Maori became meditative over things which were reasonable enough to early times, such as the Maori who tells that the high god Io, although alone in the world, had children. He suddenly gets scruples and says that it is of no use to ask whom Io married, for it is the Maori who is speaking and he has no committees of investigation.¹

The connexion of the myths with the rites has a dissolving effect on the coherence in the mythology. We find that several myths of creation exist peaceably side by side. We shall see below that there is a natural explanation of this when they are considered in connexion with various ritual situations. Myths of creation are here understood to mean myths which not only deal

¹ JPS. 16, 111 (Paraone).

with creation proper, but also with the ordering of the cosmos out of states more or less chaotic and unsuitable for man.

The mingling of 'pure' myth and rite thus is expressive of an experience in connexion with the ritual; that is just why such ritual myths become important sources for the study of the rituals. The information about the outer form of the rituals to be derived in this way is only occasionally of importance; the essential profit is implied in the very mingling; the ritual gets a mythical context, which offers a solid basis for an interpretation of the ritual, a point at which interpreters have often proceeded with some arbitrariness. If this certainty is not to become illusory, it is necessary that it should be possible for us in each single case to establish whether a given mythical theme in a given version is a ritual myth for a given rite. It cannot be assumed that a myth is always related to some rite or other. On the contrary, it should be proved in each single case. For the solution of this problem the following criteria are of particular importance.

(1) We possess direct information about the mythical meaning of a rite or an element (e.g. an object) of this rite.

(2) The ritual texts contain allusions to definite myths.

These two criteria come from the ritual, but the myth may also contain an unambiguous criterion. Here, too, we may set up two cases:

(3) The myth contains fragments of ritual texts.

(4) The myth, often in a strangely abrupt way, contains elements of the ritual act.

The very first criterion, based on direct information, unfortunately can only be used in exceptional cases; for it is remarkable how rarely we have direct information about the mythical contents of a rite, so rarely that one necessarily must form some idea of the reason.

It seems to me that two causes have co-operated, viz. the attitude of Maoris as well as the attitude of recorders.

As to the former it was evidently easier to obtain information about myth than about rituals. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that the ritual texts (*the karakias*) were so *tapu* that the Maori only reluctantly gave them up as long as the belief in them was still alive. On the other hand they soon sank into oblivion after the introduction of Christianity, and no wonder, as they often

are nearly unintelligible. Not rarely the information available is so incomplete as to be almost valueless.

Correspondingly the collectors were much less interested in the rituals than in myths and historical traditions. In several of the great experts on Maori traditions, especially PERCY SMITH, the interest was chiefly concentrated on the Maori's early history—or prehistory, if this term is preferred. Furthermore, the interpretation of the myths was based on nature mythology (e.g. still in ELDON BEST). It was foreign to their mind that there should be a relation between myth and rite, indeed, we can see that BEST got such information without understanding it at all. Under such circumstances it is not so very strange that we have so little direct information about the relation between myth and rite. This attitude of the collector of material no doubt has deprived us of much important information. This is much to be regretted. But on a certain point it is useful: it provides us with an aid to make a critical evaluation.

A mythical trait which clearly points towards a rite, cannot have been introduced; it must with fair certainty originate from an ancient and genuine tradition. If the trait was introduced recently, it must at least have been on the basis of the old experience of the rituals.¹ Of course there may in each individual case be all sorts of irregularities. A ritual mythical trait may have been handed down in a misunderstood form, perverted and disintegrated. The very fact of its being handed down, however, will always lend a special interest to the version, above other versions in which that kind of traits are missing. Such versions need not in any way be less genuine, only they may originate from people who were not familiar with the ritual in question. The risk of our having to do with a smoothed-out myth, however, is of course somewhat greater.

¹ Criteria of that kind thus are not unmistakable marks of old traditions. Strictly speaking, they only tell us that in this case we have an old-fashioned mode of thought on a definite point. A remarkable example of the limitation of the criterion occurs in the inundation myth AHM. I, 157—163. On p. 160 we find a sacrifice and in the description of the initiation into the training in *whare kura* a reference to a rite that is performed like the one performed after the inundation (AHM. I, 5). AHM. I, 160 might very well be conceived as a ritual myth connected with this initiation sacrifice. On p. 158 we are further introduced to ritual myths; but the myth in this case is so obviously and so greatly inspired by the Bible that it cannot be used on a line with the others, even though it is expressive of an old-fashioned view of the rituals.

In the nature of things the ritual myths must be in the foreground in the following investigations; but the great probability of their genuineness, as it were, gives of itself an increased certainty as to the reliability of the results. Furthermore, there is something satisfactory about being able to utilize this rich mythical tradition to make sense of the much scantier tradition of rituals and in this way adding some traits to the description of Maori religion.

The rituals, if considered as acts, are on the whole very simple. The agricultural rituals to a great extent consist in a particularly careful performance of the usual actions, such as fetching seed kumaras from the pit, planting them, etc. The same applies to ritual meals. Furthermore, there are special sacral acts, first of all sacrifices of different technical execution, according as the sacrificial object is swung, laid down, hung up, or something else. Ritual purifications and the like also have their own group of acts. All of them, however, as far as substantiated by the sources, seem very simple. Even the simplest ritual act, however, is decisively distinct from the everyday actions by being accompanied by ritual words, *karakia*. This trait is so essential that *karakia* comes very close to meaning 'ritual'.

A *karakia* worthy of its name must have *mana*. This can hardly be doubted. When *mana* is attached adjectively to *karakia* this does not, of course, refer to this general fact, but is to emphasize the special *mana* of the *karakia* in question.¹ Of greater interest, therefore, are some passages which refer to the effects of a *karakia* as the effects of its *mana*.² Or more briefly, the *karakia manas*, i.e. it is effective.³ This implies that a *karakia* which is effective, has *mana*.

In a few passages it is mentioned that the *mana* of recently acquired *karakias* is tested.⁴ This is closely connected with the whole of the oral tradition. The European at his writing-desk naturally views the *karakia* as a text in a book, but it is not this text as an abstraction which is tested. To the Maori a *karakia* is certain words recited in a certain way. It is the correct rendering that is tested. We also learn how a *karakia* is to be recited: "Ka

¹ AHM. II, 113, 119, 122, 123; V, 36.

² Lore I, 9. AHM. V, 47; IV, 80.

³ Grey M. 78.

⁴ JPS. 5, 116 (Karepa-Te-Whetu), TNZI. 42, 440 (Best.).

*tara te karakia ka ngahau, he tohu ora tena.*¹ Both *tara* and *ngahau* indicate that it is to be recited rapidly; but *tara* especially implies something rhythmical, a quick rhythm, while *ngahau* refers rather to the vividness and readiness which is the consequence of the fact that something has been learnt well and comes straight from the heart. We may therefore translate the sentence as follows: "When the *karakia* is recited with a quick rhythm, is learnt well, and comes straight from the heart, it is an omen of life."

BEST describes the recitation of the rather weighty *karakias*, saying that they "were intoned by the reciters in a very peculiar rhythmic manner extremely pleasing to the Maori ear. . . . A great desideratum was a smooth, rhythmical, long-continued flow of words, maintained as long as the reciter's breath held out."² The earlier conception of magic as natural science gone wrong tends to make us imagine the magic formula as a purely mechanical matter. Therefore it is worth noting that the *karakia* is beautiful. The ritual is also art. How deeply this was felt by the Maori cannot be tested with certainty, but we have an indicator of his appraisal of beauty in the part it plays in his image of the nobleman.³ Add to this his mastership in the art of carving. Is it too bold to imagine that beauty is something essential in life, and that it has one of its roots in the beauty of the creative rituals?

The long, unbroken flow of the *karakia* cannot be maintained by one man in the case of the long *karakias*, so it is kept up by two priests, one of them succeeding the other when his breath gives out.⁴

The correct recitation is a good omen, as we have heard.⁵ This is corroborated elsewhere. "When Te Aotaki *tohied*, there was no faltering, no interruption, together with the sentinel's songs . . . it is a sign of victorious fortune, a sign of life."⁶

The same is demonstrated with the opposite sign in the far-reaching consequences of an error in recitation. When Maui wanted to descend into the Underworld in order to conquer

¹ JPS. 14, 123 (Gudgeon).

² Best Rel. 196.

³ Johansen, Maori 183 f.

⁴ Best Rel. 196.

⁵ JPS. 14, 123 (Gudgeon).

⁶ JPS. 20, 22 (Mohi Turei).

death in the shape of Hinenuitepo, he asked his father to recite over him, but when his father recited he happened to skip some of the *karakia* and said to Maui, "Son! You will die. Our *karakia* failed, it is death for you."¹ As another version says, it was an *aitua*.²

Besides this correct recitation, the accurate performance of the manual part of the ritual is absolutely necessary for a *karakia* to be effective. Especially *tapu* must be respected. When Tamaahua found his wife to be dead (ill), he would offer a sacrifice to make her alive (well) again; but the servant who was to look after the oven, burnt his fingers and licked them thoughtlessly and it all miscarried. The way in which this is expressed is interesting: "the *karakias* which make *tapu* failed."³ The *karakia* is the centre of the ritual, the manual part in a certain sense is only one aspect of the *karakia*. As mentioned above, *karakia* is very nearly equal to 'ritual'.

The fact that rituals augur—either good or ill—is a simple consequence of their power to create. On the other hand, we cannot draw the inverse conclusion. There are no doubt rituals which are only intended to find out what the future holds in store.

Considering that the performance of the rituals is so important, it is no wonder that they are not interrupted "in spite of snow and frost"—this of course referring to outdoor rituals.⁴ Neglecting a rite completely is of course extremely ill-omened.⁵

It is of interest to see the way in which the Maori behaves when a *karakia* has failed, also because it illustrates the seriousness of the matter. Once, before a fight we hear of an attempt at repeating all of it, but when the *karakia* failed a second time, the people in question submitted to their fate.⁶ In the cases in which it was still possible to make a choice, the outcome of the ritual was decisive of the choice. An error in the ritual at the inauguration of a fortress resulted in its being abandoned and a fortress being built at another place.⁷

Some rituals were connected with a festival, *hakari*. This is

¹ JPS. 38, 26 (Potae and Ruatapu).

² Grey M. 22.

³ JPS. 5, 233 (Hare Hongi).

⁴ AHM. I, 12.

⁵ Best T. 1011.

⁶ JPS. 25, 16 (Beattie).

⁷ Best Pa 114.

the case of the personal rituals of the family of the chief, "baptism", wedding, funeral. Furthermore, in the case of the inauguration of large, ornamented houses, harvest, etc. All these events, including those especially concerning the chief's family, are of a certain official character. At these festivals presents, especially food, were given to the guests with great display of festivity. The food was arranged elaborately and was distributed ceremoniously. There were singing, dancing, and warlike games, not unlike the arrangement at Greek festivals.

It seems allowable to assume that the joy at the successfully performed ritual and the festiveness formed a synthesis. On the other hand, it is more difficult to tell whether the festival in itself was connected with rituals or otherwise was of special religious importance. Very few descriptions of festivals give this impression. There is, however, some evidence in favour of a ritual character of the meal apart from what was connected with the present itself.¹

PERCY SMITH offers a description of a festival at which the food was arranged in two long rows. Priests walked up and down between them, "counting" the enemies that were to be killed. The people, who were standing outside the rows, at a signal from a priest held out their hands and put a morsel to their mouths. Then the food was distributed.²

We have also pieces of evidence of festivals of a downright religious character, but they are of such a kind that one hardly knows what to think about them. This applies e.g. to the sun festival mentioned by TREGEAR on the basis of a communication from C. NELSON.³ The festival is without parallels, and one is not quite sure that NELSON has interpreted the matter correctly. These early writers generally considered the Maori to be a sun-worshipper, which was in good agreement with the views of nature mythology, and which they found an intelligible and acceptable form of paganism.

Another piece of evidence is connected with the mythology of Io, but for this very reason may very well be the outcome of the loose speculations in connexion with Io. There it says about

¹ Johansen, Maori 107.

² Smith Wars 39; cf. Best T. 1074.

³ Tregear, Race 467 ff.; cf. TNZI. 32, 291.

Hawaiki-nui o Irihia: "This is the most *tapu* Hawaiki of all places in the world; for this was the place where they celebrated festivals (*hakari*) to the gods, to Io-matua-te-kore, the Whatukuras, and the Mareikuras in Te Toi-o-nga-rangi (the highest heaven)."¹

As the reference is to some purely mythical festivals, we can only conclude that the author of the Lore of the Whare Wananga thought that *hakari* might have a religious meaning. The idea was not alien to the Maori, which presumably is the highest degree of certainty to which we can attain, this being in itself a result. We have an amusing confirmation of this by Christian Maoris. About the turn of the century GUDGEON at a provincial hotel found a notice, which in translation runs like this:

"Let all men know that Christmas will be celebrated and a race meeting held at Te Teko on the 25th Dec. next. All those who patronise sports should assemble at that place, not only for the amusement provided, but to honour the new year, and the advent of our Saviour from the unknown. We wish Him to know that we hold His birthday in reverence and love, so that He may in like manner remember to love us on the day of judgment."²

If from this notice we subtract what the Maori had heard from the clergyman, there will be a remnant left which suggests the existence of a tradition about religious festivals.

Sacredness.

In "*The Maori and His Religion*" it was described how there is a number of *tapu* spheres, each with its own contents. There we particularly dealt with the chief's *tapu*. In what follows we shall have a look at the *tapu* of the rituals. These kinds of *tapu* can reasonably be called sacred, we may translate *tapu* by 'sacred', and the *tapu* contents may be called 'sacredness'.

We shall briefly look at the origin of the sacredness and in some more detail at the scope or extent of the *tapu* sphere. For simplicity's sake we shall speak about the sacredness, but this should more accurately be termed "one of the sacrednesses", as

¹ Lore II, 3.

² JPS. 14, 170 (Gudgeon).

undoubtedly there are several. How many? is a question of detailed study, which in part is undone so far. But in the work mentioned above I have pointed out at least two different ones, that of birth and that of the kumara.

The sacred precinct, its sacred objects, and the gods seem to form a permanent sphere of sacredness. An inquiry into the rituals belonging here may presumably define the outermost sphere of the sacredness more closely. There are, however, several types of sacred precincts, each with its place in different rituals. The question will be, if not answered, at any rate illustrated when below we shall deal with the various types of sacred precincts.

As long as we have no general view of the various sacred precincts, an account of the origin of the sacredness can only be sketchy. It will, however, be practical to point out two important cases.

We hear about sacred objects as the cause of sacredness: "The yard (*marae*) and the sacral school at Taporapora were a sacred yard (*marae*) because the sacred objects were placed there when Mahuhu went ashore in this place."¹

Another main source of sacredness and probably the most important one is the rituals, the *karakias*. Just about the sacral school it says elsewhere, "It is the priests who *karakia* the central pole, . . . by this the whole house became sacred."² About the branch of the sacral school concerned with agriculture it similarly says, "This kind of houses are sacred, it is the *karakias* which makes them sacred."³ It is not only houses which are consecrated in this way: "Whaketoro let his *karakias* work on this island in order that the place might be sacred."⁴

The sacredness of course includes the *karakias*. As they often allude to definite myths and the myths, too, are *tapu*, it might be asked whether these myths belong to this very sacredness. The question is probably too subtle as the myths are recited in the sacral school and not in connexion with the rituals.

The people who participate in the rituals are made sacred, if they are not so already, like the priests. Generally speaking

¹ AHM. V, 69.

² AHM. I, 4; cf. Lore I, 3, 6.

³ AHM. I, 11.

⁴ AHM. II, 172.

there is probably less ceremony at the entry into than at the withdrawal from the sacredness. The Maori seems particularly attentive to the danger of violation of the sacredness which is involved in carrying it with him into everyday life.

Objects that participate in the rituals are or are made sacred. Thus fire at sacrifices, the pole on which the sacrifice is placed, the basket in which the sacred kumaras are carried to the field for planting, the measuring line for the sacred field, etc.¹

The place of the ritual is sacred. Often it is the sacred precinct, but if not, the place will become sacred, e.g. the place in the field (*tautane*) where the ritual planting takes place (. . *te mara tautane*: *he mara tapu tenei*).²

Finally, the time at which the ritual takes place is sacred. Most frequently the day in the case of more important ceremonies is considered as a whole. BEST writes, "Any day on which a ceremony of importance was performed, was looked upon as being *tapu* by the Maori, and no ordinary work would be done on such a day, save the cooking of food."³ On the agricultural ritual a text correspondingly says, "When the day comes when *karakias* are recited, everybody keeps quiet, it is the Maori's sacred day (*ra tapu*) . . ."⁴ The latter term undoubtedly in particular includes a comparison with the Christian Sunday and perhaps might as justly be translated as "it is the Maori's (own) Sunday (*ra tapu*)."⁵ The meaning at any rate is evident.

The part of the day in which the rites are performed is undoubtedly of particular sacredness. It was especially morning and evening that were used for the performance of the rites. We find allusions to this in *karakias*, e.g. in connexion with an offering of pigeons: "The sacred fire is lit, lit by Tiki, it burns in the sacred morning."⁵

BEST in several passages adduces the fact that the rites are placed in the morning or evening, but gives somewhat different reasons. In two passages he refers to the fact that people at that time are in their houses. In both passages the importance is implied in the sacredness, whether this is dangerous to the com-

¹ AHM. VI, 61; I, 9; JPS. 22, 36 (Kapiti); Best Agr. 158.

² Williams, s. v. *tautane*.

³ Best T. 1113.

⁴ Best Agr. 155.

⁵ Dieffenbach II, 51; cf. Grey Mot. 60: *i te ata tapu nei*.

mon people,¹ or it would violate the sacredness if they went out. The latter view is authenticated by a Maori statement. If somebody in spite of the rituals wants to go out, it is said, "Stay! Do not violate the *karakias*."² Even though the latter view is substantiated best, there is hardly any doubt that both are correct. Both views will almost necessarily come into consideration.

In his *Maori Religion* BEST adduces a third reason, viz. that the Maori considered rites performed on an empty stomach to be particularly effective.³ This reason, which is without connexion with the question of 'sacred time', can naturally only apply to the morning rituals. Unfortunately BEST does not refer to the Maoris, either, but to comparative religion, especially to A. REVILLE. The idea may very well be correct and does not exclude the others as it only refers to the morning rituals; but it is to be feared that it is based on speculation rather than on observation.

A study of the structure of the Maori language leads to the view that the action may be said to be implied in its constituents.⁴ In *The Maori and His Religion* I have compared the grammatical action, as appearing in the "concretive", with the actual one and found considerable agreement.⁵ In the same way sacredness may give occasion for a comparison as it may be said that so far as a ritual action makes sacred, so far does it go. On that basis it may be said that the action includes the people and things that participate in it, the place and time. These constituents correspond to those of grammar: subject, object, instrument, place, and time. All these from the point of view of the concretive are included in and are each expressive of the whole action. The grammatical conception of 'the mode' in which the action is performed and which also belongs to the meaning of the concretive, may perhaps be compared with the sacral tradition of the performance of the rites. This is sacred, too, and in so far can be included as well. However, as mentioned above, we approach in this way a sacredness which is attached to the sacral school, and therefore run the risk of asking questions which cannot be answered.

¹ JPS. 9, 189 (Best); cf. Johansen, Maori 258.

² JPS. 15, 147 (Best).

³ Best Rel. 198.

⁴ Johansen, Character 58 ff.

⁵ Johansen, Maori 151 f.

Sacred Precincts.

The Maori had numerous *tapu* places about him. Many of these could be called sacred. There were sacred mountains, caves, stones, trees, there were places consecrated by the blood of great chiefs, by a ritual fire which once had been burning there, places hallowed by the remains of the ancestors, etc. It is not, however, all this which we are going to consider here, but a small selection, viz. the places which were sacred because they were intended to be permanent scenes of sacred actions.

Even the permanent scenes of the rituals offer no small variety in spite of the fact that we must content ourselves with the types about which we can elicit fairly full information from the sources. They are probably the most important as well. They are the 'sacred water' and the places called *tuahu* and *heketua* or *turuma*. To make up for the limitation we shall try to utilize all that can give us information about the equipment, mythical associations, and use of these places. As to their use we must, however, confine ourselves to the most general lines, a detailed investigation of all rituals that are performed in the sacred precincts could not at all be contained within the framework of this study.

One of the difficulties of the investigation is the possibility of local variations of the sacred precincts, the information often being so sporadic that we can hardly obtain a clear picture of the importance of the local distinctive character. There are, however, a number of important features which seem to have been distributed over the whole of the area of New Zealand from which the sources are most abundant. In certain cases comparisons with Polynesia may contribute to the decision.

Main Forms of the Sacred Precinct

The Sacred Water.

Wai tapu.

In each settlement there was a sacred water.¹ It might be a pond, a brook, or a spring. A pond had the advantage that its sacredness made fewer demands on everyday occupations than a brook or a spring, since it was hardly permissible to take the water for profane use. On the other hand a spring was clean at the well-head, and such *wai matua o Tuapapa* or *wai manawa whenua*, 'water from the heart of the earth', is stated to have been particularly suitable for ritual purposes.² It is difficult to decide the importance of this. It is certain that it was even possible to use water from a large lake, although it was impracticable to declare the whole lake *tapu*. The inhabitants then made shift by demarcating a minor part as sacred, this part being fenced in with poles.³

Otherwise we hear nothing about permanent interference with nature as regards the sacred water.

The sacred water mostly was only named *wai tapu*, 'sacred water', or *wai karakia*, 'ritual or *karakia* water'. We also hear about *wai taua*, 'army water', in connexion with the rites before war⁴ and about *wai whakaika* or *wai kotikoti* ('hair-cutting water') as a place where the hair of people of noble birth was cut.⁵ It may not be completely precluded that the reference was to different 'sacred waters', but probably it was only the same place which occurred under different names according to the rites in question.

Before the natural water began to be used as 'sacred water', a consecration presumably took place. We know nothing about it except what can be concluded from an extant legend about an inaugural ceremony. The inauguration was made by Wheketoro, one of those who immigrated onboard the Mangarara canoe.

¹ Best Rel. 215; Best T. 1074; JPS. 12, 65 (Best).

² JPS. 38, 253 (Best).

³ Cowan 229.

⁴ Best T. 144.

⁵ Williams s. v. *whakaika*.

At first, with one of the stones from his sacral fireplace he beats a steep rock down upon an island so that a road is made along which it is possible to get on to the island. The continuation runs as follows: "Wheketoro took another stone from his sacred fire and beat a flat stone on the beach with the stone from the sacred fire, and a spring trickled out from the flat stone. This spring was his sacred water (*wai karakia*), it got a name which held out into later times, namely Whakaaurangi, and the spring may be seen this very day."¹ When Te-Waiopotango saw this, he did the same, and his spring was called Te-Muriwai.

This legend suggests that there was a certain ritual at the consecration with use of a sacred fire.

In the immigration sagas we hear on several occasions about ancestors who stamp forth (*takahi*) springs from the soil.² *Takahi* should no doubt be interpreted as expressive of a ritual, the more so as the 'stamping' in a few passages takes place after the recital of a *karakia*.³ On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this piece of information concerns our question, as we do not know whether these springs were 'sacred water'. Indeed, this question must rather be answered in the negative. The springs were created as drinking-water, and tradition states about one of them that it is still used as such. Only that before using them one must show the consideration to pour two handfuls of water to the right and two to the left, in order that the spring should not dry up.⁴

What special character and function does the sacred water possess as compared with other sacred precincts?

For the answering of this question several ways are imaginable. It will be natural to compare the rituals which take place beside the sacred water and investigate the problem whether there is a specific common feature which can motivate that they are performed exactly there.

We find that rituals of initiation in a number of cases are performed completely or in part beside the sacred water, viz. rituals of warriors shortly before the battle, of pupils before their initiation in the sacral school, indeed, of any person who is to take part in a *tapu* rite, and at the consecration of a "prophet"

¹ AHM. II, 173.

² Grey M. 66, 68; Shortl. Rel. 83, 84.

³ Williams s. v.

⁴ Cowan 99.

(*matakite*). Furthermore, purifications frequently take place there, thus after burials and the conclusion of the mourning period, after war, and indeed at the leaving of different voluntary or involuntary *tapu* states, such as cases of illness, childbirth, and the stay at the sacral school.

Although this division into initiations and purifications may look rather plausible, it is not, in fact, worth very much. The ritual of warriors in certain places was performed in three parts, first at the *tuahu*, then beside the sacred water, and then again at the *tuahu*. Even though the ritual as a whole is to convey a *tapu* to the warrior, we cannot from this conclude anything as to the role of the sacred water, it might e.g. be just a purification. It may be difficult without closer examination to place the *tohi*- and *tua*-rites for children in this classification, and furthermore, they were not always performed beside the sacred water.

It is more prudent only to speak about changes in the state of *tapu*, but this does not exhaust the characterization of the rituals. Sometimes cutting of the chief's hair took place beside the sacred water, though perhaps mostly at the *tuahu* or the burial place. In this case it was probably mainly a question of disposing of the cut-off *tapu* hair.

Finally various rites performed beside the water deal with divination, sorcery, and love magic (in which perhaps divorce rites may be included, too). We might sort out some from each group in which the decisive factor is that a *wairua* appears and is affected or is only recognized.¹ Perhaps the water is particularly suitable for this. Even if so, it is doubtful whether all these cases of divination, sorcery, and love magic can be united under this point of view.

The most remarkable common feature about these rites is a negative one. To my knowledge sacrifices never occur near or to the sacred water. This corresponds to the complete absence of representatives of deities. It may no doubt be concluded that the sacred water is not a habitation for the kind of gods which are objects of any cult.

By going through rituals performed beside the sacred water we do not otherwise obtain great results, at most some hints. I

¹ Best Rel. 216; Shortl. Trad. 127; Best Spir. 13; Taylor 203; cf. JPS. 30, 179 f. (Smith).

have, however, included this survey, as in itself it is also of interest by displaying a variety which will not be sufficiently clearly brought out in the following investigations. In these we shall seek the information that may be obtained partly from the direct mention of the water by the ritual texts, partly by allusions to the mythological associations of the water. Here we shall of course attach special importance to such associations as are utilized in the ritual texts. Myths without a ritual connexion are only of secondary importance, but may contribute to throwing light on the Maori's view of the water.

Ritual texts used near the sacred water naturally claim our interest. A fair number has been handed down, but those that throw light on the role of the water in the rites are indeed few in number.

In a *tohi* ritual on a boy it says:

"You are *tohi*-ed, son, with Tutawake's water,
Turn round, son, in Tutawake's water.
May you fight, son, by virtue of Tutawake's water.
May you become bold, son, by virtue of Tutawake's water."¹

The water here is a medium for a creation, which is to make the boy a bold warrior. I do not know Tutawake from anywhere else. It might be a name of Tu, the divine warrior to whom boys are consecrated. There is, however, another possibility. Perhaps it is not a personal name at all. It is true that it says in the text "*te wai o Tu-tawake*"; but as the article is often omitted in ritual texts, especially before a word with an initial *t*, the words may with equal right be read: "*te wai o [te] tutawake*," i.e. 'the water of the spell'. The god Tu then disappears completely. The water is effective by virtue of the *karakia* recited. The question cannot perhaps be decided definitively, but the other pieces of evidence of the water in the rites if anything support the latter view.

We have a *tohi* on a boy or youth who is consecrated to his first fight:

1. This is the sea, the sea which remains,
2. The sea of this *tapu*.
3. The man fights,

¹ JPS. 15, 158 (Best).

4. The man fights fiercely,
 5. The man has the gift of victory (*toa*),
 6. The man has energy.
 7. The man is *tohied*
 8. To fight, to fight fiercely.”¹
- ...

Lines 3—8 should probably be interpreted as a description and creation of the contents of “this *tapu*” in l. 2. The water then is the bearer of the sacredness of the war, which is conveyed to the man and gives him a fighting spirit and success in war. The fact that the sacred water is called ‘the sea’ (*te au*) is not in itself particularly remarkable; we have a parallel in a late *tohi*:

Here your [i. e. Io’s] pupil is *tohi*-ed, your descendant
(? *uriuri*) in the water of Rongo’s Sea.²

The water is here simply named Rongo’s Sea (*Moana o Rongo*) a name which, for that matter, has mythical associations, as Rongo’s Water (*Wai-o-Rongo*) is a sacred water in heaven, in which the *tohi* rite is performed to Tane.³

Tapu is also removed by the sacred water. In GREY’S Moteatea there is a *tuapana* which seems to contain allusions to this. Unfortunately the ritual situation is not indicated. *Tuapana* is to make childbirths easy. Grey’s collection contains two, one for girl children, the other for boy children. The latter contains some indications that the boy’s *tapu* is removed by the water. It is uncertain whether the *tuapana* itself was recited besides the water, but it is not very probable. Still, I think that the following passage can throw light on the Maori’s view of what happens when a *tapu* is removed by the sacred water.

Text.

31. Takiritia ra te tapu o Ruanuku,
32. He tapu ka kawea ki te wai,
33. Ka turakina, ka whakawaituhitia.
34. Ooi.
35. Takiritia, takiritia ra te tapu o te tama nei,

¹ Taylor 186 f.

² Best Koh. 30.

³ Lore I, 24, 27.

36. He tapu kawea ki te wai,
37. ka huhua ka whakanoatia,
38. ooi,
39. ka whakahekea,
40. ka whakamamatia,
41. ooi.¹

Translation.

31. Release Ruanuku's *tapu*,
32. A *tapu* which is taken to the water,
33. It is upset, it is *waituhied*.
34. Ooi.
35. Release, release this boy's *tapu*,
36. A *tapu* which is taken to the water,
37. It is taken off, it is made profane.
38. Ooi.
39. It is reduced,
40. It is removed.
41. Ooi.

Commentary.

31. Ruanuku. This is presumably a mythical name, but it is uncertain which (cf. TREGEAR, who is of opinion that it has something to do with the inundation myth). In the corresponding *tuapanā* for girl children *te tapu o Ruanuku* is in apposition to *te tapu o Hine* (GREY Mot. 354). Hence it seems to refer to the *tapu* of the woman in labour.

33. *waituhī*: the performance of rites on women in labour or women who have just given birth to a child. The rite is also connected with the child when the umbilical cord is cut. To judge from the whole context the reference is probably mainly to the rite of women in labour.

A number of words are used which indicate that a *tapu* is removed, most of which can be used purely technically except *turaki* and *whakaheke* (l. 33 and l. 39). Apart from *whakamama* they contain an image which I have tried to bring out in the translation. For further explanation it may be stated that *huhu* especially evokes the image of a garment which is taken off. It is remarkable

¹ Grey Mot. 361 f.

that none of these similes represent the water as purifying, the more so as the image is found in another ritual situation. "The person goes to the water in order to wash off his yearning (*aroha*)," we read somewhere.¹ *Aroha*, a feeling, can be washed off, but not a *tapu*. I know no text at all which expresses that a *tapu* can be washed off. This is probably connected with the fact that purification in a strict sense is too passive a concept, considering the strength of a *tapu* content as well as the importance of activity for the Maori. Purification therefore is precluded from becoming of any profound importance in Maori religion. As 'purity' in the meaning of freedom from alien spiritual content is so essential to the Maori, it will, however, be unpractical to discard the word 'purification', only that it should always be kept in mind that it does not cover the ritual process very well.

For the whole of this question it is instructive to study a ritual through which the participants in a 'second interment' (*hahunga*) are brought back from the sphere of the burial to normal life. The priest places a pole in the water and recites:²

1. Toko kai mo te Po (?),
2. Te Po nui,
3. Te Po roa,
4. Te Po uriuri,
5. Te Po tangotango,
6. Te Po wawa,
7. Te Po te kitea,
8. Te Po te waia (read: whaia).
9. Tena toko ka tu,
10. ko toko o Tane-rua-nuku.
11. Ko toko o te Po,
12. oti atu ki te Po.

1. A pointed pole for Night (?),
2. Great Night,
3. Long Night,
4. Dark Night,
5. Black Night,

¹ TNZI. 38, 180 (Best).

² Taylor 226 f.

6. ? Night,
7. Night that is not seen,
8. Night that is not sought.
9. This is your pole which stands,
10. Tane-rua-nuku's pole.
11. Night's pole,
12. For ever Night's.

Another pole is erected with the words:

13. Toko kai mo te Ao (?).
14. Te Ao nui,
15. Te Ao roa,
16. Te Ao pouri,
17. Te Ao potango,
18. Te Ao wa tuma (read: whētuma).
19. Tena toko ka tu,
20. ko toko o Tane,
21. ko toko o Hikurangi,
22. ko toko te wai (read: whai) Ao,
23. ko toko te Ao marama,
24. Oti atu ki te ao,
25. Mo nga tangata ora o tenei toko.

13. A pointed pole for Day,
14. Great Day,
15. Ever-lasting Day,
16. Dark (sad) Day,
17. Black Day,
18. Obscure (low-lying) Day.
19. This pole which stands,
20. Tane's pole,
21. Hikurangi's pole,
22. The pole which possesses (or becomes) Day,
23. The pole, bright Day,
24. Forever Day's,
25. For the saved people of this pole.

Commentary.

The ritual is found in two slightly shorter editions, viz. TAYLOR 223, and GREY Mot. 263. Finally there is a translation

in BEST M. II, 69. Presumably BEST had an independent source, since he uses the word 'wand', which generally renders Maori *tira*. TAYLOR's texts are not so bad as they are sometimes made out to be; their fault is mostly inappropriateness or misleading recording. Thus he does not distinguish between *w* and *wh*. The translations are often erroneous and therefore offer little support, but explain why the record or editing is no better than it is. GREY's version bears traces of an incorrectly interpreted manuscript (*Tarieruanuku* for *Taneruanuku*, *o te atua ki te po* for *oti atu ki te po*). In return *w* and *wh* are kept apart.

1. 1. *Toko kai mo te Po*;

TAYLOR 223: *Toko kai (i) te po*;

GREY: *Toko koi te po*.

kai may be *kei* or *koi*, as in the other versions, where it is obviously a preposition. It cannot be interpreted like this here, where *kai* is followed by the preposition *mo*. Perhaps it should be read as *koi* 'sharp', as suggested in my translation. It appears from the other versions that something like 'the pole of the Night' is indicated.

1. 6. GREY: *whawha*. AHM. I, 42, however, has *wawa* in a corresponding list, Lore I, 56: *Po-te-whawha*.

1. 8. GREY: *whaia*.

1. 13. See note on 1. 1.

1. 18. *watuma*. GREY: *whatu ma*. In the list, GREY, M. 2, it says in this place: *Ao-whētuma*.

The ritual falls into two parts, each with its characteristic principal word: *Po* and *Ao*. Of course it refers to the Maori's dualism.¹ *Po* stands for Death, the kingdom of Death, and the world of darkness, a comprehensive concept, translated here by 'Night'. Correspondingly *Ao*, the world of life and day, translated by 'Day'. *Po* (lines 2–8) is varied by seven epithets, *Ao* (lines 14–18) by five. A few of these names cannot be translated and hence escape further discussion. As for the rest we find that *Po*'s epithets are found to be quite natural, while three of *Ao*'s are somewhat peculiar, as they vary the expression of 'the dark *Ao*'. It may refer to the world before the creation of light, as it is used like this in another passage.² However, it is remarkable

¹ Johansen, Maori 221 f.

² Lore I, 19.

that this series of Aos occur as mythical names of clouds, and in this connexion the names are easy enough to understand.¹ In this place, it is precluded that Ao should be a cloud. I think an interpretation must start from the fact that these series of Pos and Aos are set formulas of a mythical and ritual character. It is less the individual names than the series as a whole which bear the sense. If we want to ask for the sense, the local tribal mythology is of course the best to consult. In this respect, too, the Po series is the easiest. TAYLOR's information mainly (or exclusively?) originates from the Taranaki tribes. In TAYLOR's book there is a genealogical cosmogony, in which we find the whole series extended with some more terms in what TAYLOR calls "the second period", viz. of the cosmogony.²

Night was born,
Great Night, ever-lasting Night,
Night who bent, Night who crouched,
Dark Night, black Night,
Te Po wawa, Night who is not seen,
Night who is not sought.

...

The series of Pos thus can be said to represent a phase of creation, viz. the birth of Night.

The series of Aos is more difficult. From Ngati-Hau, a tribe which is comparatively closely related to Taranaki, we have a series of genealogies beginning with Rangi (Heaven), among them:³

Raki (i.e. Rangi)
Rehua
Tamaiteokotahi
Aonui
Ao-roa
Ao-pouri
Ao-potako (i.e. Ao-potango)
Ao-toto

...

¹ Grey M. 2; AHM. I, 137.

² Taylor 109 f.

³ AHM. I, 46.

Here, too, we are within the cosmogony, but it is very possible that these Aos are imagined as clouds. In TAYLOR there is a version of the separation of Earth and Heaven (Papa and Rangi). It contains the usual trait that it is Tane who separates them by lifting Rangi upon poles. It is a fundamental event; for on that occasion Te Po and Te Ao were separated.¹ In TAYLOR it says:

Yes truly was Tane the author

Of the great day
Of the long day
Of the clear sky
Of the day driving away night,
Of the day making all things distinct,
Of the day making everything bright,
Of the day driving away gloom,
Of the hot sultry day,
Of the day shrouded in darkness.²

TAYLOR does not quote the Maori text, and his translations are not very reliable. Still we may venture to suppose that there is a series of Aos, which, indeed, cannot possibly be identical with the present one, but still displays similarities. The two first members are undoubtedly Ao-nui and Ao-roa, the last one might be Ao-pouri. Although the agreement is only moderate, we are decidedly on the right track, as warranted by the expression in line 20: Tane's pole, i. e., of course, the pole placed under Heaven, when it was separated from Earth, and at the same time the one which is raised in the ritual.

In the first section, too, 'Tane-ruanuku's pole' is mentioned. I suppose that here, too, the reference is to the separation of Earth and Heaven. Otherwise, I only know Taneruanuku from the Ngati-Hau, where he appears in a genealogy as a character distinct from Tane between Tiki and Rangi-whakaahua. The genealogy is not very instructive and furthermore it originates from another, although neighbouring tribe. Tane-ruanuku can be rendered as 'Tane the magician'. The whole context suggests that it is Tane in a special function (viz. as the creator of 'Night').

In spite of a few obscure details—and when do we find a

¹ E.g. Grey M. 2.

² Taylor 120.

Maori ritual without such?—we may safely conclude that the ritual as a whole represents a cosmogony with the stress on an important point, viz. the separation of "Night" and "Day", of the spheres of death and life. By reference to a related ritual commented on elsewhere,¹ we may find the meaning of the whole ritual in the existing situation. The participants in the interment have incurred a *tapu* content from the sphere of death. This is an *aitua*, a pollution of life of a fatal character. By repeating the separation of "Night" and "Day" during creation, the *tapu* with a "Night" character is separated from the sphere of "Day" and life in the participants. It is a purification, but not a passive 'washing', on the contrary, it is of a most active character,—a creation of the world of life and light in its original purity. 'The saved people of this pole' can safely return to life.

At the same time we find here an illustration of the view advanced on p. 7 that important rites performed in the sacred precincts took on a cosmic significance. The people to whom the rites were performed, must be supposed to have included also the highborn; they could not be re-created separately, their *mana* involved that the re-creation became cosmic, became a world-creation.

So far we have not learnt anything about the role of the sacred water during the performance of this rite, but still the ritual contains a clue to this problem. In line 21 we find the expression 'Hikurangi's pole'.² The occurrence of this expression offers a further motivation of the fact that just this ritual has been discussed so thoroughly.

Hikurangi is a mythical place wrapt in a special radiance. The word has some of the same ring as the name of Paradise in our ears.

From a creation myth just in TAYLOR we may adduce the following lines:

The sun was born,
It was flung into the air as an eye to Heaven.
Then Heaven became beautiful.
It was The-reddening-dawn, The-morning-whose-light-is-a-fan,
 The-shining-dawn, the dawn on Hikurangi.³

¹ Johansen, Maori 220 f.

² The expression is also found in Taylor's second version as "ko toko Ikurangi".

³ Taylor 110.

The Ngati-Hau, a tribe settled not far from the Taranaki, have this version:

"Rangi (Heaven), who stands here (above us) lay with Te-werowero (the Ray of Light?), then the Sun was born, The-reddening-dawn, The-morning-whose-light-is-a-fan, The-shining-dawn and the first rays of the Sun had fallen on Hikurangi, the sacred mountain of Hawaiki."¹

The first morning of Creation, when the rays of the newborn sun glow on Hikurangi, has conveyed a ring of promise into the word. Perhaps we find this sentiment most beautifully at the end of Rangimauri's lamentation for the dead Tongaawhikau:

Tonga! Sleep thou now there in the breeze,
But I will listen to the birds
That twitter while the morning breaks,
Bearing witness, in truth, to the day on Hikurangi,
The day-owning, the world of light.²

Hikurangi is very closely connected with the water in two myths. One deals with Maui, a figure who can probably best be characterized as the cultural hero of the Maoris. He has his own roguish manners, which manifest themselves with a particular humour in the grandiose myths about his strange and disrespectful deeds.

Understandably his elder brothers gradually became somewhat anxious about what their little brother Maui might take it into his head to do, and when once he asked them to be allowed to go fishing with them, they flatly refused. Maui, however, would not be put off, he slipped in advance down to the canoe and hid himself there. Only when they had gone a good distance out to sea, he emerged, and the brothers had to put up with his presence. He lured them farther and farther to sea by prospects of better fishing grounds and was not satisfied until he had lost sight of land. Maui was not the one to jig for small fishes.

Then he took out his grandmother's lower jaw, which with his usual frankness he had stolen from her, in order to use it as a fish-hook, quite a horrible thing, indeed; this was what the Maori used his enemies' bones for. Maui asked for bait, but his

¹ AHM. I, 43; cf. the version from the Ngati-Rauru ibidem.

² JPS. 5, 116 (Rangimauri by Te-Whetu).

brothers naturally were equally mistrustful and would not give him anything. Then he hit his nose with his fist till the blood came, and as soon as it clotted, he smeared it on the hook and dropped the hook outside the gunwale. It did not take long until he felt that there was a bite, and he began to haul in. Evidently it was a good-sized fish, for the canoe sank deeper and deeper. Maui's brothers implored him to let it go; but he pulled hard and up came the North Island of New Zealand. It was 'Te Ika a Maui', Maui's Fish, as it is also called.

This story has the character of a myth, but it is said that it did not belong to the sacral part proper.¹ It was generally told for entertainment. Nevertheless it was, or in some places might be a ritual myth; for in several versions we find the *karakia* mentioned which Maui used during his fishing. Among the Arawa, e.g., it ran as follows:

1. He aha tau, e Tonganui,
2. E ngau whakatuturi ake i raro?
3. Ka puta te hau o Ranga-whenua,
4. ka rukuruku,
5. ka heihei,
6. ka rukuruku,
7. ka eaea,
8. Ooi,
9. Mokopu-Tangaroa-meha.²

Parts of this *karakia* enter in various ritual texts. The first three lines are simply identical with a *karakia* which was used for fishing with a line and hook.³ And in a *karakia* used at making nets lines 4—9 occur with a slight alteration.⁴ The use at fishing is natural enough; it is more curious that lines 4—9 enter with an inconsiderable alteration in the *tuapana* of which we discussed some lines above (p. 24 f.).⁵ The key to this little problem is Hikurangi.

The motif, Maui and his fish, enter directly in a few other

¹ Lore I, 67.

² Grey M. 16.

³ Hamilton 23.

⁴ Hamilton 54 f. (lines 13—15).

⁵ Grey Mot. 361 (lines 25—30).

ritual texts.¹ Especially one in which we find an allusion to his fish-hook is of interest:

This is the hook with which the great country which
lies here, was hauled up,
Hikurangi emerges.²

The line enters in a *karakia* directed against a fish-hook thief and perhaps is mainly to have effect by pointing out Maui's feat as a powerful deed; but for our purpose it is more significant that the first land that rises out of the sea is Hikurangi. This is connected with some traditions about Maui and Hikurangi. TAYLOR heard that Maui's canoe was stranded on Hikurangi and is still found there.³ Others will have it that Maui lies buried there.⁴ In the traditions mentioned Hikurangi is a certain mountain on the east coast; but probably the mountain Hikurangi cannot be separated from mythical Hikurangi (see below).

As mentioned above, parts of Maui's *karakia* enter in a *tuapana* already discussed (p. 24 f.). They run as follows:

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| 25. Rukuruku, | 25. Dive and dive, |
| eaea | Come up and come up, |
| rukuruku | Dive and dive, |
| eaea | Come up and come up, |
| ooi, | Ooi, |
| 30. Te Mokoputangaroameha. ⁵ 30. Te Mokopu-Tangaroa-meha. | |

In itself the translation does not tell very much; but these lines, too, derive their main contents from the Maui myth. They agree with lines 4—9 in his *karakia*, with the exception of the verbal particle *ka* and *heihei* (bind, entangle) in line 5. The agreement gathers weight by the fact that the peculiar Te Mokopu-Tangaroa-meha occurs in both passages. In the *tuapana* these lines are succeeded immediately by those quoted above (p. 24) in which a *tapu* is removed by the water. The meaning must be that by Maui's feat Hikurangi is pulled out of the water (i.e. the sacred water) as a place for salvation and newborn life.

¹ e. g. TNZI. 34, 85.

² Grey Mot. 160 (cf. AHM. I, 91).

³ Taylor 129.

⁴ JPS. 4, 181 (Gudgeon); Polack, Manners I, 16.

⁵ Grey Mot. 361.

This is corroborated by the study of another and more important myth concerning Hikurangi, the Ruatapu myth.

This occurs in numerous versions, which, however, agree in outline.¹ Uenuku had two sons, Paikea and Ruatapu. Ruatapu was the younger and in some places was also born by another and more lowborn mother than Paikea. Then one day it happened that Ruatapu violated his brother's or his father's *tapu* and incurred an insulting reproach. He brooded over the insult and in order to revenge himself he drilled a hole in a large canoe and afterwards plugged it up. He managed that he himself, his brother Paikea and all the noblest young men sailed far out to sea in the canoe. There he secretly pulled out the plug and all the young men were drowned except Paikea, who swam ashore. Paikea means 'whale'. Before that, Ruatapu had told him to gather the people at home on the Hikurangi mountain in order that they might be saved when Ruatapu came as a tidal wave. He also told him when he would come; but the time varies from the eighth month (approximately January, thus in midsummer) to the time about the New Year in the middle of the winter (June). In most versions, indeed, it ends by Ruatapu coming as a huge flood from which only those people were saved who stood on Hikurangi. The tribes in and around Waiapu with fair certainty identify Hikurangi with the mountain Hikurangi, but this detail is of more subordinate importance. The decisive feature is that Hikurangi as a mythical place means salvation from a danger in the shape of water.

Undoubtedly this myth gave an intense colour to the word. We note that in the case of some isolated uses. In a late song to Governor GREY on occasion of his departure it says that one must pray (*inoi!*) to "Tangaroa's Salt-Tooth (i. e. the sea) that it must become a road for you to Hikurangi."² The most interesting allusion is found in one of the sagas of the period of the taking of land. Tapo had been thrown overboard from the Aotea canoe and said while lying in the water, "Sons, let me be on Hikurangi," after which they helped him onboard.³ It seems

¹ The most important are AHM. III cap. 1—2; JPS. 54, 162 (Carrington); Best T. 686; TNZI. 14, 17 ff. (Colenso). The contents of the myth are discussed from another point of view in Johansen, Maori 79.

² Grey Mot. 23.

³ Grey M. 94.

evident that Hikurangi here is a place where one is safe from the sea, however the episode should otherwise be interpreted, for it is very peculiar. In the first place it says that Tapo asserted himself (*whakatamaramara*)¹ by asking for room on Hikurangi; secondly, the story continues as follows, "See, only then they understood that 'This is Maru!'" He asserts himself, and they understand that he is Maru, i.e. a god. The conclusion must be that Hikurangi is not only a place of salvation, but in particular a sacred place. Interpreted in this way the episode makes sense. The conclusion for that matter only takes us back to our starting-point. 'Hikurangi's pole' is, indeed, just a pole in the sacred precinct. This cyclic course testifies to the close connection of the Hikurangi of the myth and that of the rite.

The mythology connected with Hikurangi is undoubtedly the most important to illustrate the particular character of the sacred water. However, we have another ritual myth which fairly certainly refers to the sacred water. It is therefore of interest in this connexion, but as at the same time it is a document for the mythology of Io, it raises some problems which, in what follows, we shall discuss in connexion with the whole question of the high-god of the Maoris.

Io.

The outlook for Polynesian high-gods has been rather fluctuating. This has influenced the view of Io as well. In the last century this high-god was known only through a few sporadic notes, but in the present century a comparatively voluminous material has emerged, especially in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga. FR. R. LEHMANN in 1931 balanced accounts after mustering all the information available.² He completely endorsed the views of the New Zealand scholars (TREGEAR, PERCY SMITH, ELDON BEST, and others) and, as they did, he found that the mythology of Io was a genuine Maori tradition, in the main independent of Christianity. Although J. FRANK STIMSON in his Tuamotuan Religion, 1933, was somewhat critical towards the tradition of Io among the Maoris, the high-god, Kaho, which he

¹ Williams s.v. also translates by 'expostulate'; but this is probably only *ad hoc*.

² Ethnologische Studien 1, 271—292. 1931.

found among the Tuamotuans, however, at the same time seemed to confirm the existence of an early Polynesian high-god, Io or Kiho. But the very Tuamotu tradition about Kiho which STIMSON—more a linguist than a historian of religion—published, aroused distrust in more sceptical spirits. RALPH PIDDINGTON in 1939 called attention to a far-going correspondence between the creation myth of the Kiho tradition and the Genesis.¹ The same and the following year EMORY published two articles about the creation myth on the Tuamotu Islands.² According to these STIMSON had fallen a victim to a deceit. Kiho had been created *ad hoc* and introduced rather mechanically into mythology. If EMORY is right, and there is much to be said in favour of his view, Kiho cannot even be termed a high-god who has arisen late; the depressing thing is that he does not at all seem to have been high-god to anybody, and that, if so, the Kiho traditions do not represent any religion at all. This is an important point to the student of the history of religion. If only there has been a cult of Kiho—although a new one—corresponding to the texts, then these will remain of some interest.

Then Io emerged in Hawaii. A cautious article by HANDY on "The Hawaiian Cult of Io" was answered by EMORY, who here, too, with sure learning and commonsense convinced the reader that the Hawaiian Io, considered as a high-god, was quite a recent figment of some Hawaiians.³

The shares of the Polynesian high-gods then were very low. It might be expected that the Io of the Maoris would be looked upon with critical eyes. The criticism came from expert quarters, when in 1949 TE RANGI HIROA in "The Coming of the Maori" pounced on various pieces of pseudo-evidence of Io and offered some critical remarks on the fuller evidence.⁴ On most points the validity of TE RANGI HIROA'S criticism can hardly be contested. It will be utilized when we are to discuss the problem in more detail below.

Preliminarily we must lay down that there is no sure evidence of the existence of a proto-Polynesian high-god, on the contrary, there is every indication that the high-gods must have arisen after

¹ Williamson & Piddington, Essays 293—301.

² JPS. 48, 1—29; 49, 69—136.

³ JPS. 50, 134—159 (Handy); JPS 51, 200—207 (Emory).

⁴ Rangi Hiroa 531 ff.

the Polynesians had dispersed over the area where the Europeans found them.¹ Consequently each Polynesian high-god must, as it were, defend himself. The Io of the Maoris must be judged only on the basis of New Zealand material.

The first printed communication about Io originates from C. O. DAVIS, who in 1876 related that a Nga-Puhi had disclosed that "the Maoris in olden times worshipped a Supreme Being whose name was held to be so sacred that none but a priest might utter it at certain times and places. The name was Io, perhaps an abbreviation of Io-uru."² The Maori refused to offer further information, which may just as well be due to ignorance as to Io's sacral nature. DAVIS later refers to a mention of Io in a Maori song, but as this is due to a misinterpretation, it makes no difference, apart from illustrating a certain eagerness to find evidence of the existence of Io.³

Io is found at the head of a genealogy from the Ngai-Tahu published in 1887 by WHITE.⁴ However, as independent evidence it is without great value. On the other hand, a short text from the same year is of some interest. It originates from the Ngati-Hau and begins with the sentence: "The highest god is Io, he who created (built) the earth and Heaven."⁵ There is a reference to a *karakia* to be recited to Io which is said to belong to '*hahu*', i.e. the unearthing of the remains of a corpse and their final interment.

WHITE then adduced another text in which Io appears, but as pointed out by ELSDON BEST and TE RANGI HIROA, this is only apparently.⁶ The same applies to this as to DAVIS' pseudo-evidence.

Finally, WHITE in AHM.III as continuation of a translation of a text offers a description from the Ngai-Tahu without indication of source, but evidently originating from a white man's pen. Here "a certain heretical teacher" is mentioned, who maintained "that Tiki made man, whilst the fathers had always maintained that it was Io."⁷ According to the continuation Te

¹ Cf. JPS. 65, 253 (Monberg).

² Lore I, viii.

³ Rangi Hiroa 532.

⁴ AHM. I, 26.

⁵ AHM. II, 4.

⁶ Best T. 1026; Rangi Hiroa 532.

⁷ AHM. III Eng. 230.

Wera stamped out the heresy by eating the heretic; but this is undoubtedly attributing to Te Wera a motive which was both superfluous and alien to him. Actually the "heresy" was so widely distributed that Te Wera's stomach would not have sufficed for a real eradication.

C. E. NELSON informed PERCY SMITH that he had heard from a Ngati-Whatua chief about Io, probably as a high-god. However, we have no dating of this communication.

Finally, we have in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga, Part 1, a document about Io—and the fullest one—through which the Io tradition presumably can be traced back to the 1860's. Here also belongs NEPIA POHUHU's contribution concerning Io which was not published until later.¹ These communications originate from the Ngati-Kahungunu.

If we could be sure that these five pieces of evidence of the existence of Io, or only the four dated ones, were independent of one another, the pre-European existence of the high-god Io would be assured, as the tribes Nga-Puhi, Ngati-Hau, Ngai-Tahu, and Ngati-Kahungunu live almost as far from one another as is possible in New Zealand. But there is the rub. PERCY SMITH tells that the incentive to the recording of the Lore of the Whare-Wananga was given at a meeting of several tribes towards the end of the 1850's.² Perhaps Io may already then have been mentioned to a wider circle. However, this is somewhat uncertain as Io's name undoubtedly was highly sacral to these early Maoris. On the other hand, a meeting was held later, where the records were given a kind of authorization and were sealed by Tanenuiarangi's seal.

About this meeting WILLIAMS gives some supplementary information which originates from AUGUSTUS HAMILTON, who attended the meeting. We learn that it was "a meeting of Maori tribes at which a number of versions were put forward, and selection of the best made by popular vote."³ Judging from this statement, we are here in an atmosphere essentially different from that of the early Maoris, and we dare not count on being sure against a rather open mention of Io.

¹ JPS. 32, 1—4. 1923.

² Lore I, i.

³ JPS. 46, 107.

Unfortunately we are not informed of the time of this meeting, which to PERCY SMITH seems to give increased authority to the Lore of the Whare-Wananga, while the present-day reader would rather be of the opposite opinion.

The possibility that the mythology of Io at one of these meetings or at both should have become known over great parts of New Zealand cannot be excluded. When DAVIS, as mentioned above, had heard from a Nga-Puhi about Io, he pressed him hard, but "he refused to disclose any more Maori secrets as he called them, and politely referred me to an old priest who resided about one hundred miles off." This 'old priest' for that matter may very well have been Te Matorohanga, the chief source of the Lore of the Whare-Wananga—we do not know.

While we must be in doubt about the independence of the early evidence of the two meetings mentioned, there is, as we shall see, hardly any doubt that the information which has become available in the present century, thus through ELDON BEST, is indebted to the mythology influenced by the meetings.

The primary source of the mythology of Io thus may very well be supposed to be a pure Ngati-Kahungunu tradition. Whether this is so or not, this tradition is the fullest and the one which is recorded earliest. Even though this is not our real subject, we shall consider it in some detail.

In its earliest form it occurs in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga. This work was written by a half-caste H. T. Whatahoro (born in 1841) as a literal rendering of what older priests had related. These older priests were especially Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu. Both were born in the beginning of the 19th century and had grown up in the early Maori culture and religion. Both of them were as adults converted to Christianity, but repented and returned to the Maori religion. A possibility of influence from Christianity thus is by no means precluded; but at the evaluation of the probability of such influence, we must consider the Maori's character. If we compare the Maori texts with the texts originating from the rest of Polynesia, we are struck by the noble independence that is about the Maori. We only rarely find any attempt at demonstrating personal superciliousness towards the old traditions or an apologetic attitude. Where Christianity is perceived, we find it in an extraordinarily original presentation. This corresponds

to the force with which the Maoris have understood how to assert themselves from a military and political point of view.

The Lore of the Whare-Wananga in its entirety bears witness to this self-consciousness of the Maoris. The very existence of it is, indeed, quite a peculiar phenomenon. The idea probably was that of creating a national Maori work, a book about religion and history with an authority which could be contrasted to that of the Bible. The time of its genesis also is suggestive. It was a time when there was religious and political unrest among the Maoris, which also appeared in the Hauhau movement.¹ Only it is a pity that we have no actual knowledge of the inner history of the genesis. The feeling of independence which must be supposed to be an important incentive, will on many points make us safe from the more patent influence from Christian quarters, but on the other hand may have resulted in an amplification of the mythology of the high-god in order to strengthen the Maori by the idea of the elevated character of their own religion as compared with Christianity.

Unfortunately the evaluation of the Lore of the Whare-Wananga to some degree must be a question of an assumption as above. That this assumption is not all in the air, however, appears from the natural pride with which the Maori of today refers to the mythology of Io.² By studying the latest shoots of the mythology of Io we can furthermore find certain growing points in mythology and in this way assess the character of possible amplifications.

Before proceeding to do so, we must also touch on the recording Maori's, Whatahoro's, relation to the work. This appears as a literal rendering of Te Matorohanga's and the other priests' words, sometimes interrupted by questions from the listeners and the answers to these questions. In this connexion WILLIAMS writes: "But this can be little more than a literary artifice, and there is reason to believe that a good deal of his matter has been worked over more than once." Probably this accounts for the various minor inconsistencies in the work. WILLIAMS adduces some of these inconsistencies, which he finds rather compromising. This is connected with the fact that WILLIAMS wants to judge the

¹ Babbage, Hauhauism.

² E. g. JPS. 41, 14 f. (Wi Repa).

work as a source of the Maori's early history.¹ Undoubtedly it is doing an injustice to the work to consider it like this. It should primarily be considered a source of Matorohanga and his circle. From this point of view the various inconsistencies become of minor importance. In my opinion Whatahoro gives a fairly true picture of Te Matorohanga's doctrine, even if we cannot count on a completely literal rendering. Besides, I want to refer to my previous appraisal of the work—made from another point of view.²

The result of all these considerations must be that we have little security for any old age of the mythology of Io. Even though we may form an estimate as to which parts may be supposed to date back to pre-European times, this will, in fact, be only an estimate. We can obtain more security by the inverse approach: what elements have shown a particularly luxuriant growing power? In this way we can sort out some elements which fairly certainly are late.

When this is how matters stand, one may ask if a detailed inquiry is worth while at all? The answer is connected with the question what it is after all that we investigate and can investigate in such a people as the Maoris. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the tradition of the Maoris is not and never was an established, unchangeable corpus.³ The fact that the oral traditions in post-European times have developed further under the impression of changed conditions, need not deter us from using these traditions in so far as the changes do not decisively interfere with hereditary culture and religion. Actually we shall never be able to go farther back than to the point in history where the first, still hardly perceptible turn of the tide in Maori culture had already set in.

As applied to the present question, the mythology of Io, this consequently means that, indeed, we can only make a very uncertain estimate whether it is pre-European and what parts are

¹ JPS. 46, 106 (Williams). To the inconsistencies mentioned we may add e.g.: Lore I, 23 and 33 show discrepancies; thus also the lists in Lore I, 40, 43, and 49. In Lore I, 42 Takaaho is an elder brother of Tane, but he is not found among Rangi and Papa's children. Lore I, 64 offers two widely different explanations of Wai-harorangi.—As a source of early Maori history the work has also been criticized by Te Rangi Hiroa, 16—18, 29, and 48, where he shows that the historical tradition has been amplified in various ways.

² Johansen, Maori 275 f.

³ Johansen, Maori 270 f.

so. On the other hand we can ask how the mythology of Io stands in relation to our other knowledge of Maori culture and religion, in order in this way to decide whether, if it is based on a new development, it has slipped into the old pattern of religion. If so, it is a source of Maori religion, although at its very last stage. The advantage of this approach is that it makes us independent of the rough estimates of age and that we may replace these by investigations in which at each point we can make comparisons of a concrete character and can give definite reasons for or against including the mythology of Io in the investigations. Future investigators perhaps will arrive at other results, but this then should be done by a reference to definite facts, perhaps overlooked in the present investigations.

Now is the time to put forward the result of the investigations the principles of which we have laid down. We shall first in outline go through the mythology of Io.

Io is the highest god. This is partly stated outright (*ko te tino atua ko Io*),¹ partly expressed in phrases which more closely define his exalted character in various respects. "In Io alone is the *mana* of all the gods," says Nepia Pohuhu.² He also uses an expression for the same thing, which from the earlier Maoris' point of view is less acceptable: "the "princely" *mana* (*mana-ariki*), the *tapu mana*, the living *mana*, and the divine *mana* are in Io's hands."³ Here we are probably faced with an example of inflation in the use of the word *mana*. What is the exact meaning of "living *mana*"? The phrase "is in Io's hands" would seem to be dependent on the Biblical phrase, if not directly, at least indirectly.⁴ Te Matorohanga says, "in him (sc. Io) is the *mana* of life, death, and divinity."⁵ "The *mana* of life and death" is a phrase which was hardly ever used by an earlier Maori generation. Te Matorohanga's idea for that matter is clear enough, the term means that Io controls the life and death of all beings. Te Matorohanga also uses other phrases: "These are the things which are attached by Io-mata-ngaro to himself alone: the *wairua* of all things, their life and form, by these three every-

¹ AHM. II, 4.

² JPS. 32, 2.

³ JPS. 32, 3.

⁴ E.g. Deut. 33, 3.

⁵ Lore I, 16.

thing gets its form.”¹ This quotation is no doubt to be considered from the point of view of the esoteric *wairua* doctrine, which presumably was characteristic of the Te Matorohanga circle,² i. e. that *wairua* is a fundamental principle in all things, which conditions their existence and their interdependence. *Wairua*, as used here, thus is strongly to emphasize the immediate inner dependence of all things on Io. This was corroborated by Nepia Pohuhu in a declaration which strikes one as quite pantheistic: “Everything is completely inside Io-matua. All things according to their form, (indeed,) every single thing has a *wairua*. He is the only father (*matua*) of all things, the only god of everything, the only lord, the only *wairua*—therefore everything is one, born by Io-taketake.”³

A further source of our knowledge of Io’s nature is the large number of epithets, each of which emphasizes one aspect of his perfection, either clearly from the name or adduced by an explanation.⁴

Some names are only expressive of Io’s greatness in general: Io-nui, ‘Great Io’, Io-te-hau-e-rangi is to refer to the fact that all (12) heavens are his. Io-tikitiki-rangi or Io-tikitiki-o-rangi is explained by the fact that he is the god of both the heavens and the underworld. *Tikitiki* should probably be interpreted as a variant of *tiketike* ‘exalted’, so that the name can be rendered as ‘Io, the exalted one of the heavens’. Io is invisible, hence the name Io-mata-ngaro, ‘Io with the hidden face’, or he is seen only as a radiant light: Io-mata-aho, ‘Io-whose-face-is-radiant-light’.

Io is without any origin; he is called Io-matua-kore, ‘Io who is without parents’, varying with Io-te-matua-te-kore and Io-matua-te-kore. He is also called Io-roa ‘Io the eternal’.

Io is no doubt to be conceived as omnipotent. Everything is indicative of this. The names do not exactly say so directly, but seem to presuppose it. Thus Io-mata-putahi is said to refer to the fact that he only need command once. A peculiar name is Io-te-whiwhia or Io-te-kore-te-whiwhia. One would think that it meant ‘Io-who-is-not-possessed’, but the explanation is to the

¹ Lore I, 14.

² Johansen, Maori 261.

³ Lore I, 52.

⁴ Appendix I is a survey of Io’s names with references to the sources.

effect that nobody can possess anything except by virtue of Io's will. The omnipotence is more clearly indicated in a number of names which emphasize the immovability of his resolutions, thus Io-te-taketake or Io-taketake, 'Io-the-constant'; Io-tamaua-take has a similar meaning and is interpreted to the effect that his commandments cannot be shaken.

Io is omniscient. Therefore he is called Io-mata-nui, 'Io-with-the-big-eye'. Io-matakana, 'Io-the-vigilant' presumably alludes to the same. Io's omniscience has been expressed in a mythical form: "Te Whatahoro . . . states that at the dwelling place of Io, and situated immediately in front of him, there was a large stone that showed, in some manner, all that was occurring in all the different realms or worlds."¹ Io's sacral knowledge (*wananga*) is especially emphasized. He is the source of all *wananga*, therefore he is called Io-te-wananga, Io-wananga-o-nga-rangi, Io-i-te-wananga. The name Io-te-akaaka perhaps refers to the same.

Some names relating to Io as a parent and to his holiness will be mentioned below.

All these names take us into an exalted, but undeniably cool sphere. Only a few names are surrounded by a somewhat milder air. Io-mata-wai is said to denote that he is an *atua aroha*, 'a pitying god'. Io-te-waiora (cf. Io-matua-taketake-te-waiora) probably denotes Io as life-giving: 'Io-the-living-water'.

The exalted, but impersonally cool character of Io is corroborated by Io's whole placing in relation to the world. It appears as a consequence of Io's enormous holiness. Only a single name refers to this: Io-urutapu, 'the inviolable, immaculate Io', as it may be translated. The holiness, however, especially appears in the way in which mythology shows Io highly exalted above the world. Even though details here probably are inspired by Christianity, the whole is worked out in a way which is very characteristic of the Maoris.

Io is also called Io-te-Toi-o-nga-rangi, 'Io-the-peak-of-the-heavens', because he stays in the 12th or uppermost heaven, which is called Te Toi-o-nga-rangi or Tikitiki-o-nga-rangi. It is a common Polynesian and therefore early trait that there are several heavens above each other. Among the Maoris there were

¹ Man 1913 § 57 (Best).

various numbers, though not above ten—a sacred number—apart from the mythology of Io. The two highest heavens have no doubt been added in order to provide a dwelling for Io which is in agreement with his enormous holiness.¹ This is a purely Polynesian way of thinking.

It is also consistent from the Maori's view of *tapu* that Io is very much isolated, not only from the earth, but also from the lower heavens and the ordinary gods. His immediate associates are some colourless beings (Apa-)whatu-kura and (Apa-)marei-kura, the only ones who without further circumstances have access to the 12th heaven. Everybody else must have Io's special permission in order to be admitted by the door-keepers, Rua-tau, Aitu-pawa, Rehua, Puha-o-rangi, and Tau-o-rongo.² Among these at any rate Rehua is recognized as one of the highest and most *tapu* characters of ordinary mythology.

There are no less than two intermediate links between Io and the world. Closest to Io are the Whatukuras and the Mareikuras, and under them follow the Poutiriaos.³ These intermediaries may be compared with corresponding figures in other mythologies, but apart from the angels of Christianity it is most natural to compare them with the intermediaries that are inserted when food is served for very *tapu* persons.⁴ For then we see that whatever outside inspirations the Maori may have had, these figures are justified on a purely Maori basis, they are necessary for the maintenance of such a pure and strong life as that contained by Io.

Another aspect of the hierarchy is, however, emphasized much more in the mythology of Io, although or rather just because something quite new is introduced. The existence of the Poutiriaos is motivated by the fact that they are to see that the forces of life do not exceed their right limits, e.g. that the sun does not scorch the land, the gale does not raze it, etc. Furthermore the Whatukuras have been appointed as the superiors of the Poutiriaos with the special task of keeping the peace between the Poutiriaos. This is remarkable for several reasons. In the first place it shows that the creators of the Io-mythology must

¹ JPS. 32, 2 (Nepia Pohuhu).

² Lore I, 18 f.; JPS. 32, 2 (Pohuhu).

³ Lore I, 18, 16; JPS. 32, 2.

⁴ Johansen, Maori 212.

have felt that much was required to retain in the universe a harmony, which, indeed, seems very alien to the Maori mythology which is notoriously of an early date. One might think that the harmony in the universe might be connected with a hope that also the intruding Europeans could be kept within their bounds by the Poutiriaos. Secondly, it is remarkable how these highest authorities in the pantheon resemble an administration. Both the Whatukura and the Poutiriaos have been appointed by Io (through Tane) to definite offices, and the Poutiriaos are subordinate to the Whatukuras as ordained by Io. In early Maori mythology there is little about superiors and subordinates. In so far as such relations can be considered at all, they are embedded in a genuine Maori concept, viz. the kinship between the gods, which involves different generations, earlier and later lines, etc.

There cannot possibly be anything pre-European about these figures but at most their names. Their whole position obviously presupposes a knowledge of European administration. Indeed, it is an element of the mythology which has had a special growing power towards the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century. Whereas the Poutiriaos in TE MATOROHANGA and NEPIA POHUHU are only anonymous bands, we find a detailed account in a late recorded text in BEST.¹ Different groups are enumerated there, each with its sphere, and are partially identified with earlier prominent "departmental" gods. A special corps among them has taken over the Whatukuras' task, that of keeping the peace among the others, while the Whatukuras have been raised to an insignificant direct activity, that of receiving reports from the special corps and passing them on to Io.

The Poutiriaos and the Whatukuras thus give evidence of strong inspirations from European administration. However, there is no doubt that the angels of Christianity have been another source of inspiration. It is quite certain that the angels appealed to the religious needs of the Maoris. Indeed, the founder and prophet of the Hauhau religion got his religion from the archangel Gabriel, who repeatedly appeared before him with prophesies and visions.

Io's isolated position in relation to the world is presumably the most remarkable manifestation of his holiness, but of course

¹ Best Rel. 251 f.

this is also expressed in a different way, partly ritually (see below), partly by the secrecy which for a long period surrounded Io and his name and which makes it equally difficult to prove Io's pre-European existence or the opposite. In a late published and undoubtedly also late recorded text due to ELDON BEST, there is a trait which is rather incompatible with the idea of Io's holiness. It is a description of a prominent chief's deathbed. All his near relatives gather around him and some chief makes a speech in which Io is mentioned by name twice.¹ Considering that Io in the earlier tradition is only mentioned in connexion with sacred precincts or the solitude of the wilds, it is difficult to dismiss the idea that imagination runs wild here as regards the Io religion. Now it is not a mere esoteric religion, it is becoming the old Maoris' proper religion.

An important point of the theology of Io has not yet been discussed. One of Io's names is Io-matua, 'Io-the-originator', which is explained to denote that Io is the originator of everything. Io-matua-taketake-te-waiora, 'Io-the-permanent-originator-the-life-giving' expands the same. Io-te-pukenga or Io-i-te-pukenga 'Io-the-source' lays more stress on Io being the constantly active source, especially of all thoughts. In the Lore of the Whare-Wananga there is no further indication of the way in which Io is the originator of the world. The name Io-matua might perhaps be interpreted as if Io genealogically should be the father of everything—no unreasonable idea; see below. Still, this will probably be pressing the term too hard. Such a phrase as 'he is the root (*putake*) of everything' is too indefinite to allow of any conclusion.² Elsewhere we find partly allusions, partly a real creation myth. Hence Io is the origin of the world in two different ways, partly as the first member in a genealogical "creation myth", partly as a god who creates by his will similar to the Jahveh of the Genesis.

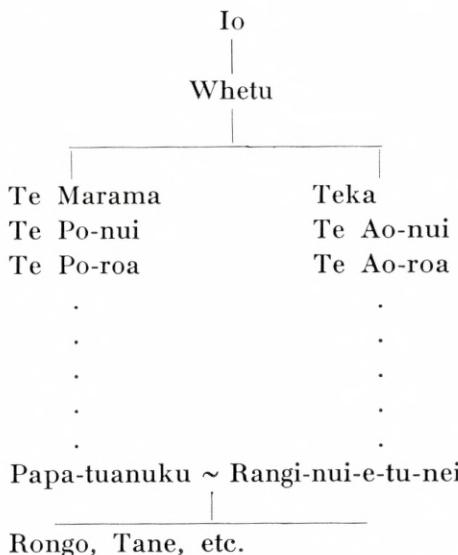
The genealogical cosmogony is at any rate an old common Polynesian myth. In its most frequent form it consists in the mere genealogical table. Still it is reasonable to denote it as a myth, partly because some of the early members are mythical characters, partly because mythical motifs are not rarely inserted in the

¹ JPS. 35, 24 (Best).

² Lore I, 14.

genealogy. In this way so many intermediate forms between the myth proper and the cosmogonic genealogy develop that there is hardly any doubt that the Polynesian considers the whole as varying presentations of the same contents.

There are two genealogical cosmogonies with Io at the head. One, from the Ngati-Maniapoto, begins like this:¹



The genealogy differs from the commonest type partly by Whetu (Star), Te Marama (the Moon), and Teka (the Sun) appearing so early, partly by having two parallel lines. On the other hand, the lines of Te Po and Te Ao—abbreviated here by means of dots—are a typical as well as a significant trait. Thus also the marriage between Papa-tuanuku and Rangi-nui-e-tu-nei (Earth and Heaven). Their offspring, Rongo, Tane, etc., is also traditional.

The second genealogy (from the Marutuahu tribes) appears as a continuation of a creation myth proper and in this way effects the transition to the familiar Maori mythology.² It runs as follows:

Io
Te Aio-nuku
..

¹ JPS. 14, 210 (Best).

² JPS. 16, 111 (Paraone).

Te Po-nui
...
Hine-ruaki-moe
Tahuhu-nui-a-rangi
Te Po
Te Ao
Rangi and Papa, etc.

The Aio figures here are atypical, but may perhaps be locally authenticated. For that matter, these genealogies were varied interminably.

What really separates the two genealogies from all others is Io's being placed at the head. It is true that there are a few other genealogies with Io as the first member, but they are without the unmistakable cosmogonic character and thus leave open the possibility that the introducing Io is not Io the high-god.¹

As a real creator god we find Io already in WHITE's collection of texts. There it says: "Io is the highest god, He who created (*hangā*, 'built') Earth and Heaven."² The phrase inevitably recalls the first verse of Genesis.

From a later time, however, we have a rather full myth with Io as the creator god. This is the myth which is the real subject of the present investigations and for the sake of which we have given this circumstantial account of the mythology of Io. It was published in 1907, but is at any rate some years older. It originates from the Maru-tuahu tribes (Hauraki).³ The myth is in poetic style, which is extraordinary for a Maori myth. TAYLOR's creation myths can hardly be adduced as parallels.⁴ The division into short lines does not, of course, mean very much, as we do not know whether the myth has been sung (which, indeed, is not usual). Furthermore, also in indisputable songs, the division into lines in the editions seems to be rather arbitrary. I am probably not the only one to consider it a mystery jealously guarded by the editors.

The poetic style, the late publication, and certain, although unobtrusive similarities to the Genesis, make it hardly probable

¹ AHM. I, 26; Best T. 1028.

² AHM. II, 4.

³ JPS. 16, 109 ff. (Paraone).

⁴ Taylor 109 ff.

that the myth should be pre-European. There may be signs of a certain dependence on the tradition which is represented by the Lore of the Whare-Wananga. The Maori author apologizes for his ignorance of Io's wife by stating that "it comes from the Maori, who has no committee to perceive what is right" and has no ink, either, but must rely on his memory. Te Rangi Hiroa is of opinion that this is an allusion to the committee for the recording of the Lore set up among the Ngati-kahungunu.¹ If this is true, it is, however, a matter of wonder that it is just said that the Maori has *no* committee. Indeed, one would expect that he confined himself to stating that his tribe or region had no committee. Experts on the history of Hauraki may perhaps mention more obvious committees to which the allusion might apply.

It is, however, certain that there is a common Io-tradition, whether pre- or post-European. The question is: How comprehensive is the material common to all parts of the tradition. Te Rangi Hiroa is of opinion that it may have been restricted to this: There is a high-god named Io. The myth then has been freely elaborated by inspiration from the Genesis. This simple conclusion must, however, be revised, as Te Rangi Hiroa completely disregards the ritual aspect. As we shall see below, there is a very strong indication that there is a tradition common to the Io-rituals and hence a much wider connexion than the mere idea of a high-god Io.

The very Io-rituals are of considerable interest because we are faced with an aspect of the Io religion which is based on pure Maori conditions. Fairly certainly there must have existed, perhaps only for a short time, a real, living Io religion, which on essential points bore a pure Maori stamp. The present myth is certainly the most important document in that respect.

We shall now attempt a translation of and comment on the myth. When doing so we must necessarily take into consideration HARE HONGI's translation, the only one available. It is of course with some misgivings that one deviates from a half-blood Maori's translation; but it cannot be denied that Hare Hongi sometimes proceeds somewhat arbitrarily. Furthermore, he has a tendency—and he is not alone in that—to convey to certain Polynesian myths a quasi-philosophical stamp in the translations.

¹ Rangi Hiroa 533.

Text.

1. I noho a Io i roto i te aha o te ao,
he pouri te ao, he wai katoa.
Kaore he ao, he marama, he maramatanga.
He pouri kau, he wai katoa.
5. A, nana i timata tenei kupu:
kia noho kore, noho ia,
“Po, ko po whai ao.”
Na! kua puta mai he ao.
Katahi ka whakahokia taua kupu ra ano, ko tenei kupu;
10. kia noho kore, noho ia
“Ao, ko ao whai po-o.”
Na! kua hoki ano ki te pouritanga nui,
katahi ka tuatorutia e ona kupu;
“Hei runga nei tehahi po,
15. hei raro nei tehahi po.
Po ki tupua te po,
po ki tawhito te po,
he po mamate.
Hei runga nei tehahi ao,
20. hei raro nei tehahi ao.
Ao ki tupua te ao,
ao ki tawhito te ao,
he ao maneanea;
He ao marama.”
25. Na! kua marama nui.
Katahi ano ka titiro ki nga wai e awhi nei i a ia,
ka tuawhatia ana kupu, ko tenei kupu:
“Te wai ki tai-kama, wehe nga wai,
tupu ai rangi, ka tarewa te rangi;
30. whanau a te tupua-horonuku.”
Na! takoto ana a Papa-tuanuku.¹

Translation.

1. Io dwelt in the open space of the world.
The world was dark, there was water everywhere.

¹ JPS. 16, 109 f. (Paraone).

There was no day, no light, nothing concerning light,
Only dark, water was everywhere.

5. It was he who first said this word:

...
“Night, a day-owning Night.”

Behold! Day had broken.

Then he spoke in the same way as that word, this word

10. ...

“Day, a night-owning Day.”

Behold! the time of the great dark returned.

Then came the third of his words:

“Let one Night be above

15. And one (another) Night below.

Night, the magician’s Night,

Night, the priest’s Night,

A subjected Night.

Let one Day be above

20. And one (another) Day below.

Day, the magician’s Day,

Day, the priest’s Day.

A resplendent Day,

A bright Day.”

25. Behold! It had become very bright!

Only now did his eyes seek the waters that surrounded him,

Then his fourth word was uttered, it was this word:

“Te Wai-ki-Tai-tama, divide the waters,

So that heaven will unfold itself. Heaven has been lifted up.

30. Te Tupua-horo-nuku is born.”

Behold! Papa-tuanuku lay there.

Commentary.

1. HARE HONGI translates *aha* by ‘breathing-space’, and his commentary runs like this: “A-*ha*.—*A* is here used in the sense of far-off; *ha* is breath, a breathing.” *a* can be used as a conjunction according to Williams, “denoting extension of space, or lapse of time,” *a* is especially rendered by ‘as far as’, ‘until’, ‘and’.¹ A considerable independence is assigned to this con-

¹ Williams s.v. *a* (iv).

junction, which otherwise appears only in grammatically greatly limited contexts; the sense of ‘far-off’ is assigned to it and it is boldly translated by ‘space’. The result is ‘breathing-space’, a somewhat far-fetched concept. However, *aha* or *ahaaha* is used as a variant of *ahoaho* about ‘open space’, ‘glade’ in contrast to narrow valleys, forests, or the like.¹ It may be objected that *aha* perhaps is to be read as *āha*, as done by BEST in his word-list in JPS 35, 44. But this view is hardly based on anything but an inference from the doubtful etymology. The word is nowhere unambiguously rendered as *āha*.

3. *maramatanga*. The fact that *he marama* is here followed by *he maramatanga* is probably due to influence from the translation of the Bible, in which the concretive is occasionally (erroneously) used as the “substantive” corresponding to an “adjective” (e.g. Gen. 1,4 *a ka kite te Atua i te maramatanga*).²

6. *kia noho kore, noho ia*. This is the only line in the myth which seems to cause unsurmountable difficulties. HARE HONGI—without the least attempt at giving any reasons—translates it by “that He might cease remaining inactive”. In literal translation it says: “in order to not-dwell, (in order that) he (can) dwell (or live),” or perhaps “in order to live lonely (unmarried), (in order that) he (can) dwell (or live)”. Neither of these literal translations make much sense. HARE HONGI obviously interpreted *noho kore* “not-live, not-dwell” as “not be inactive”, but this is no doubt giving an inadmissible twist to *noho*. The word only means “not to change place”, often in the vague sense of “live (somewhere)”, which allows of considerable activity. Furthermore, the second half of the line, *noho ia*, remains equally enigmatic.

Perhaps the line should be supplemented with some implied particles so as to become:

kia noho (i te) kore, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{kia}) \text{ noho ia} \\ (\text{kia}) \text{ nohoia} \end{array} \right.$

“In order to live in $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in order that he can live} \\ \text{the wilderness,} \end{array} \right.$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in order that it can be inhabited.} \end{array} \right.$

Indeed, this makes an acceptable sense. Another possibility is that of emending the line (the division into words is due to

¹ Loc. cit. s. v. *aha* (iii).

² Te Paipera Tapu 1868.

the editor rather than the author) and suppose that an *e* was read as an *o*:

kiano he kore (i) nohoia
“a wilderness was not yet inhabited.”

The sense here, too, is good enough. In return the relation to the preceding line (“this word”) causes difficulties.

16—17. *tupua* and *tawhito*. The commentary in JPS 16, 118 interprets *tupua* as a derivative of *tupu*. I do not reject the possibility of the correctness of this etymology. But then the derivation no doubt dates back so far that the etymology is hardly very guiding to the interpretation. I think that this should be based on the fact that the two words are completely parallel and therefore probably denote related concepts. As both words can be used about a ‘*tohunga*’, I have translated them accordingly. The translation, however, is not quite certain. The words frequently occur together in *karakias*, yet the translation suggested will not always be found satisfactory. (For a collection of examples see BEST T. 1130 ff.).

18. *mamate*. HARE HONGI’s view that *mamate* is a reduplication of *mate*, has been followed here; cf. JPS 16, 110, where Po-mamate (Subjected-Night) in good agreement with the present case is a synonym of *karakia whakamaroma* (*karakia* to enlighten).

23. *maneanea*. Without suggesting any translation WILLIAMS adduces the quotation: *Ura maneanea ka taka ki te po* ‘The *maneanea* glowing fell down into the night’. As compared with the present passage the sense seems to be something like ‘resplendent, radiant’.

28. HARE HONGI translates: “Ye Waters of Tai-kama, be ye separate.” This translation would be natural if the form was *wehea*, but as *wehe* is transitive and active, it seems more natural to me to interpret the whole beginning of the line as a name and translate accordingly. I have been able to identify neither Tai-kama nor Wai-ki-Tai-kama.

30. *Te Tupua-horo-nuku*. Outside this place I have only found this name in SMITH, Wars 34 (Te Tipua-horo-nuku), but there the name hardly covers the same being as here. It means “The

demon swallowing the extensive". According to the context it would be supposed to mean 'Earth'.

31. *Papa-tuanuku* 'the firm and extended', is a standing figure in Maori mythology, viz. Earth as a woman, married to Heaven.

This myth is fairly certainly inspired by the Genesis. It is incontestable that the informant had a certain knowledge of the Bible, at least indirectly; for he writes about Io's words: "These words were later preserved by the Maori ancestors, who constantly had them in their hearts." The latter term (*i tuhi mai ki o ratou manawa tonu*) is almost literally derived from Rom. 2,15 (*he mea tuhituhi ki o ratou ngakau*). As pointed out in the Commentary *maramatanga* in line 3 is probably evidence of influence from the translation of the Bible.

The contents of the myth also offers certain similarities to Genesis. We note the following correspondences:

An original darkness

An original water

Both Io and God create by words.

The creation of Ao and Po, Day and Night, may be paralleled to the statement that God divided the light from the darkness.

It would, however, be premature on this basis to dismiss the myth of Io as a piece of plagiarism of Genesis. To my mind the myth of Io is actually based more on Maori ideas than on Genesis. The similarity to Genesis is unmistakable, and that an inspiration from there has taken place shall not be disputed; but it is worth examining both similarities and differences in more detail.

In the first place, it must be recognized that certain features are very obvious in the case of any cosmogonic myth.¹ This applies especially to "the original darkness". It also appears in the widely distributed Maori myth on the separation of Heaven and Earth. A primeval sea is also a widely distributed conception, though not among the Polynesians in spite of the fact that natural conditions might make such an idea obvious.

The fact that these features are so natural, as is seen by their

¹ ERE. 8, 47.

wide distribution, is important because it means that they are so easily adopted and thus also easily will enter otherwise original complexes.

Secondly, the similarities adduced are connected with differences which may be significant by showing the changes that have taken place in the case of the loans from Genesis when they entered the Maori's world of ideas.

The original water thus has acquired a more accentuated place in the myth of Io than in Genesis, where it is introduced more indirectly in the sentence "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

Apparently there is no difference between Io and God when they create by reciting some words. But there is decidedly a considerable difference between the Christians' and the Maori's ideas of it. What the Maori may have received from Christian quarters, must have been the idea that God, as the ruler of the world, created by a fiat. When Io creates, it is just as certain that the words he recites, are *karakias*; it says so in so many words in what follows ("there are three occasions on which the *karakias* in these words are brought out (i.e. are used)"). Io is not a ruler, he is the great priest, *tohunga*.

When Io creates Day and Night, Te Ao and Te Po, it is not only light and darkness, day and night, but the radical dualism which we have already met with (pp. 28 and 31).

On close consideration it thus appears that in spite of the probable historical dependence on Genesis there is an essential difference between the myth of Io in the eyes of the Maori and Genesis in the eyes of the Christian. The most important and fundamental difference is that whereas the creation myth in Genesis to the Christian is a piece of evidence of God's power, the creation myth of Io is a ritual myth. This is said outright by the informant, as he indicates concrete rituals in which Io's creative words enter. I do not see any reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, even though there may be a possibility that this ritual use is mere construction; for a closer examination of the Io rituals and the myth confirm our confidence in the informant.

We shall first consider those Io rituals which are immediately and surely connected with the Ngati-Kahungunu tradition. As

mentioned above, there is a distinct unity in the Io-mythology from the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe and that of the tribes living in the northeastern vicinity. Rituals originating from this region thus must also be offshoots from the same mass of tradition. According to the sources they naturally fall into two groups, an early tradition in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga and a later one collected by ELDON BEST in the present century.

In the Lore of the Whare-Wananga Io's name is found in the following rituals:

The house of the sacral school is consecrated. Lore I, 5 f.
The pupils in the Whare-Wananga swallow sacral stones; *loc. cit.* 7.

A woman is made fruitful; *loc. cit.* 36; cf. 37.

Prior to the building of the canoes Uruao and Takutumu; Lore II, 4 and 189.

This list is hardly so heterogeneous as it looks. Apart from the consecration of the *whare-wananga*, which of course holds a special position, all the rituals are directly aimed at human beings, viz. at qualifying them for a task; for in the ritual in connexion with the building of the canoes Io only occurs in the first part of the *karakia*, in which the builders of the canoes are consecrated to their work.

In BEST there are some special Io-rituals:

A woman is made fruitful. BEST Koh. 6; cf. the first woman is made alive. BEST Rel. 76.

Child's *tohi*. BEST Koh. 22 f., 30 f.; BEST Rel. 228 f.

Child's *pure*. BEST Koh. 27.

(*Maioha*. BEST Koh. 18; JRAI. 44, 144.—There Io, however, seems introduced somewhat artificially).

Consecration of *matakite* or medium. BEST Rel. 189, 190.

Cure of chief. JPS. 35, 8 (BEST).

Divorce. BEST Koh. 66.

A *karakia* without indication of its use (BEST Rel. 246) must be left out of consideration.

From BEST furthermore comes an interesting note on the Io-rituals in general.¹ It is to the effect that all Io-rituals, apart

¹ Man 1913 § 57.

from those connected with the *whare-wananga*, were recited in water (thus "the sacred water"); but not on a *tuahu*. Furthermore, that Io-rituals were only recited on important occasions, viz. in connexion with the *whare-wananga*, matters of importance to the whole tribe and rites on newborn, high-born children, but never in small matters or war.

This general characterization does not apply very strictly to the special cases mentioned. If we look at the sphere of use, it is, however, hardly possible to ascertain any obvious discrepancy. Does e.g. the ritual of divorce concern the whole tribe? It depends on the question what married couple is divorced. It is permissible, even reasonable, to imagine that the use of the ritual is limited to the circles of the highest chiefs. On the other hand, the express statement of the place of the rituals is peculiar. Even though the majority of the rituals are known or at any rate can be supposed to have been recited in the sacred water, this does not apply to the ritual to make a woman fruitful, as the woman lies on her back and the priest stands by her feet. This can only with difficulty be combined with the requirement that the priest is to stand chest-deep in the water.

Finally a (late?) text makes the Io-rituals in Hawaiki be recited on a high mountain. It is difficult to decide how much importance should be attached to this purely mythical idea.¹

Such a discrepancy can be assessed in different ways. It may be based on slightly deviating views or erroneous information. It may also be viewed in the way that if a Maori informant is without a sense of pedantic accuracy, it will be wrong of the investigator to demand it. Or, in more positive terms, it is not uncommon that ritual ideals are presented and imagined more absolute than they appear to the outsider when he considers the individual rituals.

If, finally, we compare the later with the earlier ritual tradition, we find only a slight similarity in details, but there is an important general similarity. Apart from those in connexion with the *Whare-wananga*, the rituals all are aimed at acting directly on human beings, mostly at inspiring them to something definite (life of a chief, activities of a prophet, child-birth, etc.). Furthermore, there is undoubtedly a development towards the rituals of Io

¹ JPS. 36, 350 (Best).

being recited in the sacred water to the exclusion of other sacred precincts. This was perhaps achieved, perhaps only an ideal picture, but at any rate an idea in the Maori.

Considering how often Maori rituals indeed present local phenomena, I hardly think we can expect a stricter or more precise characterization of the Io-rituals than the one we have worked out here. This point of view is of importance for the evaluation of two problems. One is whether all Io-rituals can be supposed to be mere figments. As to this, it must be said partly that it cannot be the starting-point of our study, partly that the coherence of the picture which we have found, makes this possibility rather improbable.

The second question is about the rituals (of the Marutuahu rites) which are connected with the Io-cosmogony. There the informant mentions that the words used by Io at the creation of the world enter in the following *karakias*:¹

karakia to make barren women pregnant,
karakia to enlighten the mind together with the whole body,
 the beginning of *karakias* to be recited in cases of illness or
 death (*mate*), war or speeches, *tohi* rites, genealogies
 (*tuawhakapapa*), and the other actions of the great priests.

If we compare this list with the rituals of the Ngati-kahungunu, we find no small agreement. In so far as the list allows of an estimate, it is also here a question of affecting human beings directly. Several of the individual ritual purposes are repeated, viz.

making a woman fruitful,
 enlightening the mind, which probably fairly covers the
 initiation of a *matakite* or medium; cf. the pupils' initiation
 into the *whare-wananga*,
 cure of illness,
tohi.

In both series there are also, however, occasions which are not common to them (the consecration of the *whare-wananga*, war, genealogies, etc.), which is not to be wondered at. The

¹ JPS. 16, 110 (Paraone).

similarity in character of the rituals is so great that it can be taken as a sign that the Marutuahu rituals are an offshoot of the ritual Io-tradition from the Ngati-kahungunu and their neighbours. Furthermore there is much to be said in advance in favour of this conclusion.

If we then assume that the Io-rituals bear a uniform stamp in outline, it is also very probable that the Marutuahu rites were performed in the sacred water, at any rate in the ideal case. The myth of Io offers an indirect confirmation of this. Prior to the creation there were only darkness and water. We noted that the water held a more prominent place than in the creation account in Genesis. So it is natural here to see a reflection of the ritual situation, as we know that it is a ritual myth. The priest not only repeats Io's words from the act of creation, but like Io he is surrounded by water. BEST describes the ritual situation as follows: "the priest who uttered the invocation entered the water in a state of nudity, and took his stand at the spot where the water was breast deep; also prior to commencing the recitation, he would stoop down and immerse the upper part of his body in the water."¹ Finally highly sacral rituals were often recited at sunrise.² It is perhaps permissible also in the primordial darkness to see an aspect of the ritual ideal situation reflected in the myth.

When looking at the myth of Io and the sacred water we see a creation myth which has arisen late and is connected with a good number of rituals that are recited in the sacred water. We find again an instance of the view advanced above (p. 7) that important rites performed in the sacred precincts got a cosmic meaning, became a creation of the world. Thereby the world was created bipartite, so as to consist of 'Day' and 'Night' (Ao and Po), which refers to the dualism of the Maoris. The dualism cuts through earth as well as heaven ("a Night above and another Night below," etc.). This is not the usual presentation, but perhaps it is connected with the special views of the Whare-wananga, through which a celestial kingdom of the dead becomes a real institution, while otherwise, as far as I can see, the idea only was that a few individuals were deified and thus got a celestial

¹ Man 1913 § 57 (Best).

² See p. 17.

abode. The ritual signification of this dualism has been investigated above in the case of related rituals.¹

We may now in the main conclude our inquiry into the *wai tapu*, having adduced such rituals as can with certainty throw light on the conception of the sacred water, either through the ritual texts alone or by the use we make of the mythical allusions they contain. Only a little supplementary information should be added before we can summarize the results.

In the first place, there is a last ritual which might deserve being included. It is the ritual of *marere*, the first kumaras that are planted.

As the ritual cannot very well be treated by itself alone, we must confine ourselves to referring to the thorough discussion under the treatment of the agricultural ritual (p. 128 ff.) and in this place only note that the water, in so far as it shows any character, appears as a dangerous element from which the *kumara* is saved (p. 144).

Secondly we find a last mythical motif which should be mentioned. It is *Te Waiora a Tane*. Whenever the moon has become dark, has 'died', it is resurrected to new life and becomes a new moon by bathing (*kaukau*) in *Te Waiora a Tane*.² A mythical people that delivers their women by cutting them open, revive them by placing and bathing them in the same water (*horai ai* (read: *horaia ai*) *kaukau ai*).³ Finally we hear that Maui had wanted that man should not die, but win new youth by bathing in *Te Waiora a Tane*. Already from this it seems obvious to interpret *Te Waiora a Tane* as a water. *Waiora* is generally translated as 'waters of life' or 'life-giving water', but BEST refers to the fact that *waiora* normally means 'health', 'welfare', and furthermore maintains that the proper meaning is 'sunlight', ventilating his theory that *Tane* is a sun god.⁴ The 'waters of life' have disappeared, being characterized as an "error, repeated in many works." The Maoris themselves, however, seem to be a prey to this illusion. A text from the Ngai-Tahu runs like this: "After the Moon's death it went right to *Te Waiora-tane*, *Te Roto-*

¹ See p. 31.

² AHM. I, 126; II, 20, 106.

³ AHM. II, 14.

⁴ Best Rel. 58.

nui-a-aewa, the water which revives¹ the Moon up there.''² The other name, 'the-large-lake-of-fainting' (Te Roto-nui-a-aewa) and the additional explanation by *wai* 'water' can only with difficulty be combined with BEST's interpretation. It will hardly convince a generation which looks with scepticism on the previous 'sun mythology'. Although it must be conceded to BEST that the translation 'waters of life' is not quite satisfactory, it seems fairly to correspond to the conceptions of the Maoris. As a mythical conception *waiora* is widely distributed over Polynesia, where it is a water in the kingdom of the dead which rejuvenates the souls of the dead.³

The importance of this mythical idea to the present problem is found in something negative. In spite of the fact that the Maori had an idea of a mythical water which in itself was life-giving, I know no ritual text which connects it with the sacred water. An *argumentum ex silentio* is dangerous if found alone; but here it points in the same direction as the rest of our observations.

Our subject has compelled us to make digressions; so it is appropriate briefly to summarize the result of our investigations. We have seen that the sacred water itself plays a surprisingly passive role. It can confer a *tapu*, but probably only as a kind of intermediary between *karakia* and man (p. 23 f.). It seems to be without any proper function when a *tapu* is to be removed. Altogether, it may be a milieu for a creation, both when *tapu* is removed and when it is conferred (pp. 31, 61). We find only one signification in the sacred water in its capacity of water, viz. in some cases to represent a danger from which the ritual saves man (pp. 34, 36, 62). This is especially brought out in connexion with Hikurangi in the myth, a place which contains salvation from the dangerous water.

Tuahu.

Tuahu or, according to WILLIAMS, more correctly *tūāahu*,⁴ is a sacred place which is regularly the scene of rituals. In order

¹ The *whakatai* of the text is read by me as *whakatā i*.

² AHM. I, 126.

³ Williamson, Cosm. Index s.v. *vaiola*. I, 334 apparently has an example showing that the name could be connected with a sacral water, but unfortunately *Vaiola* is here a misreading for *Vaisola*, 'The fleeing water' (Krämer I, 126 f.).

⁴ Williams s.v.

that the unprepared reader shall not be seized with hopelessness during the following discussions of details, I shall at once, although with a sigh and many tacit reservations, offer a provisional description. The typical *tuahu* is the sacred precinct *par excellence*, the place where the gods are represented and where offerings and other important rites are performed. We must imagine a rather simple scenery, a small elevation in the terrain with some poles and stones, probably fenced in. Although a few passages might be interpreted as if the *tuahu* also included *wai tapu* and *turuma*, this reference is never made in an unambiguous way in a reliable text. In so far the terminology is clear. On the other hand it may cause difficulties that the *tuahu* is sometimes only denoted as *wahi tapu*, which of course is correct, but which may give rise to some ambiguity, as a *wahi tapu*, a sacred place, can be so much besides. The difficulties are especially implied in the fact that in each settlement there was a special *wahi tapu* which was used as a sacral rubbish-heap, thus remnants from *tapu* persons' meals were placed there, mainly in order to be out of the way. This place is now found to be completely merged with the *tuahu*, whether occasionally or as a rule it is difficult to decide. BEST e.g. writes about food offerings that they "were often placed at the *tuahu* or sacred place of the hamlet, at which spot was also deposited the *manga* or remains of food from the meal of an important *tapu* person, such as a superior priest, and the *ariki* (first-born male of a high chieftain family)."¹ WHITE in Te Rou describes a sacral hair-cutting on the *tuahu* and in a note explains this as "a rubbish heap, which is a sacred place, from the remains of food eaten by sacred persons and things of that sort being there deposited."² These statements by people who were familiar with Maoris must be based on personal inspection and can hardly be set aside. Furthermore, this view gives the most natural interpretation of a place where somebody steps up upon the *parapara* (the remnants) and recites *karakias*.³

Just as *wahi tapu* sometimes may denote *tuahu*, thus also in certain contexts the expression *ki mua* 'in front' (presumably short for 'in front of the god').⁴ *Ki mua* or *kei mua* may also be

¹ Best T. 1056.

² White, Te Rou 177.

³ Grey M. 189.

⁴ Williams s.v. *mua* (iv); JPS. 15, 147 (Best); AHM. III, 114 and elsewhere.

used about the burial-place,¹ which, indeed, like the sacral rubbish-heap may also be found connected with the *tuahu*.

In contrast to *wahi tapu* and *ki mua*, which denote too general concepts, the *tuahu* may occasionally be referred to by a word denoting a more special feature such as 'the pole' ('the poles') on *tuahu*. It is a matter of course that the context in all these cases must be such that one feels sure what is mentioned.

Thus it is evident that the investigations must keep to that which can with certainty be identified with a *tuahu*, in practice we must therefore mainly demand that the word *tuahu* is named. Even if so, the terminological problems are not quite exhausted. Occasionally several kinds of *tuahu* are mentioned. Some of these, such as *tuahu-tapatahi* and *tuahu-hauora*, are actually the same *tuahu*, only with different names according to the ritual uses.² But this is not always so. In one passage a man's man-*tuahu* (*te tuahu tangata*), his fishing-net-*tuahu* (*te tuahu a tana kupenga*) are mentioned, so that one must believe that there are references to two different places.³ A text which will be quoted below, even gives an impression that there are several man-*tuahus*.⁴ On Tahiti there was, for that matter, beside the ordinary *maraes* some more special ones for 'doctors', fishermen, canoe-builders, etc.⁵ Now we only in a few places hear about *tuahus* with special names, such as *pouahu* or *tuahu-kotikotinga* ('hair-cutting'-*tuahu*),⁶ and therefore it is not possible to decide whether we are faced with an ordinary *tuahu* in a special situation or a special *tuahu*. This possible plurality of kinds of *tuahu* connected with the fact that no investigations into local variants of *tuahus* are available, brings some uncertainty into the investigations. This uncertainty should not, however, be exaggerated. In the great majority of cases only the *tuahu* is mentioned, as if there was only this one or that at least it was much more important than the others. So we can with fair certainty assume that we are faced with a 'man-*tuahu*'. Furthermore, the fact that certain features are mentioned frequently and in many passages not only

¹ AHM. IV, 140.

² JPS. 27, 83 (Smith).

³ Grey M. 67.

⁴ Lore I, 3.

⁵ Henry 145 ff.

⁶ Best T. 856; Lore II, 164.

suggests that these features were distributed over the greater part of New Zealand, but also that the *tuahus* in question actually—as supposed—are mainly of the same kind.

After these introductory remarks we may proceed to the description of the *tuahu* and its place in Maori religion. Although arrangement and function cannot always be separated with equally great advantage, it is on the whole most practical to start with a description of appearance and arrangement.

The *tuahu* is a place, a precinct. It may be part of a canoe,¹ but as a rule it is a piece of land. In the literature on the Maoris we sometimes find a stone characterized as *tuahu*. This is fairly certainly a somewhat ill-defined usage, which perhaps is connected with a rather common, but somewhat misleading translation of *tuahu* by 'altar'. If we keep to the texts and cut out the less reliable ones,² only one text remains in which *tuahu* can be interpreted not as a place, but as a tree. There it is said about a tree (*totara*) that it was 'arranged (*i ahua*, literally 'earth-accumulated') as a *tuahu*'.³ But partly the verb itself suggests that the *tuahu* was an area, partly it enters in the explanation of the name of a fortress, *Totara-i-ahua*, which undoubtedly must have influenced the forming of the sentence (*he Totara, i ahua hei tuahu*). It is another matter when the opposite takes place and, as mentioned above, *pouahu*, 'the pole of the mound', is used about the *tuahu*.

Where was the *tuahu* to be situated, whether connected with the sacral rubbish-heap or not? On this point we find a direct statement in the Lore of the Whare-Wananga.⁴ In the first place it says there that it was found outdoors. Further: "A *tuahu* may be in two places, one is beside the latrine, the other beside the burial-place (*toma*)—these are its proper places. The reason for this is a fear that somebody should tread on it while carrying food or that food should be kept there. I have also heard about some *tuahus* which are only situated in an out-of-the-way place. This is also correct in the case of the *tuahu uruuruapu*

¹ Grey M. 94.

² Johansen, Maori 269 ff.

³ AHM. V, 66.

⁴ Lore I, 3 f. The *tuahu* is stated to be an outdoor place in contrast to *ahurewa* which is said to be found indoors. It seems doubtful that the latter statement should always be correct.

kind or the kind where offerings are brought to the gods or the *pure* rite on corpses (people who have touched corpses) is performed, or *tapu* is removed from some people."

In this account we miss an indication whether the reference is to a fortified place or an ordinary settlement. It seems that both cases are mixed up.

The *tuahu* of a settlement was probably always situated outside the settlement itself. Even fortresses, which indeed also had to have a *tuahu* within the palisades, often seem to have had one situated outside. SHORTLAND witnessed how the extension of a fortress because of an increase in the population caused "the old sacred place of the settlement" to be included in the fortress and therefore by a rite was freed from its *tapu*.¹ We have not, however, full certainty that the reference is to a *tuahu*. It is the generally accepted view that it was situated near the hamlet, often beside the burial-place.² We have no texts apart from the one mentioned which directly describes the site, but there are a few which give indirect information. They are especially to the effect that the place was a little out of the way and concealed. Ihenga must search in order to find the *tuahu* of a strange settlement, and when, in order to possess himself of the country, he establishes a *tuahu* "he enters a place overgrown with bushes, Coriaria Ruscifolia branches, Veronica Salicifolia, and Coprosma robusta, and erects the pole in the grass and the New Zealand flax."³ The point is that the inhabitants should be led to believe that he had established his *tuahu* before them; so the ruse undeniably requires that the place is hidden, but also presupposes that this would seem convincing. In a few other places the New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*) is mentioned as growing round the *tuahu*.⁴ It seems to be a standing feature in connexion with the *tuahu*. In itself it says little about the site; even though *Phormium tenax* most frequently grew on low and moist soil, it might also be found on dry sand and rocky ground, and generally speaking it was widely distributed.⁵

That an open hamlet should have a *tuahu* beside the latrine

¹ Shortl. Rel. 27.

² E.g. TNZI. 32, 262 (Smith); Taylor 221.

³ Grey M. 67.

⁴ AHM. I, 4; Grey M. 48, 77 f.

⁵ Cockayne 142 f.

sounds less reasonable, unless the reference should be to a *turuma*. This is not probable either, as the *turuma* is the latrine itself used ritually. The expression 'beside the latrine' (*kei te taha o te paepae hamiti*) then would be somewhat strange. The most natural interpretation is that the reference is to a *tuahu* in a fortress.

The fact is that a fortress during a siege must have a *tuahu* within the palisades. I do not find the site beside the latrine corroborated anywhere; it may have been a local custom. SKINNER mentions two possible sites from the Ngati-Tama in northern Taranaki, viz. beside the priest's house or near the main entrance to the fortress.¹ From the Arawa COWAN tells about the *tuahu* of a deserted fortress which was situated "within the green-embowered ramparts of the old *pa*, right on the edge of the cliff." Thus it was, if anything, put a little out of the way.²

Fences. The *tuahu* was often fenced in, at any rate this is said to have been the case when it was situated in a fortress.³ In South Island and in the Taranaki district all *tuahus* seem to have been fenced in.⁴ Apart from these areas and the fortresses a conclusion will be uncertain. According to BEST there was sometimes a fence among the Tuhoe, while PERCY SMITH considers this to be the most frequent among the Arawa. To this may be added some considerations: in places where the offerings were placed on a special elevation a fence perhaps was superfluous; but if they were placed on the ground or the *tuahu* was connected with the *tapu* rubbish-heap or the burial place, a fence would seem to have been absolutely necessary in order to protect it from dogs or other animals. This is illustrated indirectly by the fact that we hear about animals which had broken through a fence and eaten from *tapu* food and therefore immediately were killed.⁵ All things considered, the fence seems to have been the normal and as a matter of fact enters in WILLIAMS' definition of a *tuahu*.⁶

Mound. WILLIAMS' definition also includes the words 'con-

¹ JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner).

² Cowan 135.

³ Best Pa 95; JPS. 20, 76.

⁴ Best M. I, 290 (from Stack); Taylor 215 f., cf. 175.

⁵ Polack, N. Z. II, 60; Polack Manners I, 240. Taylor 169; Henderson 132; cf. JPS. 35, 104 (48) (Matorohanga).

⁶ Williams s.v.

taining a mound'. Unfortunately this statement can hardly be accepted without further examination. COWAN describes the *tuahu* of a deserted fortress as 'a little clear space, surrounded by a low bank'.¹ On the assumption that the place is correctly identified and that the description is adequate, this *tuahu* had no 'mound'. However, this is the only piece of evidence against the mound which I know. But let us see what speaks in favour of its occurrence. Direct testimonies are comparatively few. PERCY SMITH says about *tuahu-tapatai* or *tuahu-hauora* that it is 'a hillock or mound of earth'.² The same is said about the *tuahu* on Puketutu. In some places it was a heap of stones.³ Finally we find a text where people mount the *tuahu* (*ka piki a ia ki runga ki tana tuahu*).⁴ In connexion with this *tuahu* also its *marae* 'yard', 'plaza' is mentioned, which presumably is to be understood in contrast to the mound. Therefore it is natural to deduce a mound from the expression 'the *marae* of the *tuahu*', which we find elsewhere.⁵ This distinction between a *tuahu* and its *marae* is interesting because it closely corresponds to the structure of the sacred precincts of eastern Central Polynesia. There we regularly find an elevation, *ahu*, with a plaza, *marae*, which in these regions gives a name to all of it. TE RANGI HIROA has offered a discussion of *marae*, *ahu*, and *tuahu*, on which we also have based our account here.⁶ It is most probable that the *tuahu* of the Maoris originates from a type with this structure. It is even certain that the *tuahu* originally always had a mound. This is not only an old Polynesian trait,—by the way, the *tuahu* altogether has an old-fashioned character as compared with the *maraes* of Tahiti—; but furthermore there is linguistic evidence. *Tua-ahu* means mound-like; to establish one's *tuahu* is often called *ahu i tana tuahu* 'heap up one's *tuahu*'.⁷ Finally we find a *tuahu* with the proper name *Te Ahu-a-Rangi* 'The Mound of Heaven'.⁸

¹ Cowan 135.

² JPS. 27, 83 (Smith).

³ JPS. 55, 39 (Graham); Best Rel. 171.

⁴ AHM. V. 76. If we dare assume that *ahurewa* in JPS. 35, 222 (14) (Best) is a *tuahu* we have another text which shows the existence of a mound (*puke*).

⁵ Grey M. 77.

⁶ Rangi Hiroa 477 ff.

⁷ AHM. V, 66, 74, 75.

⁸ Smith, Peopl. 37.

There are undeniably many indications that a mound normally entered in *tuahu*. As to COWAN's testimony, on the other hand, this exception can perhaps be explained on the assumption that the mound, when the fortified place was abandoned, was removed as a particularly sacred part; but this is mere guesswork.

Poles. On the *tuahu* poles or sticks (*pou, toko*) were erected. Altogether, this is the feature of its appearance of which we dare be most sure. It is mentioned in the texts as a matter of course: "they looked at the poles of the *tuahu*", or at the arrangement of a *tuahu*: "the poles were erected in the grass" or "*tuahu*-poles were erected."¹

When Turi settled in New Zealand "he built a fortress which was named Rangitawhi, erected the pole which was called Whakatopea, built the house Matangirei, built the latrine Pae-paehakehake, and erected the platform for food, namely Pae-hhua."² The pole mentioned can hardly be anything but that of the *tuahu*, the more so as a *tuahu* was among the very first things arranged in a new place. The text suggests that the pole was of the greatest importance. Indeed, we also see that a *tuahu* is named *pouahu* 'the mound pole'.³ This is further corroborated by the fact that sticks or poles were the centre of numerous rites, whether these were performed on a *tuahu* or not. On special occasions poles might be erected on the *tuahu*, e.g. at the birth of a child.⁴

In the information collected by ethnographers the poles are also frequently mentioned.⁵ W. H. SKINNER's description from Taranaki is of special interest, because the *tapu* pole (*te pou tapu*) there was "in the form of a canoe-end fixed in the ground," in other words it was carved.⁶

The poles or sticks obviously corresponded to the *uru-marae* erected on the *ahu* of the *maraes* of Tahiti.⁷ They also were carved.

Whata or *tiepa*. In certain places they had a kind of stage

¹ Grey M. 64; cf. AHM. I, 9; Grey M. 67, cf. 94; AHM. IV, 11.

² Grey M. 96.

³ Williams s.v. *pouahu*.

⁴ JPS. 15, 162 (Best); Grey Mot. lxxxiii.

⁵ Taylor 215 f.; Tregear Race 379, cf. 490; Best T. 1072.

⁶ JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner).

⁷ Henry 134 and Emory 15.

(*whata* or *tiepa*) on which to place the offerings.¹ As these might also be fixed to the poles,² these *whatas* or *tiepas* no doubt had a limited distribution. A parallel is found e.g. in the small tables (*pua*) for offerings which were used on Mangareva and the peculiar form of which was designed to prevent the rats from eating from the offerings.³

Stones. It is certain that the *tuahu* sometimes included one or more erect stones. As the stones in contrast to the rest of the equipment would resist the ravages of time, it might be expected that there would be some evidence of such relics if the custom had been widely distributed; but as this is not the case, the occurrence of stones on the *tuahu* must have been rather sporadic. Furthermore, the value of the evidence depends not only on the occurrence of stones, but just as much on the value of the tradition which makes the place a previous *tuahu*.⁴

Fireplace and oven. As fire was used in various rites, amongst other things for the preparation of offerings, a normal *tuahu* must have had a corresponding equipment. In the texts not only fire on the *tuahu* is mentioned,⁵ but large ovens which might hold human beings. In a passage there is a menacing allusion to these ovens with the picturesque phrase “*tuahu*’s mouth is open in order to allure him to be roasted by Waikorora’s big flat (?) stones.”⁶ Ngatoro used the stratagem of placing himself and some of his men in the ovens on the enemy’s *tuahu*, the ovens being open and ready. The next morning when the priests entered the sacred precinct they were at once very pleased at the gifts of the gods, but their joy became short-lived; the rest of Ngatoro’s men lay in ambush around the *tuahu* and the presumed corpses proved to be well-armed.⁷ The ovens were flat hollows in the ground, in which stones were heated by a fire. Afterwards cooking was made by the hot stones. The excavations can be imagined

¹ E. g. Taylor 215 f.; Best M. I, 288.

² AHM. I, 9; Best T. 1076; AHM. V, 222.

³ Laval 324.

⁴ Stones on the *tuahu* in general: TNZI. 32, 262 (Smith). Examples in particular: Cowan 69 f., JPS. 34, 175 ff. (Graham) and perhaps 34, 12 (Firth).—Best, Aspects 34 has a photograph which has been reproduced in several places, but with fullest information there.

⁵ Grey M. 48.

⁶ Grey M. 184.

⁷ Grey M. 77 f.

to have been made at need, but the stones must have been a fixture on the *tuahu*, if only because of their sacredness. All this of course on the assumption that ovens were used on the *tuahu* in question. In early times when sacrifices of prisoners of war and cannibalism still flourished, this must have been common, but after the abolition of these customs, the ovens probably disappeared, BEST at any rate does not mention them, although he describes stone-lined fireplaces on the *tuahu*. He is of opinion that they were found on 'some, if not all, of the *tuahu*'.¹

Idols, sacred objects. On the *tuahu* various sacred things were kept. We hear about arrangements for their protection. They seem to have been common, although they are not mentioned very often. Texts from the Ngati-Maru as well as the Ngai-Tahu mention wooden receptacles (*rau rakau*).² From Taranaki SKINNER mentions a "waka, or receptacle (usually a wooden box), in which the emblem of the particular god (*atua*) of the tribe or the *pa* was kept."³ COWAN refers to a rock cave used for the same purpose on a certain *tuahu*.⁴ BEST mentions having heard that children's umbilical cord was placed "in a small stone cistern sunk in the earth at a *tuahu*".⁵

Already these quotations have informed us that idols (as we may call special objects which represent gods) could be found on the *tuahu*. Such objects are also mentioned elsewhere.⁶ Most of them probably represented tribal gods. Still, BEST tells about special kumara gods, coarse stone images which were placed in the fields during plantings, but which were otherwise kept on the *tuahu*.

It may seem a matter for surprise that so important a thing as idols is mentioned so late and briefly, but the relation of the gods to the *tuahu* is not exhausted by a discussion of idols and therefore must be dealt with apart, for which reason we shall return to the matter later.

On the *tuahu* there might also be bones which were used in rites.⁷

¹ Best T. 1075, 1117 og 1118.

² AHM. III, 114; IV, 25.

³ JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner).

⁴ Cowan 137 ff.

⁵ Best M. II, 11.

⁶ Best M. I, 290 (from Stack); AHM. I, 4.

⁷ Grey M. 48, 66.

They were presumably mainly bones of ancestors, but also bones from human sacrifices are mentioned.¹

In a single passage it is mentioned that the axes for the building of a canoe were fetched from the *tuahu*.²

We have now tried to put together a fairly reliable visual picture of the *tuahu* and have only a single trait to add. In a text it is stated that every morning the priests scattered leaves on the *tuahu*.³

The fact that the picture of the *tuahu* of the Maoris on so many points is flickering, is connected with two things. In the first place, the simplicity of the place leaves the archaeologist in the lurch. The only durable things, the stones, are so unworked-up and uncharacteristic that they cannot even be used to identify the place with certainty. By a whim of fate a survey and drawing of a peculiar '*tuahu*' is extant;⁴ but unfortunately it is of little value to our investigations as it is obviously a late product, presumably due to an offshoot of the *Hauhau* movement, the members of which had one of their *nīus* in the neighbourhood. The other difficulty is worse and has further consequences. It is the fact that we know so lamentably little about the function of the various elements of the *tuahu*. This does not least apply to the stones, but actually to nearly everything, so that we always depend on our own judgment when the distribution of a certain trait is discussed. The only exception is the poles, in which case we are on firm ground.

We are now prepared for the next and more important task, that of trying to find the position held by the *tuahu* in the Maori's life and religion.

The *tuahu* is the principal place for the practice of religion, as may be concluded from the significant fact that it was established immediately when new land was occupied.

We get this information i.a. from an immigration saga, and the reason why we get such a piece of antiquarian information is solely that a stratagem was connected with it. It is told that the crew of one of the large canoes which brought the ancestors of the Maoris to New Zealand, viz. the Arawa, found a beached

¹ JPS. 5, 153 (Williams).

² JPS. 30, 166 (Graham).

³ Grey M. 77.

⁴ JPS. 37, 165 ff. (Downes).

whale, which they then made fast with a rope. Not long afterwards, when the crew from the Arawa was away, another of the canoes, the Tainui, arrived. When the crew of that discovered the moored whale, the leader Hotunui thought of a stratagem. He had the whale moored once more, fastening the rope below the first mooring. Then he gave orders to make a fire on the *tuahu* in order to dry the fresh poles and wooden receptacles there. When the men from the Arawa returned a conflict arose as to the ownership of the whale; but Hotunui was victorious when he showed the others that his rope was under theirs and that the poles in his sacred place were old and dry.¹

This eagerness to establish the *tuahu*, of course, as shown by the story, is connected with the ownership of the country. There is a related story in which Ihenga like Hotunui smuggles in a *tuahu* and in which the speech occurs: "This is not your home, it is mine. Where are your fortress, your *tuahu*, your fishing net, and your field?"² On Tahiti we find a similar connexion between *marae* and possession of land.³

Among the Maoris this legal function is undoubtedly only one aspect of religion, an inner appropriation of the country. Below, in connexion with the special *tuahu uruuruatapu*, we shall see that during travels there must always be a kind of conclusion of peace with foreign soil (p. 91 ff.). Furthermore, we have a fine piece of evidence that the Maori's heart clings to his *tuahu*. He has put his feelings into the mouth of a fairy people, Patupaiarehe, when the fairies by a forest fire on the mountain Ngongotaha were driven away from the lonely forests which were their haunts.

The fairy king sang at his departure:⁴

"I must sigh in the dusk when the yearning for my *tapu* pillow comes gnawing at my heart. Left by me, Ngongo'maunga, the mountain stands deserted.

It is Mahuika's fire⁵ which burnt it down, therefore I go to Pirongia, away from my *tapu* pillow.

¹ AHM. IV, 25; Grey M. 64.

² Grey M. 68; Shortl. Rel. 69 f.; cf. Grey M. 104. *Tuahu* is founded immediately: Best T. 724.

³ Henry 141; Taimai 15; cf. Rangi Hiroa, Mangaian Society, 1934, pp. 173 f.

⁴ JPS. 30, 149 (Cowan).

⁵ Mahuika is the mythical originator of fire.

Alas! Te Rotokohu!

Do not urge me on, let me moaning take leave of my *tuahu*
which now is deserted.

One day more I shall stay here, then go away from here,
never return."

Two things moves the chief's mind on his departure, his pillow, the property which bears his strongest and most intimate *tapu*, and his *tuahu*. This little song is one of the few extant testimonies of the Maori's intimate feelings towards his religion.

However, it is also worth quoting Te Matorohanga's lament over the general dissolution and confusion that has followed the abandonment of *tapu*. It concludes: "The sacral school has been abandoned, the *karakias* abandoned, the *tuahus* have been deserted."¹

That the *tuahu* holds such a central position to the Maori in his religion and heart is undoubtedly connected with the fact that this is where he finds the gods.

It is certain that the gods were on the *tuahu* or at least usually could be summoned there. A number of facts vouch for that. In a certain passage rituals are mentioned which show "the *mana* and strength which were due to the fact that there were gods on their *tuahu*" (*te mana me te kaha e [? o] te atuatanga o ta raua tuahu*).² In another text it says that "the god's poles are erected" on the *tuahu*.³ BEST states that "these *tuahu* are often described as *toronga atua*, places where gods are consulted by divination."⁴ With the existing state of our knowledge of Maori religion, we cannot expect completely irrefutable proofs of general assertions; but such expressions as those quoted above are of value because they indicate that normally one might meet the gods on the *tuahu*.

The presence of the gods on the *tuahu* was intentionally kept apart from the question of idols. Above, 'the god's poles' are mentioned, and *pua* is a word which WILLIAMS explains as "a post in the *tuahu* upon which the *atua* was supposed to alight when summoned by the *tohunga*".⁵ When this is added to the

¹ Lore I, 12.

² AHM. V, 75.

³ Grey M. 94.

⁴ Best T. 1075.

⁵ Williams s.v. *pua* (iii).

fact that the gods also by invocation were located in fire in the fireplace on the *tuahu*¹ and that, finally, the gods could be represented by images or stones (see below), it is realized that the manifestations of the gods was highly dependent on circumstances.

As to the gods whom we find on the *tuahu*, we are compelled to be as indefinite as the Maori. When they are invoked this presumably takes place under a definite name which, again, depends on the ritual situation. Only in the cases when a god is constantly represented in the sacred precinct, we are likely to find a closer defining. Naturally we then find gods of the kinship group and the settlement. On an often reproduced picture of a *tuahu* from the Arawa with four erected stones ELSDON BEST in "Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion" offers the information that "the stones represent the principal gods of the Arawa people: Maru-te-whare-aitu, Rongomai, Ihungaru, and Itupawa."² Why we do not get this important information in his large monograph on "Maori Religion", where the picture is shown on p. 171, is part of the mysteries often encountered by the reader of ELSDON BEST's works. COWAN pictures an Arawa goddess carved in a rocky recess. She is Horoirangi, an ancestor of the Arawa.³ As sacrifices of first fruits, etc., took place there, we dare perhaps classify the place as a *tuahu*, although COWAN does not use the word. In a rock cave immediately opposite Maru-te-whare-aitu was kept, also a tribal god, who was characterized more particularly as a god of war.

From Taranaki it is mentioned as normal that images of the god of a fortified place or the tribal god were kept near the sacred pole, i. e. on the *tuahu*.⁴ Finally we have from the Ngai-Tahu a peculiar story about a god of a kinship group (he is called the chief's ancestor) who is stolen out of a besieged fortress. It must have lain on the *tuahu*, as the besieged after the discovery of the theft went there and performed a rite where the god had lain (*ka karangarangatia nga tangata katoa kia haere ki mua kia apohia te takotoranga o te atua*).⁵

¹ JPS. 33, 158 (Best).

² Best Aspects 34.

³ Cowan 137 ff.

⁴ JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner).

⁵ AHM. III, 113.

TAYLOR gives a description of an invocation of a god made on the *tuahu* by a mediumistic priest by means of an idol.¹ The invocation causes the god to speak through him. About these idols TAYLOR maintains that they were only considered to be sacred during the séance; "at other times they were regarded only as bits of ordinary wood."² The theology attributed to the Maoris here is not rarely quoted. But it cannot apply to idols in general. We only need to refer to definite facts. Why should these gods be kept so carefully? Thus COWAN tells about the rock cave in which Maru-te-whare-aitu was kept, that the edge of the rock beside the mouth of the cave bore traces of its having been closed by a wooden door.³ A work so tiresome as that of dressing the mouth of a rock cave is certainly not done for the sake of 'bits of ordinary wood'. The story about the theft of a god also shows something else; for the god accompanies the image and pines for home just as the owner pines for the god (*tae rawa te atua ki Te Taumutu, ka aroha mai ki nga tangata o Waikouaiti, ka aroha hoki a Taraitu ki te atua*).⁴ The god then returns home.

It is a question how much importance should be attached to TAYLOR's view. In his book he communicates several texts which in spite of a somewhat defective recording are excellent, in certain cases the least corrupt version.⁵ On the other hand his translations and general view often betray misunderstandings. Therefore we should not, perhaps, attach too much importance to his statement about the idols. There may have been a difference between the images of the tribal gods and those of the kinship groups on the one hand and those which represent gods that possess the priest. This is not a very probable explanation as the distinction hardly is very sharp. We have a fairly good knowledge of one of the latter gods, Te Rehu, who possessed his priest Uhia. It is expressly stated that Uhia established a *tuahu* for Te Rehu.⁶

Apart from gods of kinship groups and tribal gods some special gods might be attached to the *tuahu* for the purpose of guarding

¹ Taylor 183.

² Taylor 212, picture 214.

³ Cowan 138.

⁴ AHM. III, 114.

⁵ See e.g. p. 100 (the Whaitiri myth).

⁶ Best Rel. 130.

it.¹ It is stated that they appeared in the shape of lizards. This is hardly accidental, for lizards were objects of dread to the Maoris and often represented the dangerous aspect of sacredness.²

We cannot in a proper sense among the gods of the *tuahu* include the *kumara* gods which might be kept there, as it does not appear from the descriptions that they had any ritual function there as they had in the field.

If the objects representing gods on the *tuahu* were sufficiently small, they were kept in a special receptacle.³ This might be in human shape, but such a statue cannot, indeed, be considered a real idol.

In this survey we have used such terms as tribal gods and gods of the kinship group, but unfortunately we must acknowledge their vagueness. Thorough investigations might remedy this; but this special problem cannot be probed to the bottom in this place without our losing sight of our proper subject, the *tuahu*. We may, however, remedy the vagueness somewhat as we proceed.

Among the rites performed on the *tuahu* sacrifices hold a prominent position. This must be due to the fact that there are gods on the *tuahu*. Indeed, it is often mentioned that the sacrifice is made to a god (*atua*),⁴ but only in passing; in other passages the whole context shows that the sacrifice must be supposed to have been made to an *atua*.⁵ If the gods' relation to sacrifices on the *tuahu* is not indicated at all, as is often the case, it must thus be considered something accidental about the account.

Among the offerings on the *tuahu* which we hear about, there are offerings of first fruits,⁶ offerings of hairs (*makawe*) or other parts of the body from prisoners or enemies killed.⁷ Offering of a dog in connexion with the building of a canoe⁸ and offerings (*moremore puwha*) prior to instruction, the latter with distinct stress on the communion between the pupil and the *tuahu*.⁹ We

¹ JPS. 46, 217 (Downes).

² See p. 105, note 3.

³ Smith Wars 33 f. (from White).

⁴ AHM. III Eng. 241; JPS. 15, 147; Best Agr. 160; Lore I, 3 f.

⁵ JPS. 3, 28 (Nahe); Grey M. 94, 66 (there offerings are made to an ancestor's bones, but the ancestor should no doubt be conceived as a god).

⁶ JPS. 15, 147 (Best); Best Agr. 160.

⁷ JPS. 3, 28 (Nahe); Best T. 1056 f.; Taylor 213; cf. Grey M. 184.

⁸ Grey M. 94 (the offering is accompanied by divination).

⁹ TNZI. 31, 632 (Best); Best T. 1097; (cf. AHM. I, 5, which, however, is not quite confidence-inspiring).

find a special type of offering in the depositing of children's umbilical cord on the *tuahu*,¹ probably related to the burying of e.g. a lock of hair (also from adults) for protection from witchcraft.² The communion with the *tuahu* is no doubt important in both cases. This leads us on to the fact that the hair cut off at the hair-cutting was often placed on the *tuahu*.³ Indeed, the hair-cutting because of the strong *tapu* of the head was a ritual process, especially in the case of chiefs and priests. It is uncertain whether the placing of the hair in a *tapu* place was only due to a wish for having *tapu* things put out of the way or it denoted a communion with what is sacred. The latter view would seem the most probable when the hair is expressly stated to have been placed on the *tuahu*. This is supported not only by the cases mentioned above in which we are informed of the intention, but also by the fact that hair-cutting often entered in the *pure* rite.

Unfortunately it is difficult sharply to define the *pure* rite. In early times it was regularly described as 'a ceremony for removing the *tapu* from houses, canoes, etc.',⁴ but this is decidedly too narrow a definition, and WILLIAMS therefore cautiously adds 'and for other purposes'.⁵ BEST calls *pure* 'a word demanding much attention',⁶ which indeed is very true.

A *pure* can certainly remove a *tapu*, e.g. from the participants in an interment or from the warriors after a fight.⁷ As the *pure* otherwise is always performed for a more positive purpose, it is natural to assume that this is an essential peculiarity about the *pure* and to state about the examples mentioned that one and the same rite may very well remove an unwanted content and create a new one. Rites of participants in an interment just offer instances of this, as shown above (p. 26 ff.). A certain text expressly states that the *pure* leaves the participants in a state of *tapu*.⁸ The same must be the case when *pure* is performed prior to the planting of kumara.⁹ Furthermore, we have testimonies to the effect that

¹ Best M. II, 11.

² TNZI. 34, 76 (Best).

³ Taylor 208; White Te Rou 177; Lore II, 164 (here the reference is to a special hair-cutting *tuahu*).

⁴ Tregear Dict. s.v. *pure*.

⁵ Williams s.v. *pure*.

⁶ JPS. 38, 171.

⁷ Shortl. Rel. 57 f.; TNZI. 38, 200 (Best); Taylor 188.

⁸ Grey M. 113.

⁹ AHM. I, 82; cf. III, 6; II, 120.

canoes and houses got a *tapu* through the *pure* rite.¹ In the Lore of the Whare-Wananga and in BEST's Io texts the word is regularly used in the meaning of consecrating; but this may of course be supposed to be a peculiarity about the usage of the worshippers of Io.² For the further illustration of the positive character of the *pure* we may mention a couple of instances from the myths. Tinirau secured fish by performing a *pure* on the beach, and when Tawhaki had died, Whaitiri in one version resuscitated him by a *pure*.³

Pure thus is a very comprehensive concept, which in so far is no matter of surprise as in great parts of Polynesia it is, if anything, used like Maori *karakia*. However, what is of interest in this connexion is the relation between the *pure* and offerings of hair on the *tuahu*. If it is a question of *pure-ing* something, e.g. a canoe, we dare not, of course, without definite evidence assume that an offering of hair took place. Without being particularly probable, it is not, however, completely excluded. The matter is different when human beings are objects of the *pure* rite. SHORTLAND writes: "When they had dipped in the river, Kahu commenced cutting the young man's hair, which is part of the ceremony of *pure*. In the evening, the hair being cut, the *mauri*, or sacredness of the hair, was fastened to a stone."⁴ Here the hair-cutting is expressly described as part of the *pure*. Presumably it is performed beside the river, but the *mauri* of the hair, no doubt a tuft of hair, is placed on a stone, and it seems probable that this stone was found on the *tuahu*. A *pure* by the water described by BEST was also accompanied by hair-cutting.⁵ In one text it says downright: "... they and their father were *tapu* after having undergone *pure*, viz. hair-cutting."⁶ It is somewhat confusing that BEST notes about *pure*: "As met with in the phrase '*ka purea te mahunga*' [the head or hair is *pure-ed*] it does not mean hair cutting, but denotes a ceremonial usage."⁷ It is difficult to draw any conclusions from BEST's information, if, indeed, it is correct, since it is so negative. At any rate it cannot

¹ Best Canoe 32; Lore I, 6.

² E.g. Lore I, 26, 28, 42, 72; Best Rel. 251; JPS. 38, 169 f.

³ TNZI. 7, 53 (Wohlers); AHM. I, 116.

⁴ Shortl. Rel. 57.

⁵ TNZI. 38, 200 (Best).

⁶ Grey M. 113; cf. Taylor 248.

⁷ JPS. 38, 169 f.

shake the testimony quoted above, according to which *pure* even may be a synonym of hair-cutting. The hair must regularly have been involved when *pure* applied to human beings. Only in SHORTLAND we are informed in more detail what happened to the hair cut off; but as the *pure* often simply was performed on the *tuahu* and we also know that hair from hair-cutting regularly was placed there, it seems obvious that the hair or at least a tuft of hair was sacrificed on the *tuahu*.

Besides, this discussion can give an impression how almost hopelessly hesitating we must often stand before important words from the Maori's religious vocabulary.

The offering on the *tuahu* is of special interest because it is a rite which presumably is particularly characteristic of this sacred place. But the rites may also be considered from other points of view, the question being left open whether they involved offerings or not. Thus it should be mentioned that *tapu* was removed also on the *tuahu*.¹ From the limited information extant it is easiest to consider the rites from the point of view of the occasion. This point of view does not produce great results, but a brief survey is of interest by demonstrating the importance of the *tuahu* in Maori religion. The list of occasions includes a number of important undertakings, often framed by rites on the *tuahu* both before and afterwards. They are war and hostility in general; both magic and countermagic can be performed on the *tuahu*. Furthermore, many kinds of work: fishing and agriculture, felling of trees, building of canoes, navigation and instruction. Finally we come across very special occasions, as a man wanting to overtake his fugitive wife, a father wanting to find a murdered child, or disappeared objects to be found. Of course the rites often were accompanied by divination. If we cast a glance at the list and consider that offerings frequently were part of the rites, we get an impression that people turned to the *tuahu* to obtain strength, and the reason must be sought in the fact that the gods were found there.

We can get a little further by a closer examination of an important and well authenticated part of the *tuahu*, viz. the poles. Poles or sticks enter in numerous rituals, often as the centre of the ritual act. The significance of the poles changes according to

¹ Lore I, 3 f. AHM. III, Eng. 240.

the details of the ritual, but still there seems to be a certain constancy.

The pole is often used as a symbol of that which supports or maintains: "Give some food as a "pole" (*pou*) for his (her) mother, she has not yet eaten anything."¹ The woman who is thirsting for revenge for her brother sings, "I should like to eat Pare-ihe's brain raw at once, so that it became a supporting pole (*poupou*) to my heart."² "The canoe was shattered and the men died, so there was no pole (*pou*) to lift the treasure."³ The pole here alludes to the chief. Apakura in her lament refers to Wa-hieroa's death by calling him "the pole (*pou*) that is upset."⁴

This view of the pole or stick is not only poetical. Apart from functionalistic poles in houses, etc., a standing pole or stick in itself has a special power over the Maori mind. Once a threat of defeat was changed into victory by the priest of the army planting his stick in the ground and shouting to the tribe that it should die or gain the victory there.⁵

The character of the pole as supporting or maintaining is also of frequent occurrence in the rituals. Such phrases as "This is the pole which stands" very often occur in the concomitant *karakias*.⁶ Two poles may represent respectively Ao and Po, life and death.⁷ In one rite one pole, *tira ora*, the wand of life, is left to stand, while *tira mate*, the wand of death, is overturned.⁸ Here we get a very graphic impression of the belief that the pole is upholding—of course in so far as it is standing—otherwise there is no point in overturning it. On the other hand, conditions are rather complicated in the case of the *niu* rite, which often consisted in taking auguries for a warlike undertaking from small sticks.⁹ Sometimes it is a happy augury if a stick remains standing, but the commonest is rather that the augury is taken according to the way in which certain stick fall, e.g. over or under others that represent the enemy. With these small sticks we have ob-

¹ Williams s. v. *pou*.

² JPS. 9, 137 (Tarakawa).

³ JPS. 2, 188 (Te Kahui Kararehe).

⁴ AHM. II, 149.

⁵ TNZI. 32, 259 (Smith).

⁶ Grey Mot. 262, 353, 361, 296; Grey M. 73, 172.

⁷ See above p. 26 ff. and Best T. 1072 f.

⁸ Johansen, Maori 220 f.

⁹ Best Rel. 178 ff.

viously left the idea of a supporting staff but this is really no wonder.

Thus we note the difference between small sticks and proper staffs or poles as we proceed to discuss the poles of the *tuahu*. There is no doubt that their task is that of standing and like other ritual poles they have the purpose of being upholding. Special rites perhaps may attribute special significations to them, but it is worth while asking whether they are not of a special character only by standing on the *tuahu*. As to this there is a single piece of interesting information in BEST, who writes: 'Te Kowhai, of Te Waiora, stated that two staves, termed the *toko-uri* and *toko-tea*, were set up at a *tuahu*. They were said to be, or represent "nga toko o te rangi".'¹ In *toko uri* and *toko tea*, the dark and the light pole, we find, of course, the often mentioned dualism between Te Po and Te Ao, Night and Day. This dualism may also be represented by two stones on the *tuahu* and thus in so far is attached more to the pair than to the pole as such.² In return we are then given a piece of information which refers to the poles as such, viz. that 'they were said to be, or represent "nga toko o te rangi"', i.e. the poles of heaven. There can hardly be any doubt that the reference is to the poles which in the creation myth was placed under heaven and which regularly are named '*toko*'. Strangely enough, this did not occur to BEST; at any rate it has not left any traces in his writings. On the other hand, he calls attention to the fact that *toko* may mean 'beam of light', which suggests that here, too, he searches for traces of sun worship. It is true that *toko* means 'beam of light' in such phrases as '*nga toko o te ra*', the 'staffs' of the sun, i.e. beams of light radiating from the sun. The visual picture on which the Maori bases the phrase is evident. The 'staffs' of heaven about beams of light are less obvious. To my knowledge the phrase is not found in any text, either. The natural interpretation must be obtained in the myth of the separation of Rangi and Papa.

This myth is found in numerous versions from the whole of New Zealand. In outline it is the same in all tribes. The version which is most frequently quoted, because it is translated in GREY's *Polynesian Mythology*, is not the best one, as it is un-

¹ Best T. 1072.

² Cowan 69 f.

doubtedly made up out of two (or more) related versions. On the other hand, it possesses a distinct poetical flight. It is natural to call attention to two versions found in the appendix which GREY added to his collection of Maori songs. They obviously entered in the adapted version mentioned above. One of them deserves being rescued from oblivion, since no translation of it has been published.

GREY's adapted versions in the "Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna", however, have been criticized from Maori quarters, and it has been stated that the informant of most of it, Wiremu Maehe-Te-Rangikaheke, was a christened Maori without training in the sacral school.¹

Now it is almost certain that the first version is not due to Maehe-Te-Rangikaheke. The fact is that there are two versions, which must be ascribed to two different informants. The latter version bears exactly the stamp to be expected if Maehe-Te-Rangikaheke is the informant, a certain smoothness in the telling and few traces of sacral learning, whereas conditions are just opposite on both points as regards the former version. Thus there is no reason to criticize it; on the contrary, it inspires confidence. Besides the fact that it is little known, also its early publication (1853) is in favour of its being selected as a sample, even though versions from other tribes may be just as well worth considering. So I offer a translation of the first section which alone is of interest here.²

See, this is the origin of the generation of the human beings, which is now told clearly.

Beforehand I say, as in the first lines I wrote about the ancestors: "In the Night (Po), in the first Night right to the tenth Night, the hundredth, the thousandth." Because of this, no Day at all was found. It was still dark among the Maoris. There also were Rangi and Papa (Heaven and Earth), they lay close together and not yet separated at all, and their children tried in some way to create Night and Day.

They thought: Look here! We will try to find a way in which Rangi and Papa can either be killed or separated. Tumatauenga

¹ TNZI. 32, 257 (Smith).

² Grey Mot. iii f.

said, "Yes, we will kill them." Tane-mahuta answered, "We ought not to do that—but let us separate them so that one is above, the other below, so that one becomes as a stranger to us and the other as a mother to us." Then all answered yes except one, who felt great pity (*aroha*) for them if they were to be separated. Five sanctioned that they should be separated; one felt pity.

This is the reason for these words: "Night, Night, Day, Day, there is seeking, there is search in the void, in the void." For it is their search for an idea as regards their parents, in order that man can be created and flourish. Behold! There are these words: "The duration, the greatness." It is the greatness of their idea of hurting their parents, in order that man can live, it is their signification.

The first one set to work, but could not, the second set to work, but could not, the third, the fourth, the fifth—and the fifth could. In vain Rangi and Papa moaned; they moaned in vain. What did Tane-mahuta care? (Rangi) was fastened on poles. (Tane) set the head below and the legs in the air, see: heaven was high in the air, earth was far down. Therefore there is this proverb: "It was Tane who set poles; Rangi and Papa were separated, it was he who separated them, Night and Day were separated."

The chief event, that heaven and earth were separated, Tane setting poles under the heaven, is common to all versions. This event is so fundamental, because it creates the frequently mentioned dualism of Day—Night. It may be said that this very feature is brought out especially clearly just in this version. We are expressly informed of this chief motif both before and after. Night and Day are to be created, and the proverb summarizes the result: Night and Day were separated. The very separation is the proper substance of creation, what makes the world fit to live in for a Maori. The poles on the *tuahu* thus safeguard a fundamental feature in the order of the world, a feature which separates cosmos from chaos.

Before we continue the inquiry, it is necessary briefly to discuss the distribution of this ritual symbolism. However often the poles on the *tuahu* are referred to, we only in this one passage hear that "they were said to be, or represent the poles of heaven."

Is it imaginable that the idea was only local? When this question is to be answered it must be kept in mind how sparse the whole tradition of ritual symbolism is. It is impossible to argue *ex silentio*. But this view does not in itself take us any further, it just leaves us where we were. However, there are reasons in favour of the view that the symbolism must have been of general occurrence. If we disregard the question of the place, we often hear of poles in the rituals with exactly this meaning. Above (p. 30) we saw an instance. Another is found in a ritual for divorce. Naturally the separation of Papa and Rangi there appears as the primordial divorce and in the ritual the pole is mentioned:¹

Tena pou ka tu ko te pou o te wehe ko te pou o Rangi nui e tu nei . . .	This pole which stands The pole of divorce The pole of Rangi-nui-e-tu-nei . . .
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Rangi-nui-e-tu-nei is one of Rangi's poetic-ritual names (the-great-Heaven-who-stands-here).

In a *karakia* to Maru the purpose of which is not indicated, but which is seen to be related to war, the following line occurs:

ko te pou o Rangi-e-tu-nei.²

Add to this the peculiar fact that in Tahiti we find an analogous ritual symbolism. TEUIRA HENRY offers the information that *unu-marae*, the planks erected on *ahu*, 'represented the *ana mua*, *ana roto*, *ana muri*, and all the other great stars of heaven.'³ But the myth tells that the poles of heaven just are these stars (*o anā-mua*, *e pou tomora'a 'tu i te 'apu o te ra'i*, etc.).⁴ Even though in discussing the relation between ritual and myth we should be wary of putting A equal to C because A is equal to B and B is equal to C, there is hardly any doubt in this case, in which planks and poles are much closer to each other than the intermediate link, stars.

As the *ahu* of Tahiti and the *tuahu* of the Maoris originate

¹ Grey Mot. 296.

² Grey Mot. 262.

³ Henry 134.

⁴ Henry 361.

from a common Central Polynesian form, the common meaning of the poles (planks) as being poles of heaven must be a rather old Polynesian cultural element which the Maoris took with them to New Zealand. If we add that the idea that ritual poles are poles of heaven is authenticated from several Maori tribes, it seems permissible to conclude that it is due to a mere accident that only from one tribe we have this signification ascribed to the poles of the *tuahu* as such.

This conclusion is of importance when in what follows we discuss certain variants of the Rangi-Papa myth from other tribes; for in this case it makes sense to interpret some features of the myth from the relation to the *tuahu*.

We shall now return to the myth and consider some details more closely.

It is Tane (Tanemahuta) who performs the decisive feat. It is an interesting feature that he stands on his head during the lifting of Heaven. We hear that the trees originally stood with their tops downwards and their roots upwards; but Tane turned them upside down so that they stood on their heads, the Maori viewing the root as the head and the top as legs.¹ Tane thus is both the person who erects the pole and the pole itself. In poetic style Tane often occurs in kennings denoting things made of wood. The house is *Tane-pupuke* or *Tane-i-te-whaka-piripiri* (the Tane of what is joined together). The canoe is also *Tane-pupuke*, *te riu a Tane* (Tane's belly) or *te ara tau whaito o Tane* (Tane's narrow, floating way). *Tane-horo* is chips that fall (*horo*) from the axe. We note that the thing is sometimes called Tane-something-or-other, sometimes presented as Tane's tool (e.g. the canoe). We have here the same duplicity with which the myth invests the pole. When interpreted ritually it presumably means that both the priest who erects (or consecrates) the pole and the pole itself represent Tane. In the light of this view it is quite interesting that in versions from the Ngai-Tahu and the Ngati-Kahungunu Tane and Paia share in the task.² Actually the two are so closely related that somewhere it has been supposed that Paia only was another name of Tane.³ Elsewhere, however, there

¹ Grey M. 176; TNZI. 7, 33 f. (Wohlers); Taylor 119 note.

² AHM. I, 22, 44, 123, 125, 145; JPS. 10, 6 (Best); Lore I, 22.

³ Best T. 752.

is a slight difference expressed by the statement that 'Paia is the holy man (*te tangata tapu*); he possesses the gods and the *karakias*.¹ Behind Paia we here dimly see the officiating priest in the ritual.

We need not discuss isolated versions in which Paia or Maui² replace Tane.

But there is reason to pause for a moment to consider some peculiar lines in a *waiata popo*, a kind of lullaby, in which a son is instructed about his name and kinship group:

Kei whea to tupuna?
Kia whakaputa mai
i muri ano Whakataupotiki.
Nana i toko te rangi i runga nei,
ka puta koe ki te ao marama.³

These lines might very well be understood as if *nana* referred to Whakataupotiki, who, if so, is made the lifter of heaven. As this is without any parallel, and furthermore, there will be something purposeless in the preceding two lines, I suggest the following interpretation in which *nana* refers to *tupuna*, who thus is Tane.

[If somebody asks you:]

Where is your ancestor? [viz. how far back?]

Then let Whakataupotiki

Be born still later.

[No, your ancestor] was he who set poles under heaven above us,
You were born to the world of light.

Whatever interpretation is chosen, the last lines show the present reality of the lifting of heaven and thus confirm a ritual view of the myth.

BEST mentions three expressions which are supposed to refer to the lifting of heaven:⁴

ko nga rangi i roherohea e Tane:
The heavens which Tane fenced

¹ AHM. I, 145; cf. 40 f., where Paia recites *karakias* while Tane is erecting poles.

² Taylor 115 note. Is this a post-European loan from Polynesia?

³ Grey Mot. 205; a variant: TNZI. 25, 427 (Bruce).

⁴ JPS. 32, 66 (Best).

ko nga rangi tuitui a Tane:
 Tane's 'pierced' heavens
ko nga rangi tokorau a Tane:
 Tane's separated heavens.

The last expression no doubt refers to poles, as *tokorau* rightly should be written *toko rau*, as in the passive it is *tokona rautia*. Furthermore, *tokona* is the normal passive of *toko* 'to use a pole'.

That the middle expression actually means that Tane sets poles under heaven is confirmed by a comparison between two versions from the Ngai-Tahu. Both have been recorded by WOHLERS and are almost word for word alike. But while one version presents the lifting of heaven itself in the usual manner, this is in the other version replaced by *ka tuia a Rangi i runga e Tane, mau ai*.¹

These three expressions, especially the first, give a visual picture of the function of the poles or, more cautiously, one of the functions of the poles; for they suggest a demarcation or fencing of the *tuahu* by poles. According to these expressions the lifting of heaven takes place ritually not by a 'lifting', but by a demarcation of an area (*tuahu*) which represents heaven. This does not seem improbable. Ritually it is the separation of heaven and earth, of the sacred and the profane, 'Day' and 'Night', which is the essential thing.

In the middle expression the word *tuitui* occurs, in the myth correspondingly *tui*. WILLIAMS translates *tuitui* ad hoc: 'fasten up, render inaccessible'. But how is this to be visualized? *Tui* (and *tuitui*) means to pierce or to put something through a hole, hence to sew or lace up, the string passing through drilled holes. If we keep to the myth, only, the use of poles in connexion with *tui* seems somewhat obscure. We may very well imagine heaven to be pierced by the poles, but what is the use of it, when it is to be lifted? It seems to me that just the ritual interpretation proposed makes the expression more easily understandable. We can then imagine that pointed poles demarcate the *tuahu* or heaven by being stuck or rammed down into it.

In this connexion a mythical motif from the Ngai-Tahu is

¹ TNZI. 7, 34 (Wohlers); Grey M. 175.

of interest. In this it is stated that Rupe, 'the Dove', ascends to Rehua in uppermost heaven.¹ Rehua is evidently in possession of very great holiness. This ascent is described like this: "Rupe climbed up (*piki*), he searched, he only thought of finding Rehua. He came to a country and shouted, "Are there human beings higher up, too?"

The people of the country said, "There are human beings higher up, too."

"Can I go there, I wonder?"

"You cannot go there. It is those heavens which Tane fenced (*i roherohea e Tane*).""

Rupe, however, gets up there and the same exchange of words is repeated, only that the answer now is:

"You cannot go there. It is those heavens which Tane pierced (*i tuituia e Tane*)."

But Rupe also gets up there and we learn that he goes on to the tenth heaven, where he meets Rehua.

In three other versions it is not Rupe, but Tane, who seeks out Rehua.² It seems strange that Tane must be informed of the fences, etc., which he himself made, but this feature just indicates a ritual reality which shows through. In BEST there is a note on the pole of the *tuahu*: "Occasionally a bird would be cooked and placed upon the post, which bird was alluded to as Tane."³ If we maintain that the *tuahu* represents heaven, then Tane also can make an ascension as a bird (bird's offering). As Rupe means 'dove' we also understand that Rupe and Tane can replace one another in the myth. And we also comprehend Tane's position better: Tane as a bird stands in another relation to fences and poles than Tane as wood.

The myth probably refers to the offering of a bird on the *tuahu*; but it is not this aspect of the matter which is to be discussed here; it has only been adduced in order to give more lucidity to the mythology which is attached to the *tuahu* in itself.

We see that the *tuahu* may represent heaven and that what happened at the creation was that heaven was separated from earth by poles which ritually formed a fence. The Rupe (Tane)-

¹ Grey M. 25; AHM. I, 73 ff.

² AHM. I, 120; Grey M. 177; TNZI. 7, 34 f. (Wohlers).

³ Best T. 1076.

Rehua myth furthermore shows that there might be two demarcations: those heavens which Tane fenced (*roherohe*), and those which he pierced (*tuitui*). The *tuahu* could even be provided with several fences,¹ but the expressions may just as well cover an outer proper fence as an inner demarcation of the Holy of Holies by a few poles. For that matter the outer fence may also have consisted in only a few *pou rahui*, poles with red paint which indicated a *tapu* place. In this connexion it should also be mentioned that Tane in a creation myth decorates Rangi with red sacral paint, *rahui kura*.²

Thus it is a question of a gradual increase of sacredness on the *tuahu*. Such a graduation of the *tapu* was, indeed, natural to the Maori. We find a related graduation in the large number of ovens used at ritual meals and in the use of intermediaries at the serving of food to people with a high *tapu*.³

The graduation of sacredness on the *tuahu* has a parallel in the ten heavens of mythology. The number ten hardly had any appreciable ritual importance in this connexion, its presence is no doubt only due to the fact that it was a sacred number.

Uruuru-whenua.

People who arrived in a foreign region performed a rite which put them into a safe relation to the country. It was called *uruuru-whenua* and could take place on the *tuahu*; but it is more uncertain whether this was the usual thing.⁴

Certain stones, rocks, or (sometimes) trees were objects of this rite on the part of travellers when they passed the locality. These places possessed a certain *tapu*, but it is doubtful whether they came under the concept of *tuahu*. As, indeed, the places had certain features in common with the *tuahu*, they will be briefly mentioned in connexion with this.

The place is most frequently a stone or rock and the rite consists in picking a sprig or some leaves and sacrificing them to the stone or rock while reciting a *karakia*. Some few have

¹ Taylor 215 f.

² AHM. I, 42.

³ Johansen, Maori 209, 212.

⁴ JPS. 34, 178 (Graham).

been handed down.¹ They are short and may consist of two parts, one of which lays down that a stranger has come to the country, while the other expresses that the stranger's heart (*manawa*) or liver (*ate*) is sacrificed. The latter is both the most unmistakable and the most interesting. The sprig represents an essential part of the sacrificing person, and the sacrifice is evidently a communion. The phrase in the *karakia* runs like this:

or	<i>Mau e kai te manawa o tauhou</i>
	<i>He kai mau te ate o te tauhou.</i>
	'Eat thou the stranger's <i>manawa</i> (heart)'
and	'The stranger's liver is your food.'

Thus there is somebody or something that is addressed. Indeed, we regularly hear about a *tipua* (demon) that is attached to the place.² Below we shall consider whether the *karakia* is directed to this *tipua*.

These demons are manifestations of wild nature. If one omits performing the *uruuru-whenua* one exposes oneself to a storm during the journey, at worst one risks being killed by the demon, especially if this is a vigorous *taniwha*.³ The sacrifice, however, places the traveller in a safe relation to the demon. How this at least might be regarded is illustrated by an interesting case which has handed down to us the myth (legend) that belongs to one of these places.

COWAN tells about a rock which "for generations past has been venerated by the Maoris, who to this day perform there the ancient rite of '*uruuru-whenua*', the propitiation of the genius loci. There is a deep cavity in this fetish stone—a hollow so smooth and regular that it almost seems as if it were artificially carved. The cavity is generally found to contain a heap of small branches of *manuka*, the offerings of passing Maori travellers. It is the custom to break a green sprig of *manuka* and place it in the hollow stone; should a passer-by who is from another district neglect this ancient rite it will be uncomfortable for him, for a great storm of wind and rain will surely befall him. By the

¹ Best T. 975 adduces three, the last of which has been taken from Grey Mot. 136, of which a variant is found translated in Shortl. Rel. 77. Quite a different one is found in JPS 34, 178 (Graham), which, however, was recited at the *tuahu*.

² Best T. 972 f.; Cowan 111 f.; JPS. 46, 221 (Downes).

³ JPS. 46, 222.

imaginative local Maori it is said that this was the very rock in which their ancestor Hatupatu took refuge when pursued by the ogress Kurangaituku . . .”¹

The story about Hatupatu is found in GREY.² Hatupatu fell out with his brothers, and after some most dramatic events he came to live with a female demon, Kurangaituku; but he fled away from her after robbing her treasures. He was overtaken near the stone mentioned. Then he said, “Stone! split! open up!” and was saved by hiding in the stone.

If we dare view this as a model *uruuru-whenua*, it is the stone one addresses, it is the stone which is to “eat” and thus protect one’s life from the demons. To this view the hardness of the stone becomes an essential quality, and it is probably not accidental that the object of the *uruuru-whenua* rite is practically always a stone or a rock.³ I remember only one exception, where it was a tree.⁴

Heketua.

Strangely enough, the privy is of no small importance in Maori religion. It was the place of various rites, and cosmic and religious associations were connected with it. Even though this applied to the whole of New Zealand, there is no doubt that the religious importance was most developed among the Taranaki tribes. This characterizes the material, the main sources being Taranaki myths and the material collected by BEST.

To the object proposed here, viz. that of illustrating the general character of certain sacred precincts, the *heketua* is the most fertile. A relatively rich harvest of direct information and mythical allusions compensates us for the unpleasantry involved in the constant occupation with excrements.

The arrangement consists of a horizontal beam on which the user is squatting. Two or three vertical posts are placed in front to hold on to during the use. There are numerous names to denote the place, often referring to the horizontal beam (*paepae*), but this is only to denote *pars pro toto*. From different tribes we

¹ Cowan 112.

² Grey M. 81 ff.

³ See e.g. Best T. 972 f.

⁴ Cowan 111.

may list the following: *wakeheke, heketua*; widely distributed is *paepae* followed by an 'adjective': *hamuti, whakahoro, whakariro, tautara, koroahu* (a special kind), or a genitive: *paepae o te turuma, paepae o Whaitiri*; furthermore *taikarekare, taikawa, turuma*, and *wahi kino* ('dirty place'). The vertical posts may also have special names, the middle one being *Pou-o-Whaitiri*, the outermost ones *Hekeheke-i-rangi* and *Tu-te-papa*.¹ The word *turuma* is indicated in WILLIAMS' Dictionary to have two meanings: (1) A sacred place, similar to the *tuahu*, (2) Privy. I do not feel quite convinced that the word everywhere denotes two different things; but I should consider it probable that usage was somewhat varying among the different tribes. It is, however, difficult to probe the matter to the bottom. In the Lore of the Whare-Wananga we find the term *te tuahu i te turuma* 'the *tuahu* at the *turuma*',² i.e. the vertical post on the right.³ This use of *tuahu* in connexion with *turuma*, which here decidedly denotes the privy, seems special to this work (cf. above, p. 67 f.). Through PERCY SMITH's footnotes we learn about the recorder's, TE WHATAHORO's, view of the ritual use of the *heketua*. It is to the effect that the place was chosen 'as being a place where no food was used'.⁴ This view is so strange that it can hardly be taken quite seriously. In short, we get an impression that TE WHATAHORO knew nothing about the mythical and cosmic associations on which the ritual importance of the place was based. This ignorance may easily have influenced the usage in the work.

Besides the terms mentioned we also find *mianga* to denote the *heketua*,⁵ Literally it means 'the place for making water'. It seems extremely probable that *mianga* to denote a definite place is always identical with *heketua*, as we otherwise never hear anything about a special 'urinal'.⁶ This is contradicted by strange features in a couple of myths. In one of these Tawhaki searches for food for Waitiri and is told to go by "the way to the *mianga*, the way which leads to the water, the way which leads to the

¹ Most of them are found in "Williams", see further JPS. 38, 267 (Best); 20, 76 (Skinner); 27, 84 (Smith); 55, 121 (Graham); Best Pa 142, 98.

² E.g. Lore I, 74.

³ Lore I, 88 note 14.

⁴ E.g. Lore II, 109.

⁵ Best Pa 66.

⁶ There is a rather special exception for women who are isolated at child-birth: JPS. 38, 258 (Best).

excrements, the way that leads to the firewood, the way that leads to *taumata karakia . . .*.¹ Another myth includes quite a parallel situation, in which 'the way to the *hamuti* (= *heketua*)' is mentioned as different from 'the way to the *mianga*'.² There is a possibility that it is the same place, which only for ritual reasons is named by different names; but the stress on 'the way' makes this supposition somewhat far-fetched. In spite of everything we should rather assume that there may really among the southern tribes (the Ngai-Tahu and the Ngati-Kahungunu) have occurred a special *mianga*. If so, we must admit that we have very little to say about it. A rite against frost is laid at the *mianga*,³ but the word may just as well mean *heketua*.

About urine we have the following curious statement made to BEST by an old Maori: "Friend! It seems to me that the *ora* [good health] of the white men, and their exemption from disease, and sickness, and premature death, is caused by their never forgetting the *koutu mimi* [chamber pot?] at night time; it is ever in the room to protect them. For that urine represents the *tawhito* [the genitals], and will avert any evil consequences of any act of witchcraft levelled against them. For that organ was the life and salvation of my ancestors, and saved them from trouble and death."⁴ If this can be transferred to the *mianga*, this place thus could avert witchcraft just as the penis.⁵

In the myths urine appears in a few passages with life-giving and creative qualities. In the ritual for the initiation of a sorcerer, on the other hand, it is on a par with the excrements as an expression for the underworld; see further below.

On the whole it is difficult to draw any far-going conclusions from this scattered information; we shall therefore return to our subject, the *heketua*.

Considering that a certain *tapu* is attached to the place, we must naturally ask whether all people used the same place or whether there were different places according as the user was a chief or a slave, a man or a woman. In an initiation myth it says that a "paepae for men" was erected.⁶ This would seem to

¹ AHM. I, 109.

² AHM. III, 9.

³ JPS. 7, 236 (Best).

⁴ JPS. 13, 220 (Best); cf. the use of urine in rites: Best T. 1136.

⁵ See further: Johansen, Maori 233 f.

⁶ AHM. I, 85.

indicate that each sex had its own place. Curiously enough I have nowhere else found any corroboration of this statement. That Europeans do not mention this circumstance may perhaps be due to the fact that it seems too obvious for a European to be mentioned. Perhaps one would even assume that a *heketua* visited by both sexes might have provoked some comment.

Whether, apart from this, there was any difference, is debatable, but in this case, at any rate, we have at least several testimonies. CROZET writes, "à l'extrême de chaque village sur la pointe la plus avancée à la mer, on trouve un lieu public de commodité pour tous les habitans."¹ "Each village had its common privy," says COLENZO.² In the face of these witnesses it is perhaps of less importance that HAWKESWORTH on the contrary declares, "Every house, or every little cluster of three or four houses, was furnished with a privy."³ Indeed, here it is a case of working-up of original material, which as a matter of fact involved minor inaccuracies—in particular in favour of 'the noble savage', whose sanitary installations impressed the time. Other sources, however, confirm the existence of separate *heketuas*. Thus we hear about one belonging to a certain house.⁴ These few passages in the sources can probably—if so wanted—be impaired; but we shall see that it is hardly worth while; for in the case of fortified places we only hear about one *heketua*.⁵ We can now draw the conclusion: while there is a certain probability that the sexes had separate *heketuas*, there is every indication that otherwise the place could be used by anybody without regard to state of *tapu*. We need not know any more. How often, for practical reasons or according to local custom, several *heketuas* were erected in each settlement, is without interest in a religious respect.

A certain *tapu* is connected with the *heketua*. The cause must be sought in the excrements. COLENZO tells that on one of his travels he had picked some very juicy and good wild cabbage, which he gave to his Maori cook, who used to accompany him on his travels. But when he sat down at table, he had some

¹ Crozet 64.

² TNZI. 1, 375 (Colenso); cf. JPS. 27, 84 (Smith).

³ Hawkesworth II, 314.

⁴ JPS. 34, 314 (Best); cf. TNZI. 10, 71 f. (Stack).

⁵ Best Pa 66; JPS. 20, 76 (Skinner); Grey M. 96.

highly inferior cabbage served. When he asked for the reason why, the cook answered that some of the local Maoris had seen COLENSO pick the cabbage near the *heketua* and had made him throw it away.¹ This may be compared with a passage in a myth. Tane was on a visit to Nukuroa and Tamatea-kai-whakapua. They served rats for him, but he refused to eat them because they had eaten from the two chiefs' excrements. Not, as one might believe, because the food for that reason was bad, on the contrary, he added, it was food for the two chiefs.²

This *tapu*, as COLENSO remarks, prevented the use of the contents of the *heketua* for manure, in spite of the fact that the Maoris probably were aware of their manuring effect. At any rate he quotes a saying which was used about a chief: *He poroporo tu ki te hamuti*, 'A *poroporo* tree standing beside the *heketua*'.³

The excrements undoubtedly were the origin of the character of the place, but they only take us to the negative aspect of it. Fortunately we have more information about the positive aspect.

Thus we know from numerous statements that the horizontal beam, the *paepae*, at the *heketua* was the centre of an averting rite, *ngau paepae* (to bite the *paepae*), which closely corresponded to its name.

TUTAKA from the Tuhoe tribe has given some interesting comments on this rite: "Paepae (the horizontal beam) is *tangata matua*," he says.⁴ Apparently this must mean the 'significant human being' or the 'adult human being'. However, the same Maori says elsewhere: "... *tangata matua* is the male organ."⁵ Furthermore, we have in a ritual text for the 'biting of the beam' some allusions to *tahito*, a word which at any rate may mean 'penis';⁶ but as *tahito* is a somewhat polysemantic word,⁷ and as the allusion need not be to the beam, either, the ritual text in itself does not mean very much. The only certain fact thus is that TUTAKA considered the beam as a sexual symbol and ascribed its averting power to this.⁸ This view is quite isolated

¹ TNZI. 13, 11 (Colenso).

² Grey M. 178; (AHM. I, 122).

³ Used in: Grey Mot. 125; cf. Grey Wh. 25 and JPS. 31, 33 No. 21 (Fletcher).

⁴ Best T. 1140.

⁵ Best T. 1134.

⁶ Best T. 1139.

⁷ Cf. p. 110, and Johansen, Maori 220.

⁸ On the penis in rites for the averting of sorcery see: Johansen, Maori 232 ff.

and presumably was local. It is not supported by the rest of the tradition, but on the other hand it is not incompatible with it. TUTAKA may even himself give us the catchword for the widespread symbolism, for he says,¹ "One also goes to the beam to kill people. The performer places himself in front of the beam. The other side of the beam is for homicide. If the spirit (*wairua*, viz. of the one who is to be bewitched) gets to the other side of the beam, it is killed. The beam is a separating beam. The other side of the beam is called *kouka*. It is Night (*te Po*), it is Hine-nui-te-Po. Everything perishes there."

He adds a little illustrating scene from everyday life: "Somebody cries, 'Look after the child, that it does not go to the *kouka*!' 'Certainly not! It is still in front!' In front is the side of life, it is the world of light."

In other words, the excrements of the *heketua* are a kind of corpses, they are the kingdom of the dead. The beam is a barrier between the worlds of Day and Night. Again we find this important dualism in the rites of the Maoris. Before we proceed to discussing this in more detail, we shall, however, look at a number of myths and mythical motifs which partly show us how widespread this symbolism was, partly illustrates its mythical formulation more closely.

The female chief of the kingdom of death, Hinenuitepo, rules over the back part of the *heketua*. A myth tells how Maui once went down to the kingdom of the dead in order to conquer her by creeping into her the way we humans otherwise get out, as he wanted to get in and seize her heart. Unfortunately he took some birds with him, among them the fantail (*tiwaiwaka* or *piwaiwaka*) and the rail (*moho*, *patatai*). He enjoined on them to be quite still until he had got right in. But when he was still only half-way in, the comedy of the situation overwhelmed both the fantail and the rail. They burst out laughing, and the fantail danced about for joy (as is always its habit). Hinenuitepo woke up and pressed her thighs together. Maui died. The great rogue in the pantheon of the Maoris suitably met his death amid laughter.

These very birds, the fantail and the rail, traditionally belong to the *heketua*.² We have a very interesting piece of evidence of

¹ Best T. 1140.

² JPS. 16, 163 (Smith from the Taranaki region).

that in a dirge in which the following lines just refer to the Maui myth:

Death is no light matter,
 [Even] before Maui people died.
 It was the rail that laughed, then [Maui] was
 crushed in there,
 The moth got out, the fantail flew
 Up on top of the *heketua*;
 Then ill-luck [*he*] befell you.¹

The kingdom of the dead in mythology and the ritual scene at the *heketua* have been merged in a very suggestive way. Maui's death as a primordial event has been treated elsewhere by me.² The merging has also on a certain point coloured the idea of the kingdom of death. Although we have several pieces of evidence that the kingdom of the dead is a pleasant place, we still, as an abrupt contrast, find that the dead 'feed on human excrement and drink urine.'³

As mentioned above, various parts of the structure of the *heketua* are named after Whaitiri. The horizontal beam is called *te paepae-o-Whaitiri*, 'Whaitiri's beam', and the middle post *te pou-o-Whaitiri*, 'Whaitiri's pole'. These names are explained by an interesting myth of initiation (origin) from the Ngati-Hau.⁴

"Because of Kaitangata's fame Whaitiri came down from heaven. She thought that Kaitangata's fame was a heroic fame. When Whaitiri was near Kaitangata's home, she killed her slave Nonokia and took out his heart as a propitiatory offering to Kaitangata. When Whaitiri had made her way to him and gave him Nonokia's heart, Kaitangata got afraid. Whaitiri then said, "I came here because I thought that your fame was a heroic fame; but no, it is a puffed-up fame (*he rongo ka rahia*); it is only my slave that has died." Meanwhile Whaitiri slept with Kaitangata. The first who was born was Punga, then Karihi, and the last-born was Hema. Their children relieved themselves, Kaitangata was disgusted and said, "Ugh! Children's excrements!" Whaitiri answered, "Are your hands too good to remove our

¹ Grey Mot 251.

² Johansen, Maori 161.

³ Taylor 579, 231, 233; Shortl. Trad. 152.

⁴ AHM. I, 84 f.

children's excrements?" Kaitangata said, "Who will remove that loathsome thing?" Then Whaitiri felt ashamed and she stretched the fine weather so that it could last long, and Kaitangata went to sea. Then Whaitiri built a privy (*paepae*) for men. The first post was set down, its name was Whakamaro-te-rangi, the second post named Meremere was set, Tutangatakino was placed on the easternmost one (*i te whakatokerau*) . . . (? *ki te huka*),¹ viz. at the end of the beam (*paepae*) in order to lick up Hawaiki's sand-flies (*namu; Simulia australiensis*). Tutangatakino was sent to sea with diarrhoea (? *ki tararere*) in order to follow the blade of Kaitangata's oar. Now Whaitiri gave their children names and said to them, "When your father comes home, you must show him his privy (*paepae*). . . ." She gave them the names Punga (after Kaitangata's anchor stone, *punga*), Karihi, and Hema, and because of her feeling of shame fled up to heaven, enjoining upon her children that only Hema's son might follow her. Punga and Karihi had animals as their offspring, amongst others reptiles (*ngarara*). Hema got a son, Tawhaki, who later ascended to heaven and looked up Whaitiri."

The motif of erecting the *heketua* is also handed down at the end of a dirge. There are three texts extant, each of them in poor records; but keeping the myth in mind, we may without arbitrariness establish a satisfactory text by comparison of the three records.

- 30. ka mohiki te ao, ko te pai a Whaitiri
- 31. kumea kia warea Kaitangata ki waho ki te moana.
- 32. Hangā te paepae, poua iho te pou, Whakamaro-te-rangi,
- 33. ko Meremere.
- 34. Waiho te whanau, ko te Punga o tona waka,
- 35. ko Te Awhema.²

¹ The meaning of *huka* is obscure here; if anything, it refers to the form of the beam, e.g. which end is thickest or thinnest or the like. It may be related to *hukahuka* in JPS. 26, 242 f., which denotes the form of a tree, but which does not, for that matter, contribute to an explanation. White explains the word by *mutunga*, which seems quite arbitrary.

² The three traditions are G = Grey Mot. 89 (= AHM. IV, 16); T = Taylor 308; J = JPS. 14, 133. The division into lines follows G. On the whole T. is the best text, and hence it is used here, if there is no special reason against doing so. Relation to the various textual traditions:

- 30. *mohiki*, G *mohi ki*, TJ *moiki*; *pai a Whaitiri*, T *pai a Waitiri*, GJ *Pae-a-Whaitiri*.
- 31. *kia warea Kaitangata*, G *ki a Warea-kai-tangata*.
- 32. *poua iho . . .*, G *poua te pou whakamaro o te rangi*, JT *whakamaro te rangi*.
- 34. *Punga o tona waka*, G *Punga-o-te-waka*.
- 35. G *ko te Haumea*, J *ko te Houmea ko Te Awhema*.

30. [She] lifted the cloud, it was Whaitiri's fine weather
31. Which was stretched in order to lure Kaitangata to sea.
32. [She] arranged the beam, set the post, Whakamaro-te-rangi.
33. [The other] was Meremere.
34. The children were left behind, it was Punga [the anchor] of the canoe
35. [And] Te Awhema.

The tradition of this mythical motif thus is very satisfactory.

The person who erects the *heketua* thus is Whaitiri, and that this was a fundamentally important act appears from the fact that two of parts of the construction are named after her. The beam is called 'Whaitiri's beam', and through this her name is just attached to the boundary between the worlds of 'Day' and 'Night'. It is therefore of considerable interest to see her appear in a cosmogonic myth from the Ngati-Hau.

"Rangi-e-tu-nei [Heaven] is the wife of Papatuanuku [Earth], and at the time when they were separated, Whaitiri was the first goddess of 'Night' (*te atua kuia tuatahi o nga Po*). It was she who recited the *karakia* by which they were separated, this was why they were separated."¹ This is followed by her *karakia*, which mainly refers to the divorce of married couples.

As this version of the creation myth is unique, it is tempting to consider it a corrupt rendering of the usual version, in which Tane and Paia perform the separation. This, however, is hardly the case. The fact that we have only this one tradition is most simply explained by its only having had a very limited distribution. Whaitiri held a specially prominent position just in and about Taranaki, i.e. among the tribes of Taranaki, Ngati-Ruanui, and Ngati-Hau. Furthermore, this myth can quite easily be understood as the creation myth belonging to the *heketua*: The Whaitiri of the myth introduces the important bipartition of the universe which is generally expressed by the separation between Heaven and Earth, and Whaitiri's beam ritually separates the kingdom of the dead and the world of 'Night' from the world of 'Day'.

Even though this interesting myth probably is a rather local phenomenon, it is of more general interest. The myth may be special, but the view of Whaitiri underlying it, is of wider validity. We have several testimonies that her connexion with the boundary

¹ AHM. I, 44.

between 'Night' and 'Day' has informed both the mythology and her whole character.

While in the creation myth she belongs to the underworld, she has otherwise her home in one of the lower ones of the ten heavens. As mentioned above, her grandchild, Tawhaki, ascends to her in heaven. Up there various things happen, amongst other things Tawhaki cures her eyes. In a couple of versions it is told that when Tawhaki, after curing Whaitiri's eyes, wants to ascend to higher heavens, she says, "You must climb up cautiously in order not to die, [viz.] in order not to be squeezed (? *kamoā*) by Hinenuitepo's legs."¹ This warning against Hinenuitepo is strange as viewed from the myth's own topography. It may, of course, be understood purely figuratively, but it is most natural to comprehend it literally, and when we think of Whaitiri's relation to the *heketua*, it is not strange if the ritual topography gets mixed up with that of the myth.

For that matter Whaitiri's stay in heaven is natural enough, the name meaning thunder. It is of special interest that Whaitiri thunders at violations of *tapu* and sometimes kills the violator with the lightning.²

Altogether there is a demonic streak in Whaitiri's nature, which is in good agreement with her living close to the underworld. In a certain myth Tawhaki must approach to her with caution, because she eats human beings.³ She is even said to have been the first cannibal.⁴ But she does not belong to the underworld, she is on the boundary and has a kind of double nature. Her relation to fish and animals to be hunted is especially interesting. On the one hand she has a reputation for chasing the animals away.⁵ This is even so firmly rooted that it has been utilized in a saying: "Whaitiri's descendants", people say about visitors who make the animals disappear.⁶ Among the Ngai-Tahu, on the other hand, this is combined with the fact that Whaitiri teaches *karakias* which make the hunted animals re-

¹ AHM. I, 96, 98.

² Best T. 872.

³ AHM. I, 107 f. (from the Ngai-Tahu); Whaitiri eats human beings: *loc. cit.* 77, TNZI.7, 41 ff. (Wohlers).

⁴ AHM. II, 64 (from the Ngai-Tahu).

⁵ AHM. I, 77, 113 f.

⁶ JPS. 8, 113 (Best); cf. Johansen, Maori 97.

turn.¹ She teaches Kaitangata to put barbs on fish-hooks.² It is, of course, questionable whether the last-mentioned features, which are only known from the Ngai-Tahu, can be combined with the Whaitiri who in the Taranaki region is connected with the *heketua*. It is true that Whaitiri has a special power over certain fishes, as she is their 'ancestor'. Furthermore, the mythical erection of the *heketua* is connected with the fact that Kaitangata, for whom it is erected, is out fishing. In TAYLOR there is a suggestive note: "The Religious Ceremonies connected with fishing were very singular. The day before they went to sea, they arranged all their hooks around some excrement, and used a *karakia*, which will not bear repeating . . ."³ TAYLOR's information mainly originates from the Taranaki. The rite described must no doubt have been performed at the *heketua*, even though the description is somewhat indefinite. If so, it is likely that the ritual had something to do with Whaitiri. Though we are thus lamentably without direct information, we may say that Whaitiri probably had a similar importance for fishing at Taranaki to that of which we heard from the Ngai-Tahu.

From the Ngati-Hau we have a description of the way in which kumara was offered to Tawhaki, the priest counting one by one up to ten. This, we learn, refers to a mythical event, Tawhaki in heaven taking ten kumara tubers from an old blind woman who is constantly counting them and every time finds one less.⁴ Just in this special version the old woman is nameless. Otherwise we have versions, even from the Ngati-Hau, in which it is simply Whaitiri who is cheated of her ten kumara tubers or taros.⁵ This would seem to indicate that the offering to Tawhaki also has the aspect that what is offered is withheld from Whaitiri. It is difficult to decide with certainty whether this may illustrate Whaitiri's relation to food or is founded on her somewhat demonic nature; but the latter seems most probable. In the myth the 'offering' is the prelude to Tawhaki's curing of Whaitiri's eyes, whose blindness is due to a violation of *tapu*. According to TREGEAR the actual offering to Tawhaki takes place on account

¹ AHM. I, 78, 113.

² AHM. I, 105; TNZI. 7, 41 ff. (Wohlers).

³ Taylor 197.

⁴ AHM. I, 49.

⁵ AHM. I, 88 f., 108; TNZI. 7, 43 (Wohlers).

of illness.¹ Presumably the offering dramatically shows how the patient is led from the boundary of Night to the region of Day. Even if we should have been lucky enough to have hit the mark, we have at most thrown a little further light on Whaitiri. We have no guarantee that the offering was to be made at the *heketua*.

So it is time to take leave of Whaitiri by summarizing our modest results. In and about Taranaki she was attached to the *heketua*, of which she is the mythical originator. In this way she put up a barrier between 'Day' and 'Night'. She represents the danger of the violation of *tapu*, at any rate as the hurler of the lightning, presumably also in the offering to Tawhaki. Altogether there is something semi-demonic in her character; she eats human beings and drives animals away, but also helps to catch fish.

At the *heketua* she places Tutangatakino. By TAYLOR he is named 'god of the stomach'.² As such he does appear in a *karakia* which Tawhaki recites.

— — — —

Give to Tutangatakino your big belly,
Tutangatakino's.³

Tutangatakino thus is well qualified to sit at the *heketua*, even more than a cursory consideration would suggest. A sore and swollen stomach belongs to the traditional consequences of violations of *tapu*, and Tutangatakino, like Whaitiri, has often something to do with these. Sometimes it is himself in the shape of a lizard who has given rise to the stomach trouble of the violator of *tapu*.⁴ In particular he guards the *tapu* places together with others. He appears as a *ngarara* (lizard), and thus manifests himself as a demonic being; for these animals were as much hated as feared by the Maoris, because they brought illness and misfortune and were associated with witchcraft.⁵

It is still left for us to look in detail at the third character whom the myth connects with the *heketua*, viz. Kaitangata, the primordial user.

Kaitangata also appears in the other of the two myths of the

¹ Tregear Dict. s.v. Tawhaki.

² Taylor 137.

³ AHM. I, 92.

⁴ JPS. 30, 174 (Smith).

⁵ JPS. 30, 173, 178 (Smith); 46, 217 (Downes); Lore I, 48, 157; Taylor 176.

origin of the *heketua* which are all that we possess. This myth originates from the Ngai-Tahu and deals with the way in which Rupe ascends to Rehua. Above (p. 90) we have discussed the beginning and shown that heaven represents the *tuahu*. Rupe returns to the earth, but ascends to Rehua a second time accompanied by his sister Hine.¹

"And somewhat later the two came to Rehua's home up there; the name of this place was Putahi-nui-o-Rehua. When they came to this dwelling it was ugly because of dung.² Rupe then cried to Rehua: 'Rehua! How ugly your dwelling is!' Later Rupe also said to Rehua, 'After all, if it was lizards (*ngarara*) you would beat them until they ran away.'³ Then the idea struck Rupe that he would make the old man's dwelling fine. So he started forming boards to shovel the dung in Rehua's dwelling. When he had

¹ Grey M. 27. The text originates from the Ngai-Tahu, since it deviates very little from AHM. I, 75, which is stated to have come from this tribe. A closely related version is found in Best T. 817 f. — but the greater part is given only in translated form.

² *paru*, dirt, excrement. The continuation shows that the reference is to excrements.

³ Is found as a proverb in Grey Wh. 12 with reference to those who are too lazy to keep the house clean. Best T. 818 has: "Indeed, if only the excrements were lizard (*ngarara*), they might be scared to disappear, [viz.] to run away." This juxtaposition of reptiles (*ngarara*) and excrements is not a mere manifestation of an unbridled imagination. Both are intimately attached to the underworld and the *tapu* as something dangerous. They are paralleled completely in a rite in which he who is initiated in sorcery must eat excrements as well as swallow a live reptile — the last act being the worst. (JPS. 35, 100 (28) (Best); cf. NZJSc. 5, 329 (Best) and the picture on p. 322). *Ngarara* represents Whiro, who is a personification of illness and death (Best Rel. 132, 116). Miru sits in the underworld surrounded by *ngarara* (Tregear M. 466). *Ngarara* enters in a number of bad omens (JPS. 7, 134 (Best); TNZI. 38, 226 (Best)). It is those which make violators of *tapu* ill by eating them from inside (Taylor 135, 153; Best Rel. 117; JPS. 46, 217 (Downes)); therefore they are set to guard sacred places, treasures, etc. (JPS. 35, 14 and 29 (Best); 46, 216 f. (Downes)). All things considered we can understand that these animals inspired the Maori with considerable fear. There is a short fable extant (see e.g. Grey Wh. 11) in which the shark and the *ngarara* discuss the question which place is best, the sea or land. The reptile chooses the latter:

I want to stay on land
As Tu-the-Terrible,
As Tu-the-Terrifying.

There is also a certain connexion between the *ngarara* and Rehua. Tregear, it is true, distinguishes between the celestial god Rehua and the reptile god Rehua (Dict. s. v.), but these gods seem to be connected by more than their name (cf. JPS. 32, 234 (Tuhaere)), which seems natural enough, as the strong *tapu* has a terrible aspect, too. Rupe's speech thus can be paraphrased as "Excrements are almost as loathsome as reptiles, and yet you leave them there. It is mere laziness, for surely you would chase away the reptiles."

finished, he had formed two boards,¹ their names were Tahitahia and Rakerakea.

Now Rehua's dwelling at length was cleaned by Rupe. When he had finished it was made extraordinarily fine. He also built a *heketua*, where the dung might fall down. Furthermore he erected a post so that one might hold on to it with one's hands. The name of this post was Te Pou-o-Whatitiri.² So it was all finished.

Now Rehua's son was at sea; he was long away before he returned home. No sooner had he come home and looked about him than he exclaimed, "Why! How fine it has become!" He also caught sight of the *heketua* and saw that it was a good thing. So he thought that he would go and try the *heketua* in order to feel if it was good to sit there. So he went to try the place which had been arranged by Rupe. And when he had got beside the beam (*paepae*), he raised one leg on to the beam and put it there, then he held out his hand towards the post which was for support and which was called Te Pou-o-Whatitiri; then he took hold with his hand and held on to it. Only then [viz. as he was putting up his other foot] did he support himself. When he supported himself by the post, he thought that it stood firm. But no! The post was pulled out, he fell, hurt himself severely, and lost his life. This man's name was Kaitangata. It is his blood that colours the sky red; therefore it is said [about a sky with red clouds]:³ 'Now Kaitangata is colouring red.' It was Rupe who made this trick which was the death of Rehua's son. But Rupe's original name was Maui-mua; it was when he changed himself into a bird that he got the name of Rupe.⁴"

Rehua's dwelling, Putahi-nui-o-Rehua, is also a constellation in *Canis major*.⁵ Te Pou-o-Whaitiri and Paepae-o-Whaitiri likewise are constellations, the identification of which, however, is uncertain or has not been attempted at all.⁶ Thus, we can only in part throw light on the astronomical aspect of the myth; but

¹ *papa*; the reference must be to a wooden spade of the kind which was generally used to clean open spaces in the hamlet (Best Pa. 97).

² Whatitiri and Whaitiri are variants.

³ Cf. AHM. I, 75. A definite red colour of the sky is connected with the migrations of certain fishes (Best T. 819 f. and especially TNZI. 35, 77 f. (Best)).

⁴ A large species of pigeons is called *rupe*.

⁵ Best Astr. 33, 47.

⁶ Best Astr. 46; Taylor 363.

we know enough to have an inkling of the connexion in broad outline. In both Kaitangata myths he is out fishing. The connexion with Putahi-nui-o-Rehua should probably be sought in the heliacal rising of this constellation, i.e. the end of August or the beginning of September. This is the introduction to *inanga* fishing,¹ and the fact that this is not accidental seems to appear from the statement that Rehua in primordial time instructed *inanga* how to behave, referring to a reddish tinge in the sky as a sign.² Unfortunately there are two uncertain features. In the first place also other seasons for *inanga* fishing are mentioned (dependent on the place?), secondly, Rehua itself, as a star, is said to be Antares, the heliacal rising of which occurs towards the end of October. For our proper purpose the details of the interpretation are indeed of less importance. The considerations are only of interest here by adducing the most probable explanation of the linking together of the *heketua* and constellations. Thus we must, if anything, seek it in seasonal fishing rites beside the *heketua*.

Rupe cheats Kaitangata. Rupe's motive for doing so is not evident; but the information that Rupe is identical with Maui-mua helps, in so far as it is a specialty of Maui's to cheat people, even though most frequently it is Maui-potiki (the youngest of the Maui brothers) who is playing that part.

We have better prospects of understanding the killing if we look at Kaitangata. In the myth first quoted his name plays an important part. Whaitiri is allured by it on the assumption that Kaitangata means 'man-eater'; but it does not, he is not at all a man-eater. The word, however, may just as well be interpreted as 'Human Food', and no doubt this is the very idea. That the *heketua* in both myths should be especially erected for 'Human Food' and especially that 'Human Food' should die there, makes good sense. The rear part of the *heketua*, indeed, has the function of being a "burial-place" of all the food consumed by human beings.

From the mythology we have already learnt that Whaitiri is connected with the *heketua*. If anything, we must imagine her to be a ritual goddess, who perhaps appears in definite ritual situ-

¹ Best Fish. 177.

² TNZI. 35, 77; (Best Fish. 171).

ations, but is not really resident. This expression may perhaps be used about Tu-tangata-kino, who is placed on the spot.¹ We get more concrete information from the region about Wellington, where tradition makes an ancestor, Whatonga, give the following instructions: "The *mauri* of the principal fort should be taken by you two to the lower side of (*ki te taha ki raro o*) the beam of the privy of the fort, and there deposited. It should be a *huka-a-tai* or an *onewa* stone, no other kinds should be used. Then locate Tuhinapo and Tunui-o-te-ika at that place, the two will be enough, those were the gods dwelling at latrines even from olden times. Maru is another god employed in that manner. These gods protect the fort, give warning of the approach of hostile forces, and show omens of death for the armed forces or the fort."²

It is quite interesting that Tuhinapo according to other sources has something to do with the sea, when it is kept in mind that Kaitangata was fishing during the erection of the *heketua*. In a text from the Ngai-Tahu Tuhinapo is called a god of the sea,³ and in BEST we find the information that Tuhinapo in a certain region (which?) guarded the fishing grounds against trespassers.⁴ Tu-nui-te-ika is best known for appearing as a meteor and for having a demonic character.⁵ Maru also seems to be somewhat demonic, but he is placated by offerings.⁶ These gods, however, in spite of their distribution, are all a kind of tribal gods with a local field of activity. In the myths they only appear peripherally, we have no thorough knowledge of them.

The tradition quoted also tells us that the *mauri* of the fort, i.e. a stone which contains its *mana*, is kept beside the *heketua*. This is perhaps a little remarkable, but not impossible. We have an instance that a Maori as part of a stratagem maintains that he has hidden a treasure beside the *heketua*. Indeed, it is not true; but the others believe him, so it did not seem improbable to them.⁷ That the *mauri* was buried *ki te taha ki raro o* "on the lower side of the beam", that is, strictly speaking, on the

¹ AHM. I, 85.

² Text: JPS. 28, 87, translation: JPS. 26, 160 (Best).

³ AHM. I, 33.

⁴ Best Fish. 6.

⁵ Best T. 852 f.

⁶ Best Rel. 124 f.

⁷ Best T. 280; cf. JPS. 35, 221 (12) (Best).

"night side", should probably be taken as a vague expression; it was presumably hidden a little in front of or a little beside the beam.

Finally we shall survey the rites performed at the *heketua*, especially in order to learn about their relation to the mythical importance of the place.

The practising of witchcraft at the *heketua* of course was connected with the fact that the kingdom of the dead was represented there.¹ The way in which the place might be used for the initiation into this art is also interesting. TE MATOROHANGA tells that he saw two men being instructed in the art of sorcery behind the *heketua* and that they were given excrements to eat.² There is hardly any doubt that there is here a communion with the world of Night. This is not inconsistent with the fact that it must have been an ordeal, as is illustrated with an expression used about courageous warriors who say that they have *manawa kai tutae*, 'courage to eat excrements'.³

Naturally the place may be used to put away things with a dangerous *tapu*. If this is food, it is simply done by throwing it down behind the beam (*paepae*).⁴ A ritual text belonging here is extant, but seems neither directly nor indirectly to allude to the *heketua*. After the festival in honour of new-born children of noble descent, the birth—"house" was torn down, taken to the *heketua* and burnt, after which the ashes were thrown behind the beam.⁵ Finally there is a story about a killed enemy, a priest, whom the Tuhoe did not dare to eat because of his *tapu*. The corpse then was roasted in an oven beside the *heketua* and left there.

The typical rite at the *heketua* is *ngau paepae*, 'biting the beam'. The performance corresponds exactly to the name. This rite was often used in cases of illness, i.e. to remove an injurious *tapu*.⁶ Two ritual texts belonging here clearly show that this is the purpose. One of them runs as follows:

¹ Best T. 1140, 67 f.; cf. the tale about Mahu: JPS. 8, 126 (Tarakawa and Ropihā); 35, 105 (Best); Best T. 859.

² Lore I, 9; cf. JPS. 35, 100 f. (28) and 96 (10) (Best) and Lore II, 168.

³ Lore II, 90.

⁴ Best T. 1142. Best seems to know some unpublished cases. I have found the tale only in *loc. cit.* 67 f. I do not understand the reference to JPS. 8, 125. It is probably due to a slip on the part of Best.

⁵ JPS. 38, 267 (Best).

⁶ JPS. 11, 51 (Best); Best T. 1138 f.

1. You bite towards the back,
2. You bite the beam that lies there.
3. It is the *tapus*, it is the *tapu* food,
4. It is the houses, it is the pillows,
5. It is these *tapus*.
6. Go behind, go away,
7. Go to heaven above us.
8. ? (*mahihi*) saved to the day-owning,
9. To the bright Day,
10. Saved spirit.¹

Apart from Lines 1—2, which refer to the *heketua*, this *karakia* is quite analogous to those analyzed by me elsewhere.² With ritual caution the various sources of the dangerous *tapu* are enumerated (Lines 3—5), which then (Lines 6—10) is requested to go away. There is reason to expect that the *tapu* will find its right place, whether it belongs to ‘behind’, ‘the world of Night’, or in front in ‘the world of Day’, as it is just the boundary mark which is bitten. It is not necessary here, as in the case of the sacred water, to create these areas ritually; they are already there.

The other *karakia* runs as follows:

1. Bite the beam, bite the horror,
2. Bite the demon's head (*te upoko o te atua*),
3. Bite Rangi-e-tu-nei (i.e. Heaven),
4. Bite Papa-a-takato-nei (i.e. Earth).
5. You touch *ruahine*
6. In order that you can be saved by the earthly *tahito*, by the celestial *tahito*,
7. By the distant *tahito* at Tawhiti in Hawaiki.³

Here there are hard nuts to crack for the interpreter. When Heaven and Earth (mythically presented) are both bitten, this would no doubt be understood in the way that they meet here at the beam. The touch of *ruahine* refers to the fact that the ritual is concerned with the removal of a *tapu*.⁴ Hence, it might be expected that *tahito*, the exact meaning of which is obscure,

¹ Best T. 1138.

² Johansen, Maori 191, 193.

³ Best T. 1139.

⁴ On *ruahine* see e.g. Johansen, Maori 224 ff.

should refer to the female genitals; but this is very uncertain. Since, as mentioned above (p. 97), there is only a single testimony of the beam as a sexual symbol, and a symbol of the penis at that, it is hardly possible to obtain a sure interpretation.

A third *karakia* used at the biting of the beam is not quite so problematic, but in return it does not say very much.¹

Besides for the removal of a *tapu* which has caused sickness,² the *ngau-paepae* was also used for the removal of *tapu* in general, before any symptoms had appeared.³

The most remarkable use of biting of the beam, however, is a rite which averts witchcraft in advance, thus before any dangerous *tapu* is present at all. "If a man goes to a strange region, then he is made to bite the beam, this will avert witchcraft."⁴

This is difficult to understand except as meaning that the biter acquires the quality of the beam: to set a boundary between the worlds of Day and Night. "The beam is a breastwork (*parepare*)," says a Maori,⁵ and he takes this breastwork with him after the biting of the beam.

It is undoubtedly the background of the fact that we have some evidence, direct as well as indirect, that rituals at the *heketua* often inaugurated major undertakings. Thus it applies to people who are to go to strange regions and to canoes⁶ for the same purpose; furthermore to newborn children.⁷ At the building of canoes and houses a chip was placed under the beam of the *heketua*.⁸ As mentioned above, fishing also presumably was introduced by a rite at the *heketua*, and perhaps the same applies to the planting of kumara.⁹

Besides the rituals mentioned, there is an isolated mention of a rite consisting in the person in question lying sideways (*paeroa*) over the beam. It occurs in a commentary on a *karakia* for the remedying of something having got down the wrong way.¹⁰

¹ Best T. 1141.

² See also Best Koh. 29.

³ Lore I, 7, 4, 37; Best T. 1138.

⁴ Best T. 1140; cf. JPS. 30, 179 (Smith); JPS. 27, 84 (Smith).

⁵ Best T. 1138.

⁶ Best T. 1140; JPS. 31, 23 (Best); Lore II, 86.

⁷ JPS. 30, 179 (Smith); cf. the myth about the creation of woman, Lore I, 37.

⁸ Best Stone. 121.

⁹ See pp. 103 and 122.

¹⁰ JPS. 55, 121 (Graham); cf. Grey Mot. 98.

This is the conclusion of our discussion of rites performed at the *heketua*. The fact that this place holds so comparatively prominent a position in Maori religion is evidence of the importance of the dualism, often pointed out, among the Maoris, which, indeed, is pointedly expressed in the mythical-religious reality which manifests itself in this place, which otherwise seems so uninviting. Still, it may be asked whether the uninviting exterior did not assert itself in the religious field. BEST has a remark to the effect that the removal of *tapu* at *heketua* was used in the case of minor rites on ordinary people. It was a little sarcastic to say to a man, "Your parents had the *tapu* removed at the *heketua*."¹ In the case of highborn people the rite was performed at the sacred water. It does not seem improbable; but when one in one's mind goes over the occasions which actually gave rise to rites at the *heketua*, one gets a little doubtful. BEST is probably right, but this view may have been local. At any rate one is astonished at seeing 'Whaitiri's pole', not only the name of a constellation, but also the name of part of the *heketua*, being used as the honorific name of a deceased person on a par with such expressions as 'the pole of Heaven' and 'the *mana* of the god'.²

Rites and Myths of the Cultivation of Kumara.

Introduction and Survey.

Amid the ritual complexes found among the Maoris, the rites concentrated on the planting and harvest of kumara held a special position. No other single field gives occasion for so frequent allusions in the mythology, the allusions carrying further weight because they often appear in a strangely abrupt manner which shows that particular reasons besides the myth's own events must have motivated them. Correspondingly the tradition of the rituals of kumara offers a both comprehensive and detailed picture which is perceptibly distinct from the dishevelled fragments which constitute the greater part of our further knowledge of the Maori ritual acts.

¹ Best Koh. 29.

² JPS. 11, 121 (Morpeth).

The special position of the kumara ritual can be illuminated from several points of view. Kumara was a nutrient which was held in high esteem. It is hailed as 'a noble dish' when in the myth it is served for the first time.¹ Probably it contributed to this high esteem that the cultivation of kumara in New Zealand is rather exacting and calls for both favourable conditions and diligent care.² Apart from a few places on the South Island, the cultivation will only succeed on the North Island.

The esteem of kumara, however, is only one aspect. Human flesh decidedly was nobler food, while preserved birds in any case were rated very high as a delicacy.

There are other conditions which probably are more important for our understanding of the central position of these rituals. It is partly the public character of the rituals, partly their annual recurrence. The same, indeed, may be pointed out e. g. with reference to the rituals of fishing, but agriculture according to its character has a longer and greater ritual cycle of a very regular kind.

The agricultural rituals display considerable variations from region to region; so it is necessary during the investigations always to keep in mind from what locality the information under consideration is derived. However, it appears that we have only from the Ngati-Porou so full information that it is possible by means of it to form a complete picture. There is no reason to deplore this, in so far as this tribe like the neighbouring ones possessed a very rich mythology, of which a great part has been handed down to us. The kumara ritual of the Ngati-Porou therefore becomes the natural centre of the following investigations, a centre from which we shall occasionally make a trip to other tribes. The rich mythology will appear to be of great importance to the whole study, not only because the relation between ritual and myth in itself is of interest, but still more because in the myths we have a means of penetrating to the significance which the rites had for the participants, to the life pulsating under the exterior form. The student of religion in this possibility of interpreting the rites finds a further motive of the study of the cult, besides the motive afforded by its central place in religious life.

¹ Best Agr. 155.

² TNZI. 35, 12 ff. (Walsh).

The presentation will necessarily fluctuate between ritual situations and mythical motifs, which may easily make it somewhat flickering. Therefore it will be reasonable to preface it with a few very brief surveys, partly of the external events, partly of the most important of the complexes of myths which refer to the cultivation of kumara.

The kumara or sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) is a rambling vine which produces underground starchy tubers (swollen shoots). For its cultivation it requires a sheltered, light, rather sandy soil. Before a piece of land begins to be used, it must be cleared with fire and axe, after which it is possible to raise a crop for a few years (e.g. three years) in succession, before the soil must again lie fallow for a number of years. When the field has been cleared the soil must be loosened with a digging-stick and crumbled and at the same time weeds, roots, etc., are removed.

Only with the planting of seed tubers of kumara the part of the work begins which is of a ritual character. From PITA KAPITI of the Ngati-Porou we have a connected description of planting and harvest with special stress on the ritual.¹ It is true that it can be said with certainty that the description, although fuller than any other, is not complete, but it is reasonable to use it alone as basis, as it cannot be supplemented without special discussion. Discarding such discussion and the ritual texts, which also require special treatment, we shall now present the main features according to KAPITI's above-mentioned description.

A small part of the field, called *tautane* or *māra tapu*, the sacred field, is reserved for the special ritual planting which precedes the ordinary planting. If the field is owned by a kinship group (*hapu*) each member brings two kumara tubers which are placed in the sacred basket (*totowahi*). The basket is woven during the recital of a *karakia*. In this basket the kumara tubers are carried to the sacred field.

In the morning of the day when the planting takes place, a fire is laid in two ritual ovens, *anuanu* and *marere*, the latter being placed near the water. He who is to eat from the *anuanu*, sleeps at the edge of the field, while the other planters eat from the *marere*.

¹ JPS. 22, 36 in Williams' translation. More sporadic features from other tribes and technical details have been collected in Best Agr.

We are not told why the *marere* was to be placed near the water, and as we know from other quarters that certain rituals were performed before people set out to start the planting, and as the field was made *tapu* right to the harvest, there must consequently be gaps in the description of the rituals at this stage of the work.

The actual planting of the sacred field is described as follows: The "priest" (*tohunga*) takes the sacred basket with kumara tubers and distributes them to the small mounds on which they are to be planted during recital of a *karakia*. After the planting the basket is torn up and buried at the edge of the field.

The other, relatively profane part of the field is planted. Next, a ritual meal from the two ovens, *anuanu* and *marere*, is taken.

When all fields have been planted in this way, two things are placed in each field, a branch of *mapou*¹ (*Myrsine Urvillei*) and a digging-stick, called 'Penu', both of which are stuck down beside the first mound during the recital of a *karakia*. Next a festival is held at the edge of the field.

The field is weeded once during the summer.

The star Poututerangi gives a signal for an examination of the state of the kumara and the pit is put in order.

When the star Whanui appears, the harvest begins. A special "priest" (*matapaheru*, the same who inspects the kumara) lifts the kumara tubers from the first mound in the sacred field. This is done in a special way, as he first gathers the stems and runners and ties them up with "toetoe mātā" (*Carex teretiuscula*), a peculiar band, considering that the Maori otherwise uses New Zealand flax, and simultaneously he recites a *karakia*. Next, also during a recital, he lifts the kumara tubers out of the mound with a peculiar instrument, for he must not use a digging-stick shaped with tools, and therefore simply uses a broken-off branch of *kōkōmuku* (*Veronica salicifolia*). Having lifted the first kumara ritually, he again, during recital, buries the whole plant in the ground together with the broken-off branch. This is done for a special purpose; for when the crop has been gathered, he again lifts the kumara from the first mound together with the broken-off

¹ The *mapo* of the text is presumably a misprint.

branch, the stems still being tied up, while he recites a *karakia*. Thus the kumara of the first mound is gathered both first and last.

The description here has another gap which can be pointed out with certainty, as nothing is stated about the offering of first fruits and the rituals which remove the *tapu* from the kumara. Altogether, it is peculiar to the description that no offerings are mentioned at all. Nor are the placing of the kumara in the pit and the great harvest festivals mentioned with one word.

The ritual formulas used at various stages of the sacred acts are extant. Unfortunately they are difficult to interpret even though probably the difficulty in general is exaggerated; but at any rate they are of importance by giving the catchwords which connect the rites with the various myths. Inversely the myths can supplement our knowledge of the ritual, but indeed this source must be used with great caution. Many tempting vistas must be passed by with a sober-minded shrug, because the supposed ritual allusions cannot with certainty be placed in the succession of events with which the description quoted makes us familiar. However, we get a helping hand from a very interesting passage in one of the myths, a passage which has not, to my knowledge, been the subject of the interest it deserves. The passage in question occurs in one of the versions of the myths about how the kumara came to New Zealand from Hawaiki, the mother country of the people. We shall therefore consider this complex of myths first in the following survey of the most important kumara myths.

The Kumara is Fetched from Hawaiki.

A man (or god) Kahukura or Rongoitua comes from Hawaiki to New Zealand. There he is fed, but does not relish the food. Therefore he offers a kind of porridge made of water and dried kumara, which he has brought with him in his belt. This food arouses the greatest pleasure in the people, and as soon as they have heard how it can be provided, they build a canoe and under his leadership sail to Hawaiki. There the kumara has been lifted and placed in the store, but—in one of the versions—they go alongside the cliffs of Hawaiki. A *karakia* is recited and the kumara tumbles down from the cliffs into the canoe, another *karakia* puts an end to this fall. In other versions they get hold of the kumara in other ways. The canoe returns and lands at

Ahuahu. There a woman secretly brings fernroot onboard. This is a violation of the *tapu* of kumara and leads to a shipwreck. After various events the men succeed in refloating the canoe and repairing it while reciting *karakias*. The voyage continues and the kumara is brought south along the east coast to a number of specified places.

This summary is only to serve the purpose of conveying a certain idea of the character of the myth and therefore mainly follows one version¹ and only contains the main features.

Three versions from the Ngati-Porou are extant, furthermore from the Ngai-Tahu two longer and one very short one,² all the three of which offer some points of similarity to those of the Ngati-Porou. Finally we have from the Ngati-Awa and elsewhere some rather deviating myths, which, however, have the same main motif. We shall not occupy ourselves very much with these, but sometimes it may be of interest later to compare the elaborations of certain features which are repeated in the majority of the myths.

One of the Ngai-Tahu versions has just an interesting feature which may throw light on a Ngati-Porou version. After Rongoitua and his men had arrived at Hawaiki, he ordered them to surround the chief's house, "in which they heard people chanting incantations which were sung when the kumara-crop was being planted. 'Ah!' said Rongoitua, 'these are the *karakia* (incantations) you need: learn them.' They listened, and learnt them."³ Together with the kumara they thus brought the ritual (or parts of it) belonging to it from Hawaiki. In a Ngati-Porou version we find a parallel to this scene. After the arrival in Hawaiki Rongoitua's men attacked the local tribe—viewed as human beings, but actually kumara. Most of them were killed and dragged onboard; but when the canoe was leaving they heard a cry (*haūmere*) from the shore. The crew of the canoe asked Rongoitua, "What are they doing now?" and Rongoitua answered, "They are revenging (*huki i nga toto*)."⁴ There were more cries and every time Rongoitua briefly explained the sense of the cry. In succession we get the following series of acts:⁴

¹ AHM. III, 75—78; the two other versions from the Ngati-Porou are found in *loc. cit.* 67—72 and JPS. 21, 152—163 (Kapiti).

² AHM. III Eng. 111—114 and *loc. cit.* Maori 73—74; 75.

³ AHM. III Eng. 112.

⁴ AHM. III, 77 f.

1. kei te huki i nga toto
2. kei te rokoi, kei te auaha
3. kei te ko
4. kei te whakato
5. kei te hu o nga mamore
6. kei te whati te ko
7. kei te whakatakoto, kei te whakamama.

After the last line was added: *ka mutu*, 'it is finished'.

Most of these acts may be identified with definite phases of the kumara work and its ritual. Thus it is a question of another elaboration of the same motif, that the kumara ritual was brought home together with the kumara. As to details the difficulties will be discussed below. Provisionally, to give a general idea, a translation and brief commentary will be given, without explanations.

1. 'They are performing a rite of vengeance'. This catch-word gives us a possibility of interpreting an interesting ritual motif by attaching a definite myth to the ritual; see further below.

2. *Rokoi?* *kei te auaha*, 'they are fecundating'. Alludes to the distribution of the kumara tubers on the hillocks of the sacred field.

3. 'They are digging'; i.e. the soil of the hillock is prepared with a few stabs with the digging-stick to receive the kumara tuber.

4. 'They are planting'.

5. *Hu?*; *mamore*, naked, etc., referring to a tree means 'without branches'. It may perhaps be translated as 'the lopped one'. If so, the allusion probably is to the branch or staff (*toko*), which is placed beside the first hillock after the planting; but the meaning of the whole phrase is very uncertain.

6. 'The digging-stick is being broken (off).' This must refer to the digging-stick which is used when the kumara of the first hillock on the sacred field is lifted, as we know that this digging-stick must not be shaped by tools, but must be just a broken-off branch.

7. 'They lay down, they remove the *tapu*.' Refers to rituals in connexion with the harvest.

This list together with the connected description gives a chronology of the rituals, which may serve as a framework in the later investigations. For the sake of brevity we shall refer to the list as the "Hawaiki Programme".

The Pani Mythology.

If the wish for adducing the Hawaiki Programme had not interfered with the present arrangement, it would have been more natural to start with the Pani mythology.

From the Ngati-Porou a myth is extant—unfortunately in English, only—in which it is first related that a war breaks out between Tu and Rongo on the occasion of a kumara field, Pohutukawa.¹ Tu (i.e. man) is assisted by a weapon, Te-ake-rautangi (i.e. the digging-stick), and kills Rongo and a great many of his people (i.e. kumara) in the battle, Moengatoto. Tu cooks Rongo and eats him. The rest of the kumara escapes and hides in Pani's stomach (the pit or the field).

Pani gives birth to kumara in a water, Moanariki, and cooks it in an oven; afterwards she distributes it to people. One morning she is surprised by a man, Patatai, while she is sitting in the water, and ashamed she flies to the hamlet. This brings kumara into man's possession.—Pani is married to Maui-whare-kino; from her originates the kumara ritual.

We have short allusions to this myth in a couple of songs from Poverty Bay (Turanga), from tribes whose traditions are related to those of the Ngati-Porou.

They run as follows:

Mauiwharekino was married to Pani,
[The kumara] was brought to Monariki's water.²

and

Pani-matua was married to Maui,
Rongomaraeroa (i.e. kumara as divine) was born.³

In other neighbouring tribes we find a closely related mythology. The motif of the fight between Tu and Rongo is the subject of a considerable section of a song from the Ngati-Kahungunu, but it is not there connected with Pani.⁴ Therefore it is of less interest in this connexion.

The motif of the parturient Pani is briefly mentioned in a Ngai-Tahu tradition.⁵ On the other hand we have a very full

¹ AHM. III Eng. 114 f.

² Ngata No. 145.

³ Ngata No. 234.

⁴ Ngata No. 115; cf. Best T. 772.

⁵ AHM. III, Eng. 113.

version from the Ngati-Awa, which is of special interest.¹ It begins by Rongomaui ascending to heaven and stealing kumara from his elder brother, Whanui. He brings the kumara down to earth in his penis (it is 'his basket') and fecundates his wife, Pani-tinaku, who gives birth to kumara in the water, Monaariki, during recital of a *karakia*. Rongo orders her to light the fire under a ritual oven and recites a *karakia* which removes the *tapu* of the kumara.

One day she is surprised in the water by her sons, the brothers Maui. Ashamed she flies down to an underworld, Mataora, but Maui finds her cultivating her kumara field.

Furthermore, numerous scattered allusions to the Pani myth are extant, partly from other tribes, partly of uncertain provenance.²

These are the two largest complexes of myths concerning kumara. They have been summarized together, because we shall come across a few of their motifs in several different ritual situations. The survey is not aimed at exhausting the variations, because a more detailed examination of a motif in various tribes will often take us through different complexes of myths and hence break up the general view. As occasion arises we shall therefore in more detail examine certain motifs, such as form part of the complexes mentioned as well as others which form part of myths that certainly belong to the kumara mythology in a wide sense, but each of which are connected with kumara on a single point, only.

The Individual Steps of the Kumara Ritual and their Mythical Allusions.

The description on which the following investigations are based is not complete. That is certain. On a few points we can with fair certainty supplement them, but on other points we are referred to more or less probable conjectures, especially as regards the introductory stages.

It is almost inconceivable that there should not have been any rite which made the field *tapu*. We only know that kind of

¹ Best Agr. 154 f.

² Best Agr. 49 ff. include an ample, although not complete collection.

rites from other tribes. From the Ngai-Tahu we have a description according to which 'priests' during the recital of *karakias* dedicated the field to Marihaka and Pani by planting *koromiko* twigs in the field. Afterwards they took a handful of weeds or leaves that were brought to the sacred field, which seems to have been a permanent sacred precinct there.¹ The field was not rarely consecrated by means of one or more poles (branches) of *mapou*, which were placed at the edge of the field. This was hardly the case among the Ngati-Porou, as a *mapou* branch was planted at a much later time there (see p. 170 on these poles).

Otherwise the first ritual act is the weaving of the sacred basket. It is difficult to make a fairly reliable translation of the ritual words belonging here. The main contents were (with reservations!) as follows: 'now I am (or we are) weaving this sacred basket from of old, from Hawaiki (i.e. the place of origin of the ritual), from Waipupuni. From out there, from Matatera.' It is asked, 'Where does this sacral basket come from?' And the answer is, 'From Raupenapena' and 'From Rautetieke'. Matatera and Waipupuni are the field of the harvest (see p. 177). Thus a connexion is made to the crop, a part of which is to be planted just now. The basket is mentioned partly as *kete*, 'basket', partly as *toto* = *totowahi*, i.e. the special ritual basket, finally as *rahu*, 'basket made of strips of undressed flax'.² Lack of knowledge of the allusions contained in proper names, in connexion with uncertainty about the translation, makes this *karakia* little fertile for the student who tries to penetrate further into the ritual act.

We must content ourselves with the general consideration that the sacral character of an act penetrates all that falls under its sphere. When a basket is to be used for taking sacred kumara to the sacred field, the basket also becomes sacred, and this reacts upon the weaving of it so that this also becomes a ritual act.

But this view also leads to the question: are the kumaras which are to be planted and the people who participate in this act, brought into a sacred state? And if so, how? Furthermore: Can it be quite a profane act to fetch the kumara from the pit?

The myth about the way in which the kumara is brought

¹ Best Agr. 59 f. from Stack, *Kaiapohia*.

² JPS. 22, 36 f. (Kapiti).

from Hawaiki offers some hints; for as the investigations proceed we shall find several examples of a certain correspondence between the events of this myth and the ritual. If, already now, we utilize this background (which will only gradually stand out during the description), there is a peculiar feature in the myth which becomes of interest. When in one of the Ngati-Porou versions the men want to build a canoe for the fetching of the kumaras and look for a trunk, it is just the beam (*paepae hamuti*) of the *heketua* which is chosen.¹ This remarkable choice may be due to a ritual background, viz. that the ritual of planting was started at the *heketua* by providing against the effects of violations of *tapu* and sorcery, which would be in good agreement with the character of this sacred precinct (p. 111). This, however, can only be a conjecture. The possibility that the reference is to a historical fact cannot be completely rejected, although it is not very probable. Another reason for this feature is indicated in a Ngai-Tahu version, in which Rongoitua maintains his right to take a tree trunk which has been beached, by voiding an excrement on one end of it; from this end of the trunk a canoe is built which "was called Manuka (abhor, disgust) because of the excrement seen on it."² The connexion between *heketua* and canoe then might have arisen as an explanation of the name of the canoe, Manuka. This statement of the reason, however, seems less convincing when the matter is considered more closely; for it is rather doubtful whether the translation 'abhor, disgust' for *manuka* is justifiable. Williams renders '*manuka*' (ii) by 'trouble, anxiety', a meaning which does not seem to be especially suitable for provoking the Maori etymology mentioned. If we compare the various possibilities, the ritual explanation is the most probable one, but it is undeniably a slender foundation which will not bear further building upon it. Here we shall leave the matter rest.

In two Ngati-Porou versions it is stated that the kumara, after the canoe has arrived in Hawaiki is obtained in a most remarkable way, as it grows in great quantities on the cliffs of Hawaiki and from there tumbles into the canoe after Kahukura has recited a *karakia*. This picture, however, is modified a little, for it is expressly stated that it is "the very rock of Hawaiki, viz. kumara"

¹ AHM. III, 76.

² AHM. III Eng. 112.

which tumbles down.¹ In a song originating from Poverty Bay, from one of the Ngati-Porou's neighbouring tribes, two lines are found in which the singer wishes food for his son:

In order that by your ancestor, by Uenukuwhakarongo,
can be given
Kumara, Parinuitera.²

Here Parinuitera, a name for the cliffs of Hawaiki, thus appears as another name of kumara. The same appears in another song from the same region, in which a father exhorts his son as follows:

Seize Tane's spade with the big blade
In order to dig out Parinuitera.³

That the cliffs of Hawaiki should have consisted of kumara which falls into a canoe, cannot be history. It only makes sense by a ritual interpretation.

Indeed, we are capable of determining Parinuitera's ritual reality very closely, not from the Ngati-Porou, it is true, but from their neighbouring tribe, the Ngati-Kahungunu;⁴ for we have from this tribe an odd story, which begins as follows:⁵

"The principal place of residence of this chief, of Rangiwhakaoma, was at Rakaupuhi; there he dwelt. One day he went to the entrance porch of his kumara store, and there he sat down. Now the name of that store was Raumatirua. While he was there a certain lad, named Tawakeariki, the son of a chief named Te Aotata, went also to that spot, when Rangiwhakaoma said to him, "O, sir, whither art thou going?" The boy replied, "Just here, to this place, to look at the kumara in thy store." On hearing this Rangiwhakaoma said to him, "Stay a bit; it is not so very good to look about here (in the kumara store).⁶ Far better is it, O thou! below in the unseen world (*reinga*), that the looking about may be both beautiful and pleasing." Then the boy went quickly

¹ JPS. 21, 157 f.; AHM. III, 68.

² Ngata No. 145. For Parinuitera see AHM. III Eng. 117, Best T. 919.

³ Ngata No. 234.

⁴ This piece of information comes from AHM. III Eng. 129 f.; to judge from the place-names it might be a more closely related tribe.

⁵ TNZI. 13, 40 (Colenso).

⁶ This is obviously the translator's commenting addition; but it is hardly correct, they are still at the entrance.

below to the unseen world (*reinga*) to observe and look about at the steep cliff in Hawaiki. There he expressed his admiration at the beauty of the kumara; and, while he was thus admiring, lo! the whole piled-up stack of kumara (in that store) was made to fall suddenly down upon him, so that he was immediately killed." The boy's father is informed of the killing of his son and revenges it. This and the following events as well take a course as quite normal history of kinship groups without any mythical features.

The story shows that the 'cliffs of Hawaiki' can be reached in a moment when one stands at the entrance to the kumara store. 'Reinga' is the underground kingdom of the dead, but here special emphasis is laid on the underground. Not rarely at least the rear end of the kumara store was situated underground, and at the same time it is the place where the seed kumara generally was stacked. Thus it is extremely natural to identify the 'cliffs of Hawaiki' with the piled-up seed kumara.

But, it may be asked, if so, why are these ordinary things described by mythical expressions like 'underworld' and 'the cliffs of Hawaiki'. The reason must be sought in the fact that the kumara store is *tapu*, the seed kumara probably to a special extent. As the boy descends into the store, he therefore enters a sphere of sacredness that is otherwise only frequented ritually, which implies that the kumara is regarded as 'the cliffs of Hawaiki'.

We can now with fair certainty state that the scene in the myth in which the kumara is fetched from the cliffs of Hawaiki must have been played ritually when the seed kumara was fetched from the store before being planted. To an outward consideration there was hardly any appreciable similarity between the events of the myth and the ritual; but as we do not know the ritual, we have not got much to say about the matter. However, it is probable that the *karakias* used in the myth are identical with those recited in the store. Even if this is not true, this motif in the myth keeps its interest by revealing to us the Maori's attitude and experiences at this stage of the ritual of planting.

The motif runs as follows in the two versions:
 . . . and Kahukura taking a 'ko' named Penu he pierced the cliff of Hawaiki, at the same time repeating his *karakia* thus:

1. Te ko, te ua nuku, te ua tara
2. te ua patapata i awha,
3. te whererei iho ai tae o Matuku
4. te whererei iho ai tae o Pani
5. he tapu taku kiri nei,
6. te ripiripi o te rangi,
7. te whakarangona atu te Ati-tipua
8. te whakarangona atu te Ati-tawhito.¹

The other version is of a somewhat simpler form:²
now Kahukura hewed the cliff of Hawaiki reciting a *karakia*
over it in order that it should slide down. This is his *karakia*:

Te ko,/te ua nui, te ua roa,/te ua whatu, te ua tara
te ua patapata awha
Rangi tukia,/Rangi whaka-ihoa.

Then Lines 3—8 with the following deviations:

3. and 4. *whererei* for *whererei*.
5. *tapa* for *tapu*; *nei* is missing.
7. *whakarongona* for *whakarangona* (current parallel forms).
8. *Tahito* for *tawhito* (current parallel forms).

Translation (according to the first version):

1. The digging-stick, the rain which spreads, the hail,
2. The heavy shower.
3. Matuku's secretion is born,
4. Pani's secretion is born.
5. My person is *tapu*.
6. The ? (*ripiripi*) of heaven
7. Atitipua is not obeyed
8. Atitawhito is not obeyed.

Commentary.

1. The digging-stick; of course the one which is stuck into the rock.

The rain; i.e. the kumara that falls. The other version is a

¹ JPS. 21, 157.

² AHM. III, 67 f.

little fuller, but only amplifies the picture: "the great rain, the long rain / the hail, the hail /."

This, of course, is to express abundance and wealth and undoubtedly does not correspond to any ritual procedure. For the sake of the sprouts the seed kumara must be handled carefully; therefore it is hardly possible that they should have been allowed to fall.

2. The line describes a form of rain, probably, as translated, a shower.

3.—4. *tae* is used substantively; cf. "*waiho te tae o Matuku*." (JPS. 21, 157). Pani's 'secretion' is kumara, the term referring to the parturient Pani (see above). The curious term *tae* is probably a worn-down form of *tahe*, with a similar meaning; *tahe*, however, is especially used about menses and abortion. Apart from the etymological connexion between the words, we have a parallel line in Best T. 938: *whakatahetahe tama ki te wai Pani*. The idea of the simile is perhaps that the seed kumara, as seen from the point of view of birth, is an abortion in contrast to the 'real' birth at the harvest (cf. Grey Mot. 380: *whererei*). Whereas L. 4 makes reasonable sense, L. 3 is a little mysterious. It is not evident what position is held by Matuku. Matuku is a demonic being, who kills Wahieroa and in return is killed by Rata, the son of the latter. In two versions of this motif from the Ngai-Tahu Matuku is killed when ascending from his cave in order to perform a kumara ritual, in one version before the harvest, in the other in connexion with the planting.¹ Finally there is an enigmatic puzzling allusion to kumara and taro which are dropped from Wahieroa's belt (*ka mareretia e te tikitiki o Wahieroa*).² These details are too disparate for a natural interpretation but one would conjecture that Matuku is a demonic parallel to Pani.

6.—8. The connexion with the situation is not evident. Consequently the translation is not quite sure, either.

The first version continues as follows:³

"And then behold! Down fell the cliff of Hawaiki, that is the kumara, and 'Horouta' was filled. Kahukura then withdrew his spade, and, holding it horizontally, said another *karakia*:

¹ AHM. I, 66, 88.

² Grey Mot. 294; cf. Best Agr. 103.

³ JPS. 21, 158.

Tina! Toka!
 Rarau te wheke-nui—
 A-Mutu-rangi,
 Tina! Toka!
 Te pari ki Hawaiki.

At this the cliff at Hawaiki ceased to fall; the cliff again became secure, whilst the hold of 'Horouta' was full of kumaras."

The other version again is a little simpler:¹

"The cliff of Hawaiki, namely the kumara, slid down, it continued sliding down into the canoe, Horouta; then Kahukura recited a *karakia* in order that the kumara should cease sliding down, and he said:

Tina toku raraū,
 Te wheke nui
 A Mata-rangi.
 Tina te pari
 ki Hawaiki.

The kumara ceased sliding down. The Horouta was filled with this food, with kumara . . ."

This *karakia* in translation runs like this:

1. It is enough! It is enough!²
2. Caught is the great cuttle-fish,
3. Muturangi.³
4. It is enough! It is enough!
5. The cliff at Hawaiki.

Our main profit from this ritual myth is the peculiar light it throws on the Maori's relation to the seed kumara in the store. If anything, he steals it. In the Pani mythology this is brought out still more sharply. Rongomaui, Pani's husband, ascends to heaven in order to fetch kumara. He asks his elder brother for them, but he refuses. Rongomaui then, as is expressly stated,⁴ steals the kumara. In revenge the brother sends pests down to the kumara field. The motif again slightly changes colour in the version in which the kumara is fetched in Hawaiki and in which

¹ AHM. III, 68.

² The line seems to contain a play on words, *toka* meaning both 'rock' and 'satisfied'.

³ What does this refer to? The translation is uncertain.

⁴ Best Agr. 154 (Ngati-Awa).

the kumaras—almost human beings—are attacked and dragged away as killed enemies.¹

There are other versions, too, in which the kumara is peacefully fetched.² The other view, however, is so widespread as to deserve comment. The Maori thus does not consider the kumara as a possession when he is on the ritual plane. It is extremely characteristic of his whole attitude towards existence that he does not from this point of view conceive the kumara as a gift from the gods, but something he gets hold of either by stratagem or by force. There is not to him the self-expression or value in obtaining passively as in capturing. We shall see that a similar attitude informs several phases of the kumara ritual.

Marere and hukitoto.

The kumara now is fetched from the store. We then leave the more or less vague considerations and are on firm ground. KAPITI's description, however, gives scanty contributions, viz. two pieces of information: the kumara is (1) put into the sacred basket and taken into the field, where it is covered by chickweed, and (2) two ritual ovens are fired, *anuanu* and *marere*.³ The former must be the most *tapu* one, as only one person eats from it. About the *marere* it is stated that it is situated near the water.

What has the *marere* to do with the water?

The answer is connected with the meaning of the word. In Williams' Dictionary two meanings are given:

1. The ritual oven mentioned.
2. The first kumaras that are planted.

We shall see that these two things are intimately connected, as indeed is implied by the name common to them. *Marere* undoubtedly denotes a definite kind of offering and thus both the first kumara and the oven used for this purpose. We shall now discuss the evidence of the sources in detail.

As to the oven we know that it is of the type called *pure*. This appears from the quotations in the dictionary. For further con-

¹ AHM. III, 77.

² Best T. 695 ff., cf. 926 f. (from Ngati-Awa) and JPS. 30, 43 (from Turanga).

³ JPS. 22, 37.

firmation the first quotation originates from KAPITI's text, thus is a Ngati-Porou statement. *Pure* is a rite which often is aimed also at removing a *tapu*, and at the same time it is the oven from which the people eat at this rite.¹ In connexion with kumara it is the *tapu* in the planters which is to be removed after the planting.

We do not with certainty know the contents of the oven, but we have a description (probably originating from WHITE's papers) without statement of the provenance of this oven and the ritual removing *tapu*. As the oven is called *hangi taki rarangi*, the description can hardly originate from the Ngati-Porou. It is stated here that the oven contains kumara.² Thus probably also among the Ngati-Porou.

Furthermore, the *marere* should be placed near the water.

About the *mareres* as an offering and the kumaras to be planted—that is, those fetched from the store—we get the following information in a text from the Ngati-Porou:³

"At the planting the *mareres* are taken to the water and displayed there; they are sacrificed to the man who has provided this food, to Kahukura. The priest recites (*karakia-es*) over the food which is to be cultivated in the ground (i.e. the seed kumara), and [he sees] whether a [hostile] army is to lift it, or a flood, or the multitude of gods. If Kahukura moves a little it is known that it is evident (?) in⁴ the priests' mind that no armies will appear in order to lift the food (? *toko kai*), and the whole tribe then starts cultivating food in the ground."

This description thus shows that

(1) The *mareres* are taken to the water.

(2) Some or perhaps all of the *mareres* are offered to Kahukura, i.e. the man who fetched the kumara in Hawaiki and who, otherwise, reveals himself as a rainbow.

(3) The *marere* furthermore enters in a ritual from which auguries for the harvest are taken. The informant probably imagines that Kahukura appears as a rainbow, at any rate it is his movement which gives the favourable augury.

¹ Cf. p. 79.

² Best Agr. 93.

³ AHM. III, 71.

⁴ *e aruaru ana i nga whakaaro o nga tohunga*. Aruaru is perhaps a variant of *ariari*, 'clear, gleaming'.

About the ritual by the water we get some sparse information in WILLIAMS, who s.v. *mārere* (2) prints a quotation without any reference, i.e. from an unpublished manuscript. As WILLIAMS' father collected information about the kumara ritual from among the Ngati-Porou, the information probably originates from this tribe, the more so as it is completely in keeping with the account above. The quotation runs like this:

"When they have arrived there . . . the priests place their *marereres* in the water."¹

Finally BEST adduces a brief note which according to his (preceding) statement can be supposed to originate from a Maori, TUTA NIHONIHO, Waiapu (i.e. one of the Ngati-Porou), but to judge from the character of the section in question, it seems as if BEST has mixed it with supplementary information so that we are not quite sure what originates from the Ngati-Porou and what has been added with uncertain provenance. Let the reader judge for himself; here is the passage:²

"The following notes from Tuta Nihoniho pertain to the Waiapu district: When clearing a piece of land for cropping, all timber, weeds, etc., were burnt to the ground, . . .

Prior to the planting of the kumara crop an offering was made to the gods in order to ensure a good crop. The generic term for such conciliatory offerings is *whakahere*, but the specific name for it in the above ceremony was *marere*. This offering was usually a bird. Among the Ngati-Porou tribe Kahukura, the rainbow god, represented Rongomaraeroa, the tutelary deity of the kumara. The above rite was performed at the side of the cultivation. A branch of *mapou* was stuck in the earth of the place where the ceremony was performed. The following ritual was recited

ko te ko a te wai marie
. . ."

More than anything else it is the information about Kahukura among the Ngati-Porou that confuses the reader, who, indeed, must believe that it all refers to this tribe. If we compare the passage with the features which with certainty can be referred

¹ Williams s.v. *mārere*. 2.

² Best Agr. 82.

to the Ngati-Porou, it seems little probable that the passage from BEST as a whole should deal with the rituals of this tribe. The information about Kahukura is presumably derived from the previously quoted passage in WHITE's Ancient History of the Maori.

Presumably the wisest thing would be to leave this passage out of consideration in so far as we concentrate on the ritual of the Ngati-Porou.

KAPITI's description contains nothing about these rituals which even only with difficulty can be fitted into it. On the face of it KAPITI's account must give the impression that the succession of the events is as follows:

- (1) The kumara is put into the sacred basket.
- (2) The basket is carried to the field and put down at the edge of it covered with chickweed.
- (3) The earth in the field is arranged in mounds.
- (4) The next morning the ovens are fired. The kumara tubers are planted, etc.

If the *mareres* are to be put into the water, this must thus be done either before Item 1, i.e. without connexion with the ovens, or the basket must be taken from the field to the water, thus in connexion with Item 4. This seems less reasonable, but does not the same apply to the idea that the basket should be placed in the field one or more days before the planting? I am inclined to think that the relation between Items 1—2 and 3—4 should not at all be conceived as chronological, but only as information appearing as the informant remembered them. This is not incompatible with the description.

We can now in outline give a full picture: The seed kumaras (*marere*) which have been fetched from the store for planting in the sacred field, are first taken to a water (the sacred water?), where they—some or all—are put into the water. Some of them are offered to Kahukura and auguries are taken for the fate of the kumara in the field until the harvest. In some places perhaps a bird was offered, which then also was named *marere*.

Near the water an oven is fired. The oven probably contains kumara; its name, *marere*, makes it probable that it is seed kumaras that are cooked in it, perhaps only a single one, while the rest are ordinary kumaras.

If the kumaras are put into water beforehand, it may also have the practical purpose of rinsing them; cf. p. 187.

To this meagre information we may supply a content by a study of certain myths. But first we must remind of the "Hawaiki Programme". Rongoitua sails away from Hawaiki with the captured kumara onboard—thus ritually: goes away from the store. He then hears a number of shouts which mark culminating points in the ritual. The first is: *kei te huki i nga toto*, 'They are performing a (rite of) vengeance'.¹ Judging from its placing one would immediately think of the rituals connected with the *marere* by the water. The same allusion to a rite of vengeance when they leave Hawaiki is found in a Ngai-Tahu version of this myth, which shows that a ritual motif of vengeance is found in other tribes than the Ngati-Porou.² This is of special interest, because from a third tribe, the Ngati-Hau, a myth is extant which obviously refers to this ritual. It is a version of the great myth of vengeance in which Whakatau is the hero. It runs like this:³

"It began by Apakura going to make Whakatau revenge the death of her son, Tuwhakararo. When she had made her way to Whakatau he was in his home, Paparahi,⁴ and Apakura went up to him and said, "I have come to make you revenge your younger brother's⁵ death, because you are his elder relative (? *we*)."⁶ Whakatau agreed and said to Apakura, "Go you and return home; there you must build a canoe for me and make a digging-stick and bring some calabashes onboard the canoe for me; they are to be filled with oil." Apakura returned home and the people asked, "How did he behave towards you?" She said, "He ordered me to build a canoe, a digging-stick is to be shaped, and calabashes with oil in them are to be taken onboard to him." They set to work and soon they had finished the things. Whakatau came and then a great many men stayed in the hamlet who were to be his companions in arms. Whakatau asked, "Who are all these?" The people answered, "They are those hundreds who

¹ A.H.M. III, 77.

² A.H.M. III, 74.

³ A.H.M. II, 146 ff.

⁴ *paparahi*: stage for drying kumara.

⁵ 'younger brother' is a classificatory term of kinship.

⁶ White explains *we* as *tupuna*; but perhaps we are to read *whe*, 'dwarf' as Whakatau has the reputation of being of very short stature.

are to be your companions in arms." Whakatau said, "No! Stay you here, all of you, but let three men accompany me in order that they may bring back the canoe." Then Whakatau (147) and his companions went onboard his canoe, "Te-hiku-toto" (the Revenge), and they paddled by night in order that they should not be seen by the fortress (the hostile one), and when they were off the fortress, they left the canoe without anchor, so that it might float freely. In the morning some of the people of the fortress came out in order to make water; they caught sight of the wooden bowl (*kumete*) out there which was floating on the sea, and the whole fortress heard the shout, "There is a wooden bowl which is floating here." Then Te-Mangourunui—he was one of the men of the fortress—said, "I shall undertake to swim out there." When he got alongside the canoe he was pierced by Whakatau's digging-stick. He died and the dead body was taken onboard. When the people from the fortress saw that Te-Mangourunui had died, they said with emphasis, "The swimming was wrong." Mangoururoa said, "My swimming is for the stem." He slipped into the water (*marere ki te wai*) and swam to the canoe which was floating out there. His swimming was for the stem. Whakatau saw him as he dived at the stem, and Whakatau poured oil on the water from one of the calabashes, and when it was possible to see down into the water, he was seen while he swam, and he was pierced by Whakatau's digging-stick. After he had been hit, the dead body was lifted onboard the canoe. The people saw that he had died and Mangouru-tapena said, "It was the fault of the swimming that caused his death, the swimming should be for the place of baling, namely the middle of the canoe." He slipped into the water and swam under the water. Again oil was poured on the water by Whakatau, the water became clear, and Man-goauru-tapena was discovered swimming under the water towards the canoe, he, too, was hit by the digging-stick, but he only came to speak indistinctly.¹ It was his tongue (that was hit), he did not die, and Whakatau gave him life and allowed him to swim ashore. Then they stopped.

Whakatau and his companions sailed back in their canoe,

¹ *pepa* has been translated by 'speak indistinctly', as the present passage is compared with use of the word later in the text (p. 148 line 4). The passage, however, contains a play on word, on which see below.

but when they had come to the long reach homewards Whakatau said to his companions, "Let me go ashore, and you return with the canoe, and when you have come home and it is dawning, if then Haereiti (the rainbow¹) is seen in the sky, then I have set fire to Tihomanono and Poporokewa's crowds have been killed by me; but if the sky only glows red, then it is me who has been killed by Poporokewa." When he had spoken his companions returned home by the canoe and he walked and came near to the fortress. There he took a load of firewood and stuck his sword (*taiaha*) into the firewood. The sun was setting and when night had fallen on the people of the fortress gathered in a house in order to question (148) the man who had been wounded by Whakatau from the canoe. The men asked him about Whakatau [how he looked]; a man rose and said [at length], "Cannot you tell only if the man's appearance is like mine?" The man whose tongue through Whakatau spoke indistinctly said, "The penis resembles, the testicles resemble, the eyes resemble." He sat down and another man rose and asked, "Well, is the man's appearance like mine?" He who spoke indistinctly said, "No," and his words were as those spoken to the first man who asked him. There were many who rose and asked, but he who spoke indistinctly constantly spoke the same words to all of them and when all the men in the house had asked the man who spoke indistinctly, Whakatau rose and also questioned him, and Whakatau asked, "Well, is the man's appearance like mine?" And he who spoke indistinctly because he had been wounded with the digging-stick by Whakatau in the canoe,—he looked searchingly (*whakatau*),² and a long time passed as he stared intensely, until he exclaimed, "Why! He! I am almost saying that he is yourself!" At that moment Whakatau seized his weapon, the sword, which he had stuck into the firewood, he brandished it from one side to the other in the house (?), but his weapon neither reached the back wall nor the doorway; then he quickly jumped out through the smoke-hole (*pihangā*) above and got out of the house. He ran to the doorway of the house in order to bolt the door of the house. Then the morning dawned, Haereiti appeared at the fire-making, the house was burnt,

¹ Haere, a spirit residing in fragmentary rainbows. (Tregear Dict.).

² Here, again, there is a play on words: he looks *whakatau* at *Whakatau*.

Haereiti arose in the sky. And the people at home understood that Te Thiomanono had fallen before Whakatau as Haereiti stood up in the sky. The house was in flames and Poporokewa's crowds were burnt. Then Whakatau sang his song:

Because the torches are bound, therefore [it says]
Ruru-te-haku-rama.

Because the heart is roasted as a propitiatory offering
(*whakaepa*), that is, as a conciliatory offering
(*whakahere*) to Haereiti therefore [it says]

The Fire-to-roast-heart throws a flickering glow on to
the sky.

In the morning Whakataupotiki asked a prisoner of war whom he had spared, "Where is the way down which Poporokewa escaped?" The slave answered, "In the back wall of the house." (149) Whakatau asked, "How shall we get him out?" The slave answered, "Make him glean kumara (*whakawairau*)."¹ Whakatau asked, "How shall one shout?" The other answered, "In this way, you must shout like this: 'Poporokewa', then he will grunt and you must shout, 'It is the third month, it is time to prepare the field for the kumara.'"² Whakatau went away to a *mouku*-root¹ which he pulled out. There he observed the way down which Poporokewa had descended, and Whakatau made a noose at the mouth of the cave in order to pull it round Poporokewa. When this was done Whakatau called, "Poporokewa!" A grunt rose. Whakatau further said, "Come up, come up! It is the third month,² they are preparing the field for the kumara, come up and recite *karakias* over the field." He came up, first his head, then his chest, finally his waist into the noose. Poporokewa was caught and killed, then Poporokewa's multitudes were killed by Whakatau."

The scene of this event is a merging of Hawaiki, where Poporokewa is supposed to live, and a place where a wooden bowl (*kumete*) represents a canoe and a digging-stick is a natural weapon, and where offerings are made. Time in the same way is both the past and the third month of the year, just as the planting is going to start.

¹ *mouka* or *mouku*, two species of ferns.

² Otherwise the commonest time of planting is the fourth month; but this depends on the location, etc. Best Agr. 100.

This interlacement of history and actual action is fundamental to the Maori's experience of history (see p. 8).

Time, stage, and action are in close agreement with the ritual events played with *marere* by the water. We know that at this stage of the ritual something happened which was called 'the revenge', and here we have the great myth of vengeance in a version which places the vengeance at the very same time, immediately before the planting. In a planting *karakia* for kumara the provenance of which is not stated, we have an obscure allusion to the same thing, as it is said that 'many are to lie, numberless are to lie in the water from Tuwhakararo'—he is the man whose death is revenged by Whakatau.¹ Haereiti alludes to the rainbow and obviously among the Ngati-Hau corresponds to Kahukura among the Ngati-Porou, who is also imagined as a rainbow that reveals itself during the rite. The myth also contains some puns which in part allude to the ritual.

I think that there is a play on words when it says about those who wanted to fetch the wooden bowl that they slipped into the water, as the verb *marere* (fall, let oneself fall or drop) reminds of *mārere*, the name of the kumara that is put into the water. Also without this play on words it seems natural to suppose that some of these kumaras played the part as Whakatau's enemies. Through the historical veil of the myth we dimly see a ritual act, viz. that some kumaras are taken out of the water by being transfixed by a digging-stick and placed in a wooden bowl.

The action of the myth is strained dramatically by the fact that one of the enemies is only wounded and thus later endangers Whakatau's life. He is mentioned as *pepa*, which is translated by 'who speaks indistinctly', but *pepa* is a ritual-technical word which means 'make an error or slip in reciting a *karakia*, thus causing an *aitua*'.² The action of the myth corresponds to this by playing through the dangerous consequences of a ritual fault so far that the hero for a short moment faces death.

The three men who want to fetch the canoe (the wooden bowl) bear variants of the same name, viz. Mangouru-nui, 'big Mangouru', Mangouru-roa, 'tall Mangouru', and Mangouru-

¹ Grey Mot. 276.

² Williams s.v. *pepa*.

tapena. *Tāpena* means "Insult or irritate an *atua* (god) by passing food over a person who is *tapu*.¹ The name thus alludes to a violation of *tapu*. We cannot state its exact form; but a closer consideration of myth and rite shows that a violation of *tapu* is the heart of the whole of this ritual.

Whakatau sets fire to Tihi-o-manono. Behind this we see the oven *marere* which is fired beside the water; it is for this oven that Whakatau is to use his load of firewood. The technique is to the effect that stones are heated by a fire in the oven, and afterwards the food is cooked by steam from the hot stones. The stones in the oven are the hostile inmates of the house; they have the same inner life as the kumara taken from the water to be cooked in the oven (presumably together with others),² therefore the people in the myth belong to one tribe.

In order to understand the act of vengeance in the myth we must realize the purpose of the oven. It gives up its contents as a ritual meal after the planting, which means that it marks the conclusion of a ritual and a return to the workday. We can be quite sure that the decisive element of this ritual meal is the removal of the *tapu* which the planters have incurred by handling the sacral seed kumaras. This contains a ritually regulated violation of *tapu* and it is this violation which is played through already when the oven is fired, as the violation—according to Maori way of thinking—actually takes place at this time.³ The necessity of turning from the sphere of the planting, consecrated by the kumara, to the workday thus forces the Maori to violate the kumara and appear as its enemy. The hostility and the violation are envisaged as an act of vengeance. This is natural, partly because this offers a kind of higher reason for an otherwise questionable act, partly because altogether vengeance is a culminating point in the life of the Maori. The ritual form perhaps is indicated by the *tāpena* mentioned above. This is uncertain, but at any rate the word alludes to the questionable aspect of the violation—the hostility towards the kumara, indeed, is merely determined by the situation—since *tāpena*, as mentioned above, is the violation of a god (*atua*). This *atua* is Kahukura,

¹ Williams s. v.

² Johansen, Maori. 209 ff.

³ Johansen, Maori 211.

the god of the planting of kumara, or as he is named in the myth, Haereiti.

The violation must be limited to the situation in which it is necessary and therefore Haereiti is propitiated with an offering. Whakatau in his song just alludes to a propitiatory offering:

Because the heart is roasted as a propitiatory offering
(*whakaepa*), that is, as a conciliatory offering
(*whakahere*) to Haereiti therefore [it says]

The Fire-to-roast-heart throws a flickering glow into
the sky.¹

The heart mentioned in the song does not appear among the Ngati-Porou; but then the myth originates from the Ngati-Hau. We may perhaps here benefit by BEST's information that the *mārere* as an offering in most cases was a bird. If this was the case among the Ngati-Hau, the reference is fairly certainly to the heart of the bird. Unfortunately the details of this offering of a bird are unknown; therefore the following considerations must be somewhat uncertain; yet I think there is so great a probability in favour of them that they are worth mentioning; for I believe that the following section of the myth, in which Whakatau kills Poporokewa is entwined into the sacrificial act. This motif is extant in several different connexions, found especially frequently in the Rata myths, in which the demonic character is called Matuku. Above (p. 126) we have seen that this motif is connected with the kumara ritual. The reason why it is to be adduced here is, amongst other things, that Matuku in the myth is often represented as a supernatural bird.² We do not learn anything about Poporokewa's shape, but it does not seem improbable that he was also imagined to occur in the shape of a bird. The noose in which he is caught might be the string in which the sacrificial bird is hung up in the sacred precinct;—however, this can only be mere conjecture. There is relatively greater certainty in the view which disregards the details and only starts from the mythical fact that Poporokewa possesses the ritual of planting. The offering then is to be understood in the way that in Poporokewa this

¹ Cf. Grey Mot. 388.

² E.g. AHM. III, 6 (from the Ngati-Kahungunu); AHM. I, 83 (from the Ngai-Tahu). *Matuku* is the name of various birds (bittern or herons).

important ritual is captured, which would be a natural consequence of a propitiatory offering to the god who inspires the ritual of planting and hence the planting of the kumara, and whose revelation augurs the fate of the planting.

It is excusable if the reader is a little dazed by this repeated reference to the traditions of other tribes in spite of our programme of keeping to the Ngati-Porou ritual. We cannot know whether the myths adduced have come into play in this tribe. Later we shall even see that quite another myth, the Kae myth, may also have been played through at the oven. Our investigations, however, have not therefore been futile. The information about the general meaning of the ritual which has been obtained by the interpretation of the myths, has no doubt been valid beyond the area of the individual tribe. It shows with certainty what the Maori could think of and experience in connexion with a ritual like the one found among the Ngati-Porou.

We shall now leave this complex of myths.

We have so far only thrown light on one part of the ritual, viz. that connected with the oven and the offering; but they are not the only myths interwoven with the significant events by the water in connexion with the *marere*. They have also left traces in the myths about the fetching of the kumara from Hawaiki, and in this case we are so fortunate as to deal with versions from the Ngati-Porou so that we are actually in a safer position as regards the interpretation of the relation between myth and rite.

The myth with the Hawaiki Programme continues immediately after the reception of the ritual by the return voyage to New Zealand:¹

"They paddled while the sun set and rose again, but they were still in the same place, the sun set and rose again, but they were still in the same place. Their sailing was not at all right (*tika*) and the reason why their sailing was not *tika* was that the paddlers had eaten. They got confused and beside themselves; then Rongoitua said, "What are you doing? You shall kill me in order that you can go farther and some of you can survive this." Then Rongoitua was killed and sacrificed (*ika tahuatia*);² behold! when he stood up in the canoe he got hold of the sky and drew

¹ AHM. III, 78.

² On *ika tahuatia* see JPS. 35, 335 (Best).

himself away (? *whakatipa*), holding on to the clouds in the sky; he leant down and rested on their settlement¹ in Hawaiki. Because he bent, he reached their settlement in Hawaiki; having bent in the sky he was Rongo-like (Rongo-the-elevated);² Rongo-i-tua was his (previous) name, after his death it was Rongotike. Behold! now at length the sailing of the canoe was right; they got ashore, and the people reached their home in Aotearawa (i.e. New Zealand)."

This is a sacrificial myth. The situation in the myth corresponds completely to the ritual one when the oven is fired, viz. that the *tapu* of the kumara is violated. In the myth this is done by the paddlers having eaten onboard the canoe which is consecrated by seed kumara, and so they have endangered themselves as well as it by a double pollution of life. The consequence appears immediately in the myth: the canoe refuses to budge, and furthermore there are the traditional consequences of a violation of *tapu*, confusion and madness. It is an offering which gets them out of this state. The offering is called *ika tahua*, which probably in particular is a 'propitiatory offering', but the word is known to me from only one other passage besides. He who is sacrificed is Rongoitua, i.e. the kumara god himself, which ritually corresponds to the fact that among the Ngati-Porou the sacrifice, *mārere*, consists in seed kumara. The myth shows that the kumara is honoured by the offering, for in this way it obtains a higher degree of divinity, marked partly by its revelation in the sky as a rainbow, partly by the fact that it comes home to Hawaiki, which may very well mean the sacred precinct in this context. As the people sacrifice and thus honour the seed kumara, they save its life from the danger into which the violation of *tapu* has brought it, and again attach it to themselves. Mythically the people succeeded in conveying both the kumara and themselves back to their home in New Zealand.

What cannot be read from this version is the fact that the sea on which they are sailing is more or less clearly identified with the water in which the *mārere* is found. But it is a very natural idea when the other versions are drawn into the field of

¹ 'their', i.e. that of Rongoitua and his people.

² Though perhaps Rongotikei, 'Rongo-the-straddling', who also appears as a rainbow.

vision; for they contain the feature that the kumara falls into the water and is saved again. It is quite interesting that we find the same detail in a Ngati-Awa version and perhaps also among the Te Arawa, for this fact in itself implies a common ritual background.¹ It is, however, hardly worth while discussing these versions in more detail, as we have two almost identical ones from the Ngati-Porou, in which the motif is dealt with rather amply. Unfortunately we cannot in this connexion benefit by all the details offered by the full versions. The events take place during a sail southwards along the east coast of New Zealand, presumably a historical feature. This, however, results in the trip being ornamented with legends which make the names of localities and regional characteristics originate from the ancestors' deeds. This is a type of legend which otherwise especially flourishes in the history of immigration. Therefore we shall not translate this section of the myth as a whole, but let summary and translation alternate as occasion requires.

Thus we shall begin where the kumara has tumbled from the cliffs of Hawaiki into the canoe, Horouta, and the trip home may start:²

"The priests decided that no other food might be taken onboard this canoe than kumara, it was because the canoe was *tapu* by the kumara.

Kahukura stayed in Hawaiki. The canoe sailed here and landed at Ahuahu, and when they were to sail farther on from Ahuahu one of the members of the crew stole a bunch of fern-root (*aruhe*), which she crumpled up in order to hide it on her person, and she went onboard the canoe, the Horouta. The others who paddled the Horouta forward did not know that she had taken the fernroot with her. The canoe was paddled on and came to Whakatane. The god who guards the kumara was terribly angry at this bunch of fernroot and violent gales arose; they were Hau-nui, Hau-roa, Apu-hau, and Tu-awhiorangi.

Then they flung the woman from the canoe into the water. When she came to the surface, she (69) took hold of the stem of the canoe with her hands, and the people in the canoe cried, "Let go! The canoe is capsizing!" She did not let go and the

¹ Best T. 698; JPS. 2, 222 (Tarakawa).

² AHM. III, 68 f.

Horouta capsized there; (for) it was a woman who had stolen the bunch of fernroot, the name of the woman being Kanawa, and the place where the Horouta capsized is (therefore) called 'Te-tuke-rae-o-kanawa'."

At the capsizing, part (*haumi*) of the canoe is lost; the people make a *tangi* (lament) over the canoe and decide to replace it. 140 (*hokowhitu*) stay by the canoe, 140 men go away in order to make a new *haumi* under the leadership of Pawa; he again sends a small party away in order to catch birds.

"Awapaka was the leader of those who were to catch birds, and he gave orders that the birds were to be roasted in calabashes (the fat to be melted out?) . . . When the oil (*hinu*) was ready in the calabashes, a message (? *aorere*; WHITE suggests *karere*, 'messenger') came from Pawa to Awapaka, and the words of this messenger (*karere*) were these: "Awapaka, take your calabashes out (of the wood?). The Horouta is saved, but meanwhile you must go to Waiapu (? *u¹ ki Waiapu*) in order that they may reach you (i.e. meet you) there."

Awapaka and his people set out with their calabashes with preserved birds, and when they came to Taumata, they ate the oil (or fat, *hinu*), from which comes the name: Taumata-kai-hinu (Taumata where *hinu* is eaten). The *rongo* of the oil was sent by Awapaka; there was one calabash which was used as *rongo* for the Horouta; the name of this calabash was Toetoe."

In what follows it is told that the calabashes became stones. Then the tale is continued: "The Horouta was saved, but Pawa [*a Pawa*, read: *e Pawa*] did not obtain a *haumi*; the man who saved the Horouta was Rangi-tu-roua. He obtained *titoki* wood and used it [as a lever] to turn the canoe in order to raise it, and he recited this *karakia*:

1. E iki, e iki, te tura uro whiti
2. E iki, e iki, te tura uro whiti.
3. Hiki nuku e, hiki rangi e,
4. hiki nuku e, hiki rangi e.
5. Ha, ha, ka hikitia tona ure.
6. Ia, ia, iaia, Ha iii!²

¹ *u* is otherwise used about reaching land from the sea; the use here is remarkable.

² The text for this and the following *karakia* has been taken from the other version, JPS. 21, 159, as it is presumably better.

- 1.—2. ?
- 3.—4. Lift Earth, lift Heaven.
5. Ha, ha, his penis rises.
6. Ia, ia, iaia; ha iii!

The canoe was righted and then it was pulled ashore, where its shattered parts were mended. This is the *karakia* recited while it was being pulled ashore, after it was righted:

1. Paneke i a wai?
2. Paneke i a Tuterangiaitu,
3. hauhau te toki,
4. matapo ia, matapo ia,
5. huri te po, moi marire mai
6. moi marire mai, e tu a ure
7. moi marire mai, e tu a ure.

1. Moved by whom?
2. Moved by Tuterangiaitu.¹
3. The axe hews,
4. It (he, she) is blind, (twice)
5. Night is coming, ? calmly hither
- 6.—7. ? calmly hither; be erect like a penis.

When the work at the canoe was finished, the kumara was again taken onboard. They paddled on and landed at Whangaparaoa, Waipu, Turanga, Nukutaurua, Heretaunga, Te Whakawhitinga, Kaikoura, and the canoe arrived at all the places (71), where it distributed the kumara completely; therefore the following words are found in Horouta's *karakia* for the planting of kumara:

Ahuahu whenua i tupu ai te kai
i ri taua i te ngaru, e . . .,
etc." (we shall discuss this *karakia* below).

To the Maori the number of place-names which mark the trip of the Horouta along the coast, obviously are of great importance since they form the basis of a lengthy section in the planting liturgy. The fullness embodied in the names at that time is irrevocably lost; we must content ourselves with noting their importance as a fact.

¹ I have not been able to obtain any information about Tuterangiaitu.

Moreover, the myth contains features corresponding to the ritual situation connected with the *marere*: the kumara and the crew are endangered as a consequence of a violation of *tapu*, and this danger results in the kumara falling into the water. The violation of *tapu* here is due to a bunch of fernroot which a woman takes with her, a detail which might reflect that the ritual desecration by the firing of the oven was done by a woman, *ruahine*, by means of fernroot. This assumption is supported by a myth which we shall consider below (p. 156).

There is something exciting in also here, as in the Whakatau myth, coming across calabashes with oil (and preserved birds); but we do not even know whether such calabashes belonged to the ritual. Indeed, the myth gives us a catchword, as it says 'that the *rongo* of the oil was sent by Awapaka' and that 'there was one calabash which was used as a *rongo* to the Horouta', but what does *rongo* mean here? Generally (as a substantive) it means 'tidings, report, fame' and 'peace (after war)'; in this passage, however, it seems to denote a ritual-technical concept.

The chief motif, for that matter, is that the canoe with the kumara capsizes and that both canoe and kumara are saved. We have heard nothing of those kumaras, *marere*, which are only put into the water in order to be planted afterwards, but they are in the foreground in this mythical motif; for if the interpretation is correct, the rescue of the kumara refers to the *marere* being taken out of the water. In this simple action the Maori thus experiences that the seed kumara is rescued from the dangerous sea. It also seems that a planting *karakia* alludes to this rescue.

Those *karakias* which are recited while the canoe in the myth is righted and hauled ashore, apparently do not contain any allusions to the kumara ritual, but perhaps appearances are deceptive. Both contain phallic allusions ('his penis rises' and 'be erect like a penis'). In the former *karakia* it might be a reference to the lever, but hardly in the latter. There is quite another possibility. There may be an allusion to the basket in which the kumara is carried into the field; for we read in the Pani myth that the kumara which Rongo stole in Heaven 'was placed by Rongo in his penis', and that 'his penis was the basket in which he collected the kumara children'—afterwards he fecundates Pani with it.¹

¹ Best Agr. 154 f.

The words ‘his penis rises’ or ‘his penis is raised’ may very well be a mythical-ritual term denoting that the basket is lifted with the seed kumara and a corresponding interpretation offers itself for ‘be erect like a penis’.

However this may be, it is at any rate certain that the planting is a sexual act. We shall then remove the scene from the water and follow the kumara which is carried—no doubt in a procession—to the field, the sacred part of the field.

The Planting.

In the “Hawaiki Programme” ‘*te huki i nga toto*’ is followed by a shout which is interpreted as an accompaniment to ‘*te rokoi*’ and ‘*te auaha*’. As both are marked by one and the same shout, they must either be synonyms or two aspects (parts) of one ritual act. As we do not know the meaning of ‘*rokoi*’, this consideration becomes of importance as it shows us that if only we can identify *auaha* with a rite, it is sufficient to fill this item in the “Hawaiki Programme”.

Auaha is translated like this by WILLIAMS: 1. v.i. ‘leap, throb, thrill with passion’, etc. 2. v.t. ‘shape, create, form, fashion’; used in ancient legends.

It may be added that *auaha* especially is used about the fecundation in the sexual act. We find this use among the Ngai-Tahu: ‘When Tane had grown up, then his penis *auaha-ed*’,¹ and among the Ngati-Kahungunu: ‘(Tiki) *auaha-ed* in Hineone’s vagina (? *karihi*)’²—Tiki, also named Tiki-*auaha*, denotes the phallos in the myth.³ It is the latter usage which is mainly of interest in this connexion, because the planting as a whole is conceived as a sexual act. The allusion is not, however, to the special act that the kumara is placed in the earth, for this is mentioned as Item 4 in the “Hawaiki Programme”. We shall see at once to what element in the ritual *auaha* alludes with the greatest probability.

We shall now proceed to KAPITI’s description. Having mentioned the ovens it includes a special mention of the apparel of

¹ AHM. I, 119.

² Lore I, 37.

³ Best Rel. 73.

the planters, the main contents of which is that the planters should be particularly beautifully dressed.

The field to which they now proceed, has of course been prepared by means of the digging-stick, and the earth has been set in hillocks approximately like molehills, each hillock being intended for one kumara tuber.

Interposing the information that the following sections deal with the planting of the sacred field, we shall quote KAPITI¹:

"When all were in readiness the *tohunga* would take the *totowahi* in which the kumara had been placed, and, holding it in his hand, would throw² a single kumara on each of the hillocks that had been prepared, reciting at the same time the following *karakia*:

(See below).

The *tohunga* carrying the *totowahi* would go along the furrow separating the special plot, reciting the above *karakia* as he went, and laying the kumara one by one on each of the hillocks; and if, as he walked reciting the *karakia*, he found on nearing the end, that the kumara were more in number than the hillocks, he would put two or three kumara on each hillock, so that the kumara might all be placed on the hillocks; or, on the other hand, if he found that the hillocks were more numerous than the kumara, he would pass by two or three hillocks, placing kumara on the third or the fourth, so that the last of the kumara should be placed on the last of the hillocks with the concluding words of the *karakia*, viz., "He harurutanga, he ngatorotanga."

This being done the *tohunga* would pull to pieces the *totowahi* which had held the kumara, and bury it at the margin of the plot."

The *karakia* recited by the priest runs as follows:

1. Tō, tō!
Tukia uta, tukia tai.
Te hiki Raukatauri, Raukatamea,
Itiiti ma Rekareka.
5. Tenei te hiki ka hiki;
tenei te hapai ka hapai.
Ko te hapai na wai?

¹ JPS. 22, 37 f.

² We should rather expect 'place' than 'throw'.

- Ko te hapai na Rongo,
Rongouakina, Rongotekaia.
10. Te kainga ki tua, te kainga ki waho,
te kainga ki Ranginui, ki Rangiroa,
ki Rangi-te-pa, ki Rangi-te-rakahia mai ai.
Whiriwhiri taku kete ko Maunanea;
rangaranga taku kete, ko Maunanea.
15. Ki te tuapuke taku kete, ko Maunanea.
Te kopia te paenga runga, ko Maunanea.
Te kopia te paenga raro, ko Maunanea.
Kia kawiuwiu, kia katoatoa.
Pepeke te hue i waenga,
20. haere te kakano hai tia.
Ko te kura mai whea?
ko te kura Matatera.
He harurutanga, he ngatorotanga,
ka rongo tua, ka rongo waho,
25. ka rongo te uranga, ka rongo te heketanga,
ka rongo tira whai mata, e Tane.
He harurutanga, he ngatorotanga.

Translation:

1. Be pregnant, be pregnant!
Right into the country, right out to the sea.
Raukatauri, Raukatamea,
Itiiti and Rekareka are carrying (or lifting).
5. This is a carrying which carries,
This is a lifting which lifts.
Who is lifting?
It is Rongo who is lifting,
Rongo-uakina, Rongo-who-steals.
10. The settlement on the other side, the settlement outside,
The settlement in Ranginui, in Rangiroa,
In Rangi-te-pa, in Rangi-te-rakahia.
Make my basket, Maunanea,
Weave, my basket, Maunanea.
15. My basket, Maunanea, is on the hillock.
Fold Maunanea together (at) the uppermost (southernmost)
margin of the field.

- Fold Maunanea together (at) the lowermost (northernmost)
margin of the field,
18. In order that it may be shrunk, in order that it may be
contracted,
Let be shrunk, let be contracted the bottle-gourd which . . .
The bottle-gourd hides in the middle,
20. The seeds ?
From where comes the sacred thing?
The sacred thing (i.e. the basket) [is from] Matatera.
It is rumbling, it is booming,
It is heard beyond, is heard outside,
25. It is heard to hit, is heard to go down,
The branch with the fresh (leaves) is heard, O Tane!
It is rumbling, it is booming.

Commentary.

1. Addressed to the field, which must here be supposed to play the same part as Pani, who is fecundated by Rongo.
2. It is usual that the ritual texts by such “exaggerations” include a sphere of indefinite size; thus we do not rarely find that *karakias* which are to remove a *tapu* include an abundance of possibilities; see e.g. p. 110 and JOHANSEN Maori 193.
- 3.—4. For the names of Rupe’s and Hineteiwaiwa’s sisters see JPS. 37, 268 (Ruatapu and Potae) and AHM. I. 76. It is misleading that the text (JPS. 22, 37) is edited as if there were two words: *itiiti marekareka*. According to the Ngati-Porou version there are two persons, Itiiti and Rekareka; of course this is followed here, even though *ma* is a somewhat unusual copula, which otherwise is used only in quite special combinations, e.g. at the merging of mythical names (e.g. Rongomatane). Elsewhere it is accordingly one person: *Itiitimarekareka* (AHM. I. 76, Ngati-Hau). The lines refer to the episode in the myth about Tinirau and Kae, in which these women carry Kae. See further below.
- 8.—9. Alludes to Rongo having hidden the kumara in his penis, i.e. the basket of the ritual, in order to fecundate Pani, i.e. the sacred field. Also the epithet ‘who-steals’ alludes to this myth, as Rongo has stolen the kumara in Heaven.

- 11.—12. The names all begin in *Rangi*, i.e. 'Heaven'; is this where the kumara is fetched?
- 13.—14. Maunanea must be the name of the basket. The Maori rarely lost an opportunity of naming things.
- 15.—18. These lines probably refer to the fact that the basket is torn up and buried at the edge of the field; it is not said in so many words for sure, but partly the reference to the edge of the field is otherwise puzzling, partly it is natural that the basket should be crumpled up when it is torn up so as to be buried more easily. It is uncertain whether Line 18—as in my translation—belongs to the preceding ones. The punctuation of the text connects the line with the following, and as these lines are rather puzzling, it is difficult to come to a decision as to the correctness of the punctuation of the text. The text was edited by W. L. WILLIAMS, a fact which in itself is of a certain importance; on the other hand he was not infallible; see the commentary on Lines 3.—4.
- 19.—20. ? Cf. the shorter version in BEST Agr. 91 f. The lines in this shorter version corresponding to Lines 18—20 are much changed, almost beyond recognition. This suggests that they were unintelligible to the Maoris at the time when the text was recorded.
- 21.—22. *kura* is often used about ritual treasures or sacred objects. As mentioned above (p. 121; cf. p. 177), Matatera is the field of the harvest and from the point of view of the myth undoubtedly a place in Hawaiki. The place is mentioned in a *karakia* which is recited while the sacred basket is being woven:

From far away, from Matatera
Is my sacred basket . . . (?).¹

On the basis of this passage Lines 21.—22. are interpreted, since *mai*, 'from', must be considered an archaic preposition from the Maori point of view. It is still used in Tahitian and Hawaiian.

- 23.—27. The sense of these lines becomes evident and the translation is supported by a comparison with the con-

¹ JPS. 22, 36 f.

clusion of the *karakia* that is recited when the first kumara is lifted at the harvest:

This is the digging-stick which goes down (*heke*)
 This is the digging-stick which booms (*ngatoro*)
 This is the digging-stick which rumbles (*haruru*).¹

This agreement in expression shows, as would otherwise hardly be guessed, that the reference is to the digging-stick. Accordingly I read *uranga* as *ūranga*, from *ū*, 'strike home (of weapons and blows)'. As the texts generally do not indicate quantity, there is no greater arbitrariness in this reading than in reading *ūranga*.

'The branch with the fresh (leaves)' alludes to a digging-stick like the one used at the harvest from the sacred field, viz. a simple, broken-off branch. It is not, however, likely that the present lines should refer to the harvest. The fact is that before the kumara distributed are actually planted—thus immediately after their being distributed—the hillocks are worked with a few stabs from the digging-stick. Why should not this on the present occasion as well as at the harvest be a special ritual digging-stick, viz. a branch? Otherwise, if it was not so, since it is not reported, was it not so at the time when our ritual text was made? KAPITI begins his description with the words: "the 'ko' or digging implement was brought from Hawaiki, and was called Penu." As this name is also used about the broken-off branch at the harvest, KAPITI's information does not go against our assumption. As so often, the god Tane here stands for an object of wood, thus for the digging-stick. The fact that he is addressed, also, if anything, suggests that the digging-stick is present, as it is to be used immediately afterwards.

This ritual text thus touches on a number of themes. The first concentrates on the basket, its importance and fate in the ritual, the second focuses on the digging-stick. On the whole the succession of the themes corresponds to the order in which they are played through ritually.

¹ JPS. 22, 41.

Especially the various allusions to the significance of the basket are of great interest.

It is identified with Rongo's penis, and the bearer of the basket, the priest who lifts it, is Rongo. This, together with the introductory words: 'Be fecundated', shows that a 'sacred wedding' was celebrated between the priest and the sacred plot, between Rongo and Pani, so that the field, Pani, is fecundated with the kumara as it is distributed on the hillocks by the priest.

This is the reason for making the *auaha*, 'to fecundate', of the "Hawaiki Programme" refer to this moment during the ritual.

Apparently groundlessly an allusion to the myth of Tinirau and Kae (p. 147 lines 3—4) breaks into the motif of 'the sacred wedding'. In considering this myth we shall see that these lines are actually connected with the others. Fortunately a Ngati-Porou version is extant; a summary of its beginning runs as follows:¹

Kae (or Ngae, as he is named in this version) and his younger brothers lived in Reporua, a locality in Waiapu, New Zealand. They went out fishing, but were driven out of their course by the gales. The younger brothers died and Kae got to Hawaiki, where he lost his way and entered a sacred precinct. This might have been his death, but the chief, *Tinirau*, shielded him and treated him in the very best way. When Kae longed to go home, Tinirau let him have his tame whale Tutunui, in order that it might convey him home. In return Kae had to promise to spare Tutunui and not to make it go too close to the shore. Kae broke this promise; Tutunui perished on the shore and was cooked by Kae. The firewood was *kokumuku* (*Veronica salicifolia*). The fragrance from the cooking was carried to Hawaiki by the wind, and Tinirau felt that it came from his tame whale. So he wanted to revenge the killing. The text continues:

(268) "He called his children and his sisters, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Rekareka, Rawea, Kurahau, Poruhiruhi, Poroherohe, Whakaarorangi, Ruhi-i-te-rangi, and Hine-te-iwaiwa. They came in order to say to Tinirau, "What are Kae's signs (by which we may recognize him)?"—"A broken tooth (*naho*).'" And they came hither, seeking for Kae's dwelling on all the islands. They got as far as Kaikoura and crossed to this island,

¹ JPS. 37, 267 ff. (Ruatapu and Potae).

New Zealand, and were (still) occupied in looking for Kae. Raukatauri and her companions were occupied like this, but they could not find Kae. They went to all the settlements, but did not find him. They played at darts, the game of *ku*, cat's cradle, whirligig, spun a top, they used all Raukatauri's games in order to deceive Kae, the man who had killed Tinirau's favourite animal. They went on and on and arrived at Reporua, where they stayed while they still performed their activities [amongst other things] putting fire into their throats. They also threw darts over houses, the people of the place being on one side of the house and they themselves on the other. Meanwhile the people of the place looked at all that the visitors performed; then they danced their *haka* in four rows. It was a (269) *haka* dance of the kind called *pōtēteke*, in which the dancers turn upside down so that the head is below and the legs in the air, and they sang their *haka*:

E poteteke ma taua e kawe ki hea?

...

(3) Kae did not laugh at this *poteteke*. They considered the matter, and when the end approached, they performed their second *haka*:

1. Ako au ki te kowhiti;
2. kaore te kowhiti.
3. Ako au ki te whewhera,
4. kaore te whewhera.
5. E kowhiti Nuku,
6. e kowhiti Rangi,
7. e kowhiti werewere.
8. Puapua e!
9. Hanahana e!
10. Tinaku ai.

Translation:

1. I learnt to display (?)
2. But I did not display.
3. I learnt to open,
4. But I did not open.

5. The female will appear,
6. The male will be erect.
7. The labia minora will appear,
8. The mons veneris,
9. The uterus,
10. In order to conceive.

Finally came the end of their *haka*:

Ei, kai taku tara e kopi nei tuhera.

Ei! my genitals, which are closed, they open now.

Then at length Kae laughed and cried to them, “Look! Look! Gals! There you finally performed something good, when you opened to your clitoris!””

Commentary:

The text is taken from a slightly deviating version, viz. Grey M. 30. JPS. in Line 1 has: *E ko* for *ako*; in Line 3: *ko* for *ako*; furthermore everywhere the variant *kohiti* for *kowhiti*.

- 1.—2. *kowhiti* (or *kohiti*). The word in its applications generally implies the idea that something appears unexpected, but, to judge from the dictionary, can also be used without this picture being present to the mind (e.g. the meaning ‘select’). In Lines 3—7 we may from this conception of the word obtain a reasonable translation (although uncertain as regards Lines 5—6). The difficulty in the first two lines is due to the fact that the context gives so meagre a direction. *Kowhiti*, however, must denote something essential in the dance, for we find in one (or two) Ngai-Tahu versions (TNZI. 7, 52 (Wohlers), cf. AHM. II, 133) the expression *kohititia ai [e] ratou, ka kata a Kae* ‘there was *kowhiti*-ing by them, then Kae laughed’. Hence, *kowhiti* must be a purely technical term from the erotical dance, and the whole context suggests that the reference is to sudden exposures and the like.
- 5.—6. *Nuku*, ‘the extended’, is a common mythical and poetical designation for the earth. *Rangi* is Heaven. It is difficult

to combine these concepts with *kowhiti*. I therefore think that Earth and Heaven, the two first sexed beings in the world, here denote 'the female' and 'the male'.

- 7.—9. The translations of *werewere*, *puapua*, and *hanahana* have been taken from TREGEAR, Dict. WILLIAMS only translates by pudenda muliebria. Is this due to philological caution or to the fact that he was a cleric? I do not think that there is any special reason to doubt TREGEAR's specifications.

"Finally the fires were extinguished and when they had gone out, the people of the place were rendered unconscious by a (magical?) sleep. A *karakia* was recited over the posts and bottom of the house in order to lift it; it was lifted and raised and carried across the heavens, but the stone foundation of the fireplace fell down and is still found there. It says about this: "This is where Kae was lifted high and only put down again in Tinirau's settlement." In the morning Tinirau went to see Kae, and he said to Kae, "Where is my favourite animal?" Kae said, "It was immediately sent off by me in order that it might return home to you." Then Tinirau said to him, "It ended as food in your belly, the fragrance rose and came right over here." This was the end of the conversation; Kae was dragged out and killed; he died, was cooked and eaten up. This is the end of this tale about treachery."

There are three motifs in this myth which recur in all versions:

- (1) Kae offends against Tinirau by killing his tame whale.
- (2) Kae is tricked into laughing and is carried off.
- (3) Kae is killed by Tinirau.

The first motif can be treated briefly as it is uncertain whether it is connected at all with the agricultural ritual apart from giving a basis of the relation to Kae. Tinirau is connected with fishing and is generally married to Hineteiwaiwa, the foundress of the *ruahine* institution.¹ On this basis we may guess; but what more can be done?

We shall therefore proceed to the second motif, which in any case must be in the centre of our interest because the ritual

¹ Johansen, Maori 224 ff.

allusion is to Kae's abduction. This is the fixed point from which the interpretation must start.

The priest carries the basket while reciting the words:

"Raukatauri, Raukatamea,
Itiiti and Rekareka are carrying."

Thus he identifies the moment with a situation in the myth, playing the women's part himself, and the seed kumaras in the basket are identified with Kae in this situation.

The myth contains a couple of plays on words which just allude to this ritual situation. The distinctive mark of Kae is a broken tooth, but a comparison with the other versions shows that the picture visualized by the Maori is less the individual broken tooth than the gap in the row of teeth or—in other cases—an irregular tooth position.¹ Tooth is *niho* in Maori, sprout is a reduplicated form of it, *nihonihō*. No doubt it may be contended that the row of teeth with the gap has its ritual parallel in the scattered sprouts on the seed kumara. Another play on words is probably found at the end of the *haka* which makes Kae laugh. Line 10: *Tinaku ai*, indeed, must be translated by 'in order to conceive'; but as a substantive *tinaku* means 'seed kumara'. The very concise expression may very well contribute the secondary idea: 'in order that seed kumara may appear'.

The allusion of the ritual text to the Kaemyth enters in a section whose subject is otherwise the fecundation of the field, the sacred wedding. For this reason, too, we can be sure that also the scene in which Kae is tricked by the dancing women is included in the allusion; for this scene has a highly erotical content. Already the first dance has this character, as implied in the name *poteteke*, which by WILLIAMS is explained as 'An indecent dance, in which the naked performers executed grotesque movements'. Kae, however, does not find it amusing enough; only the unveiled display of the most intimate female genitals puts him in good humour.

We do not know whether there was any ritual parallel to this

¹ An indefinite number of teeth broken: AHM. II, 127; TNZI. 7, 52 (Wohlers) = AHM. II, 133. Two teeth: AHM. II, 123 f. The teeth placed apart: JPS. 37, 270; placed obliquely: AHM. II, 142; one overriding another: Grey M. 29.

scene. It does not seem inconceivable to me that the women danced a highly exciting dance, e.g. by the water, when the seed kumara was laid into (back into?) the sacred basket. There is, however, a more probable possibility, viz. that there the reference is to a desecration of the kumara by the female genitals (cf. JOHANSEN, Maori 223 f. and above, p. 144). Then an erotical element had been contributed to the rite at the same time. However this may be, the scene of the myth fit naturally into the ritual situation. We only need reminding of the general cultural background, to which it belongs that woman leads erotically, to see the reason why the basket with the seed kumara—which represents the male element—is stimulated erotically in order to prepare the union of earth and kumara at the wedding.

But the scene of the dancing women is not only erotical, it is also gay. Raukatauri, who leads the dancing women, and Raukatamea are both mentioned as originators of all kinds of play and entertainment.¹ COLENSO has edited a ritual text with the same application as the present one and also containing an allusion to Raukatauri and the others. He remarks in a note on the dancing scene in the Kae myth, ". . . the bare mention of this always caused pleasing mirthful ideas to the Maoris."² A humorous and gay framing of the erotical is not, perhaps, in itself in need of any comment; but it probably had its special mission here by supporting the transition from the situation when the seed kumara is rescued and on the whole is honoured, to the next one, in which it, visualized as Kae, is killed. Indeed, it is the substance of humour to let unreasonableness and contrasts remain, but to throw new light on them so that they still are united without curtailment. It is not accidental that in the myth in which the Maori makes death be victorious for ever, as Hinenuitepo kills Maui, this event is presented in a grotesquely comical light.

We cannot adopt this point of view of the mission of humour without being led to the last motif, the killing of Kae. Has it any ritual counterpart, and if so, what is it? If we keep to the Ngati-Porou we cannot answer the first question and consequently can only conjecture as to the second.

¹ JPS. 38, 53 (Best); Best Games 1; cf. Tregear Dict. s.v. Raukataura (variant or error?).

² TNZI. 14, 43.

Here it is instructive to include a couple of versions from other tribes in our considerations.

From the *Ngai-Tahu* we have two interesting versions. In one, communicated by WOHLERS, the tale contains the feature that the women knit (weave) a special container, *purerangi*, a basket or net in which Kae is carried. This reminds of the sacred basket; unfortunately we do not exactly know what *purerangi* means.¹ The end of the other version directly concerns the present question. There it says (after Tinirau has got Kae in his power): "Kae's ears were twisted off by Tinirau and eaten raw by Tinirau, and Kae (himself) was eaten, too. Then *karakias* were recited to the gods in order to remove *tapu* (*karakia taumaha ki nga atua*) and *karakias* over the cultivation of kumara."² This conclusion—which would otherwise be quite unexpected—will not surprise us now. It shows quite clearly that the killing of Kae is connected with the kumara ritual, and the word *taumaha*, the meaning of which, it is true, does not guarantee that there is a reference to the removal of *tapu*, if anything points to the firing of the ritual oven (the *marere* of the Ngati-Porou) as the scene of the killing. From the *Ngati-Awa* we also have an interesting conclusion. Kae is taken as a prisoner to Tinirau. "In the morning an oven was fired. Something full of holes (? *watawata*) was spread as a cover for Kae and food was laid for Kae beside the covers. Then Kae was waked. They said, "Look, if this is your own bed." Kae answered, "Indeed, it is my bed." They said, "Come with us to eat!" He followed them and the place where Kae was to sit was shown to him by Tinirau. Kae sat down and with his hand took his food, which was placed before him. The women poured water upon Kae's back; the water sank down into the hot oven under Kae. The steam rose to Kae from the water which boiled down there by the heat from the stones of the oven. The steam made Kae swell (? *putu*) and he died."³

This singular manner of death seems to have been taken direct from the ritual oven into the myth.

Something similar is obtained from a lament over Kotuku, composed by Turoa (from which of the tribes?):⁴

¹ TNZI. 7, 52.

² AHM. II, 127.

³ AHM. II, 142 f.

⁴ Grey Mot. 153 f.

52. Kahui-te-raki, this is your nephew
 Who is bid welcome,
 And placed in the closely woven basket,¹
 55. In which Raukatauri brought Kae,
 He died,
 Hidden in Harururoa,
 Paekawa's earth-oven,² in which Hunakiko lay,
 In which lay
 60. Manawa, e-i.
 Therefore you were scorched by the heat of the fire.
- — —

The understanding is made difficult by our ignorance of what is hidden behind the names in Lines 52, 57–60. But it seems as if it is also Kae who is hidden in the oven.

These mythical allusions from scattered tribes all are to one and the same ritual drama (the *hikutoto* of the Ngati-Porou), viz. the firing of the oven from which the planters are later to eat. It is true that we are not particularly well informed about the rituals in these tribes, but it is practically certain that there was a rite to remove the planters' *tapu*; and that an oven was part of the ritual is at least very probable.

In itself it is conceivable that the killing of Kae among the Ngati-Porou also took place at the oven and thus rightly pertained to the *hikutoto*. Unfortunately the mythical contents of this motif of vengeance at any rate must draw on the mythology of other tribes. If we here have treated the Kae motif, so to speak *post festum*, it is because we did not find the allusion until we discussed the planting ritual. On the basis of our knowledge of the Ngati-Porou tradition alone we might very well believe that the killing of Kae referred to the burial in the ground, which, indeed, is closely related to the underworld.

We must probably content ourselves with ascertaining that the erotical and gay atmosphere in connexion with the basket that is carried, has an element of drama of vengeance: the seed kumara is somehow tricked into death. Here, again, we note the motif of vengeance as a feature extremely characteristic of the Maori.

¹ *waowhia* corrected into *whaowhia*, cf. Williams s. v. *whao*.

² *kokori* is interpreted as a reduplication of *kori*, 'native earth oven'.

Before we leave the myth of Kae we shall only offer some brief remarks on these different versions. From the same tribe (e. g. the Ngai-Tahu) we find versions with and without allusions to the kumara ritual. This difference is presumably due to the informant; if he has officiated at the kumara ritual or learnt the version of such a ritual, there will be a considerably greater chance that we shall find ritual allusions than if the narrator is anybody else. With the very modest demands made in New Zealand on the collection of traditions, we are prevented from including this in our considerations. This is stated only in order to call attention to the fact that mere chance may have brought about that the only published version of the myth of Kae from the Ngati-Porou only contains sparse traces of the ritual.

After the kumara is distributed, the sacred basket is torn up and buried at the edge of the field. This action has hardly any purpose but that of getting a sacred object out of the way without violating its *tapu*.

According to the "Hawaiki Programme" the 'fecundation' is followed by digging. It must be the hillock in which a hole is made for the reception of the kumara with a few stabs by the digging-stick. We may wonder at the sequence,—that these holes are not rather made immediately before the distribution of the kumara, but also the ritual text sounds the themes in the same succession: first the fecundation, then the use of the digging-stick. Before this double testimony we must give in. PITA KAPITI passes immediately from the tearing up of the basket to the planting of the 'profane' field and thus offers no guidance. As to the special digging-stick which perhaps is used for the ritual planting, reference is made to the Commentary on p. 149 f. (on Lines 23—27).

According to the "Hawaiki Programme" then follows *whakato*, i.e. the planting itself. The kumara is put into the hole made in the hillock.

When the sacred field is planted, the rest of the field is worked by the digging-sticks and the kumara is planted. This action is not most sacred, but is not quite profane, either.

From the Ngati-Porou we have a *tewha*, i.e. a planting song, which must have been sung during the planting of the relatively profane field, as may be concluded from the fact that everybody joined in at certain places in the song.¹

¹ Best Agr. 93 f.

Unfortunately this song gives rise to more headache and dismay than profit. It is almost impossible to find the least sense in great parts of it, and the remainder holds a curiously isolated position. As to the fact that much cannot be translated, we may point to the direct cause, that the text is corrupt and undoubtedly was not understood by the Maoris themselves. This can be demonstrated in detail. The last four of the seven strophes of the song are extant in several versions, probably from other tribes. If we compare the differences between the versions, then it is recognized at once that these must mainly be due to the fact that the words did not make sense.

In that respect the following comparisons need no comment. Strophe 4 of the song in BEST Agr. 94 runs as follows:

Tupe tane i whiti te ramarama, tupe tane ko tama te ahu iho, ko tama te kiko whitirau ki taku paenga e ru ai au e tupe tane.

For comparison see GREY Mot. 293 f. Lines 54 ff.

54. Tenei au e Tupetane.

ko Whiti-te-ramarama au e Tupetane,

ko Tama-te-ahu-aho

ko Tama-te-ahu-ake,

58. ko Whitirau-te-toki,

. . .

. . .

61. taku paenga ruwai e Apo e,

The beginning of Strophe 5 in BEST Agr. 94:

Koia e ru, koia e raro, koia patupatu, koia Rangahua, te tama i torohakina e koe ki Waeroti, ki Waerota, te tau mai ai to hua kuru, tiwha. Tiwha horahia, whakataka te hua . . .

GREY Mot. 293 f. Line 24 ff. has:

koia Ru,

koia Whe,

koia Potipoti,

koia Rakahua,

te tama i torona,

whakina e koe,

ki Waeroti,

te tau mai ai tohu-akura-tiwhiwa,

horahia ori ka mate tama . . .

While in BEST Agr. 102 f. Line 9 ff. we find:

Koia e tu, koia e tama, koia patupatu,
 koia te tama i te roha kino
 e koe ki te waero ti, ki te waero ta
 kau mai ai to hua a kuru.
 Tiwha!

The end of Strophe 5 bears a similar confused relation to BEST Agr. 102 f., Line 14 ff.

Strophe 7, BEST Agr. 94, runs:

Uea, uea te titi o te rua kia tutangatanga te awa ki Mokoia,
 e Whatu mangungu, Whatu mangungu e. E hia aku mata kai
 taku tua, kai taku aro pihapiha o te kai kua riro iara i te taua
 koia . . . e.

GREY Mot. 293 f., Lines 13—23:

uea te taua iti,
 uea te taua rahi,
 kia tutangatanga, te ara ki Mokoia,
 whakatu manunu,
 whakatu manunu,
 hara manunu,
 e whia aku mate?
 kei taku tua,
 kei taku aro,
 pihapiha manawa o te ika kua riro,
 i hara te taua

BEST Agr. 102 f., Lines 1—8:

Ueue ana te tipi o te rua
 kia tu tangata ai te awa ki Mokoia
 whatu mangungu, aro mangungu
 e hia aku mate
 kei toku tua, kei toku aro
 pihapiha manawa o te ika
 kua riro i te taua.
 (Chorus:) E hara i te taua; koia!

Finally we find in BEST Agr. 94, Strophe 3:

Uea, uea, parea te titi o te rua ki tutangatanga te awa ki
 Mokoia. Whatu mangungu e hia aku mata kai taku tua, kai taku
 aro pihapiha o te kai. Kua riro iara i te taua koia . . . e.

Now, in both Strophe 2 and Strophe 5 we find the word *kuru*; the Maoris knew that *kuru* was a tree in Hawaiki. On the Polynesian islands *kuru* means 'bread-fruit tree', and as this tree was not found in New Zealand, this song, as regards great parts of it, must presumably be very old, and was either brought by the Maoris from their previous home or was composed while the memory of the bread-fruit tree was still fresh. It is no wonder that a song which is so old has become unintelligible. Its age also explains why the few mythical allusions which we can dimly see cannot very well be related to the ritual; probably they reflected the mergings of cult and myth disappeared long ago.

Quite apart from the age, if an expert does not succeed in making a reasonable text out of these corrupt texts, it is hopeless to try an interpretation. We shall therefore confine ourselves to offering a few remarks.

Strophe 3 mainly consists of allusions to the myth of Maui, who pulls the North Island out of the sea.¹ In a very disjointed form this is also found in another version.² We have here an example of a mythical allusion which is difficult to see through. We may imagine that it corresponds to an atmosphere of the ritual: the field is ritually recreated, emerging from the sea as in primeval times. But the interpretation lacks precision. In the Maui mythology we find several motifs which clearly move within the sphere of the cultivation of kumara. In this connexion it may especially be pointed out that Maui teaches his mother the song which is sung while the field is being dug. This is not, however, what is referred to and Maui's close connexion with Pani for that matter seems to allude to the harvest. The same applies to the allusions to the offering of first fruits in the myth of the North Island which is pulled out of the sea.

Strophe 6 is the most interesting one, especially because it is intelligible and thus stands out against the farrago of syllables which constitutes the greater part of the song. The strophe runs as follows:

Whakarongo ake ai au ki te ngutu o te wahine ra, te riri ana,
te nguha ana ki te paenga o tona māra. He kohimuhimu ki te

¹ Best Agr. 93 f. (3).

² Best Agr. 94 (1).

pou o te whare, he korerorero ki te pou o te where. He kapua,
he kakara te hoki ta te atirua.¹

Translation:

"I listen to the women's lips away there, who are scolding
and raging at the edge of his field. There is whispering to the
post of the house, there is incessant talking to the post of the
house . . . (?)".

This is quite an amusing strophe, which apart from the last sentence makes quite clear and simple sense. It is most natural to suppose that it alludes to something which really took place as long as the ritual was still performed. The question is only: why are the women furious or act as if furious at the edge of the field? Why are they talking incessantly at the post of the house?

The man of the world will at once say: This feminine excitement can only be due to jealousy! The religious historian must agree with him in this case. The ritual situation is just that the men are celebrating a sacred wedding with the field, while the women are debarred from entering. Have they not, then, good reasons for filling in the drama by pretending to be jealous along the edge of the field? In another version the strophe quoted leads direct to allusions to the wedding in the field:

10 distribute from my basket (or: my basket distributes), give abundance!

Here am I, Pani, seeking, searching for "te kore", "te kore te whiwhia",

13 for "te kore", "te kore te rawea".²

The expressions "that which is not possessed" (*te kore te whiwhia*) and "*te kore te rawea*" has—at least among the Ngati-Kahungunu—quite a definite mythical association, as they allude to the search of the gods for "the feminine" in order to create woman from it.³ Indeed, the words evoke the primordial wedding, whose constant burden they are.⁴

We must content ourselves with this, as regards the song; the rest is unintelligible.

¹ Best Agr. 94 f. (6).

² Best Agr. 103.

³ Lore I, 33.

⁴ Lore I, 35 ff.

After the planting of the field is finished, the scene is transferred to the two ovens, *marere* and *anuanu*. The planters eat from the contents of the former. In this way they eat themselves out of the *tapu* in to the workday. They need not fear the violation of *tapu* connected with it; for it has already taken place at the firing of the oven during a ritual drama, the contents of which we have mentioned in detail above. So we need not in this place discuss the function of the *marere* more closely.

The *anuanu*, on the other hand, offers a problem. In the passage where the firing of the *anuanu* is mentioned, it says: ". . . the person whose lot it would be to partake of this would be laid to sleep at the margin of the plot," and later we obtain the following information: "When all the kumara were planted the man who was to eat the '*anuanu*' would be roused up; the '*umu*' [earth oven] not being uncovered in the usual way, but the earth at the edge of the '*umu*' being pushed aside. When the food was thus extracted the '*umu*' would be entirely covered with earth."¹

This man thus does not participate in the planting and therefore has hardly any kumara *tapu*. It is rather a question of a 'field' or 'earth' *tapu*. As the oven is of the 'pure' type,² it is perhaps intended to remove a *tapu* which, then, must be supposed to be that of the earth. This might explain the special way in which the oven is opened and immediately covered, as the idea might be that the *tapu* in this way is returned to the earth. But this is only conjecture; I cannot find any mythology alluding to this oven, and furthermore, the question why the man sleeps at the margin of the plot is still open. Is it a sacred wedding that is symbolized, parallel to that celebrated at the distribution of the seed kumara? As long as this problem has not been solved, the function of the *anuanu* must be uncertain.

PITA KAPITI then says³ that when all fields are planted "then each man would prepare his feast for the ceremonial bringing of the sacred pole for his own field. On the day for bringing the sacred pole all the members of the '*hapu*', or of the tribe, would take part in this business. The pole (which was of the wood called '*mapo*')⁴ was fixed close to the first hillock of the field,

¹ JPS. 22, 37 f.

² Williams s. v. *anuanu*.

³ JPS. 22, 39.

⁴ *mapo* is probably a misprint for *mapou* (*mapau* or *tipau*), *Myrsine Urvillei*.

and with it the 'ko' called 'Penu', the following 'karakia' being recited:

1. Ahuahu whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Whitianga whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Tauranga whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Maketu whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
5. Whakatane whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Opotiki whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Te Kaha nui a Tiki whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te
ngaru e;
Whangaparaoa whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Wharekahika whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
10. Whakararanui whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e;
Waiapu whenua i tipu ai te kai ri taua i te ngaru e.
He tau mua, he tau roto, he tau heketanga,
he whakatotohitanga,
he wai rengarenga, he koiri ki tau e;
15. he wai rengarenga, he koiri ki tau e.
Hoehoe ana mai te waka i Matatinitera e,
hoehoe ana mai te waka i Waipupuni ra e,
ka tuku te punga tau a rire,
ka tuku te punga tau a rire,
20. no Horouta ana te punga tau a rire,
no Haere ana te punga tau a rire.
Penu, Penu, te ko Penu.
Homai he tina, homai he marie,
homai he angitu ki tenei ko,
25. huakumu ki tenei ko, hua tai ki tenei ko,
hua kahika ki tenei ko, hua kareao ki tenei ko,
hua titoki ki tenei ko, hua karangu ki tenei ko,
hua karaka ki tenei ko.
Rere mai te maramara, koia piri, koia taha.
30. Haua he tutu, he rangi, he maoa.
Penu, Penu, te ko Penu.

Translation:

1. Ahuahu is the country where the food grew, protect us two from the waves;

- Whitianga is the country where the food grew, protect us
two from the waves;
- Tauranga is the country where the food grew, protect us
two from the waves;
- Maketu is the country where the food grew, protect us two
from the waves;
5. Whakatane is the country where the food grew, protect us
two from the waves;
- Opotiki is the country where the food grew, protect us two
from the waves;
- Te Kaha nui a Tiki is the country where the food grew,
protect us two from the waves;
- Whangaparaoa is the country where the food grew, protect
us two from the waves;
- Wharekahika is the country where the food grew, protect
us two from the waves;
10. Whakararanui is the country where the food grew, protect
us two from the waves;
- Waiapu is the country where the food grew, protect us two
from the waves.
- A first reef, an innermost reef, a reef where the waves break
(?? *heketanga*)
- A place where there is cutting (?)
- Turbid water, out and in at the reef,
15. Turbid water, out and in at the reef.
- The canoe constantly paddles here from Matatinitera,
The canoe constantly paddles here from Waipupuni.
The anchor is dropped in deep water,
The anchor is dropped in deep water.
20. The anchor which has been dropped in deep water is the
Horouta's.
- The anchor which has been dropped in deep water is
Haere's.
- Penu, Penu, the digging-stick Penu.
Give satiety, give peace,
Give success to this digging-stick,
25. Fertility to this digging-stick, . . . to this digging-stick
Kahika berries to this digging-stick, *kareao* berries to this
digging-stick,

Titoki berries to this digging-stick, *karangu* berries to this digging-stick,

Karaka berries to this digging-stick.

Chips fly hither, some of them stick, others fly past.

30. ?

Penu, Penu, the digging-stick Penu.

Commentary.

1 ff. *taua*: us two, viz. the speaker and the one addressed, presumably Penu (see p. 169).

Ahuahu, *Whitianga*, etc., are places along the east coast where the Horouta landed and to which it conveyed kumara. The last name, *Waiapu*, is the very place from which the text originates. One of the versions (AHM. III. 71 (Ngati-Porou)) about the Horouta's voyage to Hawaiki for kumara and back just ends by quoting this section of a corresponding *karakia* and motivates the occurrence of the names by an allusion to the places to which the Horouta conveyed kumara. This *karakia*, too, begins with *Ahuahu* as the first place where the Horouta landed. The other names are different, which (amongst other things) is due to the fact that the text comes from a place somewhat farther south on the coast. A third, much shorter version (BEST Agr. 98) is represented as the *karakia* which was recited when the first kumaras from the Horouta were planted at *Ahuahu*. Of the lines 1—11 only the first is found consistently.

17. *Waipupuni*: this place is also mentioned as a place from where the sacred basket comes in a *karakia* recited during the weaving of it. Furthermore, both *Waipupuni* and *Mata-tara* appear in a *karakia* to be recited at the lifting of the crop in the sacred plot as a name of the field.¹

20 f. The function of *ana* in this connexion is not clear to me. Does it mean that the cable (understood) reaches right up to the canoe?

21. *Haere*, presumably another name for *Kahukura*; cf. p. 137 f.

22. *Penu* is the digging-stick which the Horouta brought with it from Hawaiki (JPS. 21, 157 f.). The line is also found in a harvest *karakia* (JPS. 22. 41).

¹ JPS. 22, 36 f. and 41.

25. *huakumu* in itself does make sense. The version in BEST (Agr. 98) has: *kia hua kuru ki tenei māra, kia hua kakano ki tenei māra*, 'let there be bread-fruits in this field, let there be *kakano* berries in this field'. *Hua kuru* fits better into the pattern otherwise followed by Lines 25—28 and very possibly is the original form; but it is understandable if the half forgotten bread-fruit tree (*kuru*) has been abandoned for the benefit of the more intelligible *huākumu*, 'very fruitful'.—*hua tai*:?
- 26.—28. *kahika* (*kahikatoa*): *Podocarpus dacrydioides*. Tree.
kareao: *Rhipogonum scandens*. Twining plant.
titoki: *Alectryon excelsum*. Tree.
karangu: *Coprosma robusta*. Shrub.
karaka: *Corynocarpus laevigata*. Tree.

All these plants bear berries abundantly; it is this fertility which is summoned to the digging-stick in order that the field may participate in it. The berries are all edible, but only a few of them are of practical importance (see e.g. BEST Forest 65 ff., 54). Lines 25—28 are found almost unchanged in a *karakia* connected with the harvest in the sacred plot (JPS. 22, 41).

29. What does this refer to?
 30. The words are so disconnected that I dare not attempt an interpretation.
 31. See 22.

This *karakia* falls into two sections, the former, Lines 1—21, obviously alluding to the Horouta's voyage from Hawaiki to Waiapu, the latter, Lines 22—31, relating to the digging-stick Penu and the field.

The former section, again, consists in a going through the route of the Horouta along the coast of New Zealand with the same refrain, which partly refers to the fertility, but especially the safety on land from the waves of the sea. The meaning is obvious, but the sea probably at the same time in a wider sense represents the dangers which threaten man and crop. The rest of the first section does not tell us much; from Line 20 it may be assumed that the reference is still to the voyage of the Horouta; but we have no clue to the various allusions; consequently

the translation of Lines 12—21 as a whole must be more uncertain.

It might be supposed that this first section should once again carry the history of the kumara back to Hawaiki, but on second thoughts this will seem less reasonable. The ritual of course in a wide sense deals with the kumara, even highly so, but its immediate focus is the sacred pole and the digging-stick which represents Penu, thus the very one which the Horouta brings with it from Hawaiki. It is hardly the history of the kumara, but that of the digging-stick Penu which we follow up in Lines 1—21. (Perhaps the episodes in Lines 12—21 are just connected with this new angle of view of the voyage of the Horouta.) Hence, with the Maori's view of history it is Penu's nature and character that are evoked in it; this implies the ritual relevance of this section. At the same time we see how this view uncovers the unity of the whole ritual text; for the former section in this way becomes a historical prelude to the latter section.

The second section makes the digging-stick a centre from which fertility and good fortune radiate to the field. From the Maori's point of view the two sections are fundamentally equivalent, both are to clothe Penu in its fertilizing nature, one by evoking history, the other directly. This is first done in plain words with variations which in the translation are differentiated more than is actually justifiable, as both '*tina*' and '*marie*' include the idea of something happy and fortunate, partly as something firm and satisfied, partly as something quiet and relaxed. Next, the fertility in berries which is characteristic of a number of plants—mainly uncultivated ones—is imparted to Penu.

It is significant that the second section with little variation returns in the *karakia* which is recited when the crop of the first hillock of the sacred plot is lifted. This shows the position held by the ritual with 'Penu' in the whole cycle of rites. We see that it marks the transition from the various motifs of the planting—sex and vengeance, etc.—to the harvest motif. Now fertility is alone in the foreground.

The signification of the digging-stick Penu thus is rather clear, but we have not been given the least hint of the *mapou* branch.

In the myth we learnt that it was brought from Hawaiki in the Horouta together with Penu and the kumara. Here it only

says that it is used in the rites of planting and on this occasion is mentioned as a ‘*toko*’, i.e. ‘pole’, and furthermore that its name is ‘Ateate-a-henga’,¹ later spelt ‘Atiati-a-henga’.² This name is also known in Whanganui, but in the form Atiati-hinga.³ Unfortunately this information does not tell us much. Even though the obscure ‘*kei te hu o nga mamore*’ of the “Hawaiki Programme” may apply to the pole, this does not take us any further. BEST—presumably from the Ngati-Awa—states that *mapou* is called *maro o Whanui*, ‘Whanui’s kilt’.⁴ This at least gives a hint, for Whanui is the star which heralds the lifting of the crop, and this has a mythical parallel in the fact that Whanui is the celestial owner of the kumara, from whom Rongo steals it. The *mapou* pole thus should be connected with the harvest, which fits very well into the picture of the ritual that we succeeded in finding.

From other tribes we have several pieces of information about poles or branches in the field, often expressly stated to be of *mapou*.⁵ There is, however, the difference that in most cases the poles are placed before the planting starts, as part of a rite which is to make the field *tapu*. Sometimes the skulls of the ancestors are placed on the poles, which for that matter in several places represent gods, viz. those connected with the cultivation of kumara: Rongo, Maui, Kahukura, and Marihaka. The relation between the gods and the field is briefly but exhaustively described in a text in which it is stated that by the rite which ends the planting all the *mana* of the field is given to Rongomaraeroa.⁶ This new owner of the *mana* of the field can inspire the kumara to growth and fertility. In *mana* it is implied that the owner (the god) and the field enter into a fellowship.⁷

The ritual of the digging-stick and the pole brings things to an end for the time being: the planting has been happily completed. Therefore the happy act is naturally rounded off with a great festival which is held at the edge of the field.

During the following five months or so the kumara field is left more or less in peace. It was *tapu* to strangers. The most

¹ JPS. 21, 158.

² JPS. 21, 161.

³ AHM. IV, 5.

⁴ Best T. 833.

⁵ Best Agr. 58, 59 f., 76, 82, 104 f., 110; Cowan 116; AHM. III Eng. 112.

⁶ Best Agr. 159.

⁷ Johansen, Maori 95.

important event was the weeding. RAYMOND FIRTH has listed the rituals which may be performed during this period. His list runs as follows:¹

Magic for rain,
Magic against frost,
Magic against pests,
Magic to promote growth,
Ritual offering of food to Pleiades,
Magic for broken tubers.

Such a comprehensive list, however, can only be drawn up if everything is included without consideration to provenance. It must remain undecided how much of it was known to the Ngati-Porou. The only item handed down to us by the Ngati-Porou is the last, viz. the measures to be taken if a kumara tuber was damaged during the weeding. They are described as follows by KAPITI:²

"If during the weeding a kumara tuber was broken, the man who had broken the tuber would call out, "Step aside! Step aside! I have had the misfortune to break a kumara tuber, the sacred root of Rongoiamo's foster child." When all the men had gone aside the '*tohunga*' would take the broken tuber, and, putting with it some chickweed from the field and some kumara leaves, would wave it aloft, offering it to the propitious breezes, and recite the following *karakia*:

1. Whakairi tu atu au i te toto o te kumara nei.
Ma wai e ngaki, e ranga to mate.
Ma Tu e ngaki, e ranga to mate.
Ko Rongo ka uakina.
5. He aha te hau nei?
He muri te hau nei.
Pupū te kohu i raro.
8. Rau tipu te kai. Penu, Penu, te ko Penu."

The '*karakia*' being finished, the tuber would be buried again in the hillock of the kumara which was broken. On the following morning the *tohunga* would examine it and would find that it had already become united to its own stock."

¹ Firth NZ. 254.

² JPS. 22, 40.

Attempt at a translation of the *karakia*:

1. Standing I lift the weed (stem) of this kumara.
Who shall take care of your death, who shall revenge it?
Tu shall take care of your death, Tu shall revenge it.
? (Rongo is pushed aside).
5. What wind is this?
It is the north wind.
The fog rises from below,
The food is revenged. Penu, Penu, the digging-stick Penu.

Commentary:

1. *toto* is both weed and stem; presumably it refers to the chickweed that is lifted together with the kumara. Chickweed is also put on the seed kumara in the sacred basket. Its presence here suggests that the planting is recreated.
 2. Both *ngaki* and *ranga* mean 'revenge' (vb.), the latter, however, being a poetic word. In the translation I have tried to give a variation in the expressions which to some degree reflects the difference in meaning, but not the poetical ring of *ranga*.
 4. *Uaki*: 'push a door back'. The meaning is not clear to me at all.
 6. The north wind is the gentle wind in these regions. The line thus alludes to the favourable wind to which the broken kumara tuber is offered, i.e. whose beneficial influence on the growth in this way is imparted to the kumara tuber.
 7. The fog . . . I think the reference is to the autumn when the fog develops, i.e. to the harvest time.
 8. *Rau tipu* should probably be read as one word: *rautipu* (or *rautupu*): 'be revenged (or revenge) at a killing'. The meaning is presumably that the motif of vengeance, which very characteristically of the Maori was introduced in Lines 2—3, is played through merely symbolically—only through the words—so that man is let off.
- Penu . . . This refrain is known to us, it has in it a ring of the fullness of the harvest. Just as it concludes the planting and heralds the growth, so it is here to restore the growth.

When the star Poututerangi appears, the kumara is inspected by a *tapu* man, the '*matapaheru*'. When he can report that the kumara is fully developed, the stores for the kumara are prepared.

The Harvest.

Our material for the rituals of the harvest unfortunately is very scanty. The description therefore must be defective as well as very uncertain on some points.

We shall begin with KAPITI's description:¹

"When the star Whanui appeared the lifting of the crop would be begun. The '*matapaheru tohunga*' would go to the first hillock of the field, where the sacred pole had been fixed, having as his implement a piece of '*kokomuku*' not shaped with a tool, but simply broken off, and having also a string, not of flax, but of '*toetoe mātā*'. On reaching the hillock he would gather up the trailing shoots and bind them with the string, reciting at the same time the following '*karakia*':" (see below).

The officiating priest, the '*matapaheru tohunga*' thus is the same as he who previously inspected the kumara. The digging-stick is a broken-off branch of *kokomuku*, i. e. *Veronica salicifolia*. As is well-known, it is not uncommon that cult implements must only be made with a very old-fashioned technique. With the making of the digging-stick we have reached the last item but one in the "Hawaiki Programme": "They are breaking off the digging-stick." Like the digging-stick, also the string denotes an otherwise abandoned technique, The New Zealand flax is not found on the Polynesian islands. The '*toetoe mātā*', i. e. *Carex teretiuscula*, which is used is presumably a relic from the first immigrants' attempt at finding a serviceable material.

The *karakia* which was recited while the stems were tied up runs as follows:

1. Whitiki atu au i taura nei,
i te makura.
No tua ana mai, no Hawaiki,
taura nei, te makura.

¹ JPS. 22, 40 f.

5. Ka whiwhi au, ka rawe au.
Ka mau, ka mau
kai takupu nui no Rangi.

Translation:

1. I tie the string round,
The sedge round.
From early times, from Hawaiki
Is the string, is the sedge.
5. I wind round, I tie round;
Secured, secured [is it]
To the wide horizon (?) of Heaven.

Commentary:

2. *Makura* is a synonym of *toetoe mata*.
3. The cult implements generally originate from Hawaiki, e.g. the sacred basket and the digging-stick Penu. This agrees with the fact that the ritual in general is considered to have been obtained from Hawaiki. (The line is also found in the *karakia* which is recited during the weaving of the sacred basket).
5. The text has *ha rawe au*, which is no doubt due to an ordinary misprint.
7. *takapu*: the meaning is quite uncertain; the sense of the line is not clear to me, but *Rangi* (Heaven) is presumably the cult place.

This *karakia* does not guide us to any profound meaning of the rite, which perhaps had no other purpose than that of facilitating the performance of the succeeding manipulations of the kumara plant. There may perhaps, however, be an appropriation of the kumara implied in the act, as suggested in Line 6.

KAPITI continues:

“The ‘tohunga’ would then take his implement, and begin to dig at the hillock, reciting, while doing this, the following ‘*karakia*’:

1. Homai he tina, homai he marie,
whakatau weweru ki tenei ko,
huakumu ki tenei ko,
hua tai ki tenei ko

5. hua kahika ki tenei ko
hua kareao ki tenei ko,
hua mapou ki tenei ko,
hua titoki ki tenei ko,
hua karangu ki tenei ko,
10. hua karaka ki tenei ko.
Tenei te ko ka heke,
tenei te ko ka ngatoro,
tenei te ko ka haruru.
14. Penu, Penu, te ko Penu.

Translation:

1. Give satiety, give peace,
Garment as ornament to this digging-stick,
Fertility to this digging-stick,
? to this digging-stick,
5. *Kahika* berries to this digging-stick,
Kareao berries to this digging-stick,
Mapou fruits to this digging-stick,
Titoki berries to this digging-stick,
Karangu berries to this digging-stick,
10. *Karaka* berries to this digging-stick.
This is the digging-stick which goes down,
This is the digging-stick, which booms,
This is the digging-stick, which rumbles:
Penu, Penu, the digging-stick Penu.

Commentary.

- 1.—10. The beginning is almost identical with Lines 23—28 of the *karakia* which was recited when Penu was planted (see the commentary on p. 168). However, there are minor differences. Line 24 and half of Line 25 have been omitted. In return there is in Line 2 a somewhat enigmatic wish for a beautiful garment (*weweru* is often woven with a figured border) for the digging-stick, which becomes only the more curious as it is a question of the primitive ritual digging-stick. In the case of one of the digging-sticks otherwise used it might perhaps refer to the feather ornaments which decorated the

- upper end;¹ for that matter, the digging-stick proper was hardly used at the harvest, but a kind of spade (*kaheru*) shaped like an oar.²
7. *Mapou* fruits. I am not aware that these fruits were of any interest at all to the Maoris; I suppose that *mapou* has been included because the sacred branch placed beside the hillock is of *mapou*.
 - 11.—13. Cf. the end (Line 25 ff.) of the *karakia* recited at the distribution of the seed kumara (p. 147) and the Commentary (p. 149 f.).
 14. The primitive digging-stick is identified with Penu (cf. p. 167, commentary to Line 22). Hence it is considered as originating from Hawaiki like the ritual.

The ritual text is to create a rich crop. The most peculiar thing is perhaps that this appears as a power in the digging-stick, which not only 'finds', but as it were 'creates' the crop. So we can better understand the part played by 'Penu' when after the planting it is stuck down beside the first hillock. As the digging-stick thus is the focus of the ritual in which the power is concentrated which is to create the good crop, it is conceivable that its stab into the earth is presented in very strong terms; that it 'booms' and 'rumbles' emphasizes its unique character.

KAPITI continues:

"This done, and all the kumara of the hillock at which he had been digging being lifted, he would then bury all, the kumara still hanging to the shoots, with the string with which they were bound and the implement, reciting, as he buried them, the words of this '*karakia*':

1. Tanumai, ko tapukenga ki Waipupuni,
ko tapukenga ki Matatera,
ko tapukenga ki Te Whakoau maunga;
ki raro nei koe moe te hita ai,
5. moe te rawea ai,
moe whakarongo ake ai."

¹ Best Agr. 37.

² Best Agr. 24.

Translation:

1. Lie buried, it is the burial at Waipupuni,
The burial at Matatera,
The burial at Te Whakoau-maunga.
Sleep you down there without moving.
5. Sleep while you are tied round,
Sleep while listening to that up here.

Commentary.

1. The *tanumai* of the text is read as *tanumia* (or *tanu mai*).
- 1.—2. Waipupuni and Matatera also occur in the *karakia* recited at the weaving of the sacred basket; there they are parallel to Hawaiki, see further p. 121.
3. I cannot offer any information about Te Whakoau-maunga. It seems natural to consider these places as localities in Hawaiki. It would fit very well into the picture if the cult place was identified with Hawaiki, just as the cult objects are identified with the original ones from Hawaiki.
- 4.—5. *te* in the combinations *te hita* and *te rawea* causes difficulties. As far as I can see it can in both places be conceived either as affirmative or as negative. I have made my choice on the basis of the whole context, but am somewhat uncertain as to the former. However reasonable it may seem to make it a negation of *hita*, 'move convulsively or spasmodically', it is not quite precluded that *hita* might denote a good omen.
6. Listen, viz. to the ritual.

For the discussion of the principal motifs of this text, burial and sleep, it is necessary to consider both the mythology and the position of the ritual as regards the following events. We shall therefore go on quoting KAPITI's description, thus carrying it on to its conclusion:

"Then the lifting of the whole crop would be set about; which being done, the kumara would be collected from the heaps, and when all were gathered into baskets, the kumara of the first hillock would then be unearthed again, with the string still binding them, and the implement; and during the unearthing these words of '*karakia*' would be recited:

1. Whakaarahia i te papa tuangahuru;
e kari maranga hake
i to takotoranga,
e kari maranga hake
5. i to whakamoenga,
e kari maranga hake."

Translation:

1. Be awakened by the tenth crash;
[I] will dig in order to lift you (?)
From your resting-place,
[I] will dig in order to lift you (?)
5. From your sleeping-place,
[I] will dig in order to lift you (?).

Commentary.

1. *tuangahuru*. Even though *tua* normally can only be used in connexion with the numerals from 1 to 9, there can hardly be any doubt of its meaning here. Ten is a sacred figure.¹ There are ten heavens, ten kumaras in the offering to Tawhaki, etc.

Crash.—The reference must be to the impact of the digging-stick against the ground; cf. the ritual text recited during the first digging.

2. *hake*? Is it related to *hahake*, 'naked', or is it an early variant of *ake*, 'up'? Cf. Tonga *hake*, 'up'.
5. *whakamoenga*. Exactly: the place where (the kumara) has been put to sleep.

This is the end of KAPITI's description. Also in the case of the lifting of the crop there are obvious gaps. The "Hawaiki Programme" discloses one of these, as the programme after its allusion to the digging-stick broken off still has this last item:

They lay down, they remove *tapu*, it is finished.

This the only piece of information extant from the Ngati-Porou about the removal of the *tapu* at the lifting of the crop, is so brief that we can only form an idea of the ritual events

¹ AHM. I, 49.

by a comparison with the sporadic information otherwise in our possession regarding it.

In any case it is the first fruits which are the object of the rites. The first fruits everywhere where they are specified include at least the contents from the first hillock. These are not taken to the store.¹ On the other hand an offering is generally made of the first fruits, perhaps the whole content of the first hillock is used as an offering. In one case the offering of the first fruits consists in the first kumara plant with all the tubers simply being taken to the sacred precinct (*tuahu*) and hung up there, after which the rest of the first fruits are cooked in three ovens.² In the other cases, in so far as the procedure is stated at all, all the first fruits are cooked, then the offering of first fruits is removed, and the rest of the contents of the oven is eaten by priests and chiefs.³

The effect of these rites at any rate is a removal of the *tapu* from the field.⁴ This is ascribed either to the rites as a whole or to the offering of the first fruits alone.⁵

The offering of first fruits is made in slightly different ways. The offering is taken to the sacred precinct where it is hung up or buried.⁶ In other cases we hear that it is lifted while being consecrated to the ancestors or to gods.⁷ As to its later fate there is silence, but probably it ends at the sacred precinct. Of the deities who receive the offering the following are mentioned: the ancestors, Rongo, Pani (here male), and Matariki, i.e. the Pleiades.⁸

It is difficult to decide whether this ritual removes the *tapu* both from the field and from the kumara as well, or only from the field. TREGEAR and WILLIAMS only mention the removal of the *tapu* from the field (the cultivation, a kumara ground).⁹ BEST, on the other hand, always mentions 'the crop'. It is difficult to decide whether this is a loose usage or whether the idea is

¹ Best Agr. 158.

² Best Agr. 114.

³ Best Agr. 114, 108; cf. Williams s.v. *tamaahu*.

⁴ Best Agr. 116, 108, 114; TNZI, 35, 93 (Best); Williams, s.v. *tamaahu*.

⁵ Tregear Dict. s.v. Pani (from White, Maori Customs 115).

⁶ Best Agr. 114, 108, 160.

⁷ Best Agr. 114; Cowan 55.

⁸ Best Agr. 114; Cowan 55; Tregear Dict. s.v. Pani; Best Agr. 52, 113.

⁹ Tregear Dict. s.v. Pani; Williams s.v. *tamaahu*.

that every *tapu* is removed. The latter is probably the case when it is expressly stated that the ordinary field workman partakes of a ritual meal (although from another oven than that of the offering of first fruits).¹ If so, this effect was probably restricted to certain tribes, for besides we have information about a ritual meal after the kumara crop has been stored: "When all the crop was stored then some of the large tubers were cooked for the workmen in an oven known as a *tuapora*. When this oven was opened, a *tohunga* first took therefrom a small portion of food and, holding it up, waved it to and fro. This was then suspended, probably from a tree, as an offering to Rongo, a placation of that *atua*, inasmuch as the people had been cooking his offspring, the kumara. The contents of the oven were then put into baskets and placed before the workmen."² Although it is not expressly stated that the kumara prior to the offering was subject to an eating *tapu*, this seems to be a tacit condition of the whole rite. This must also be WILLIAMS' opinion since he defines *tūāpora* as 'first fruits of a crop, etc., which were treated ceremonially by the *tohunga* to remove *tapu* from the crop.' Besides there was a second 'offering of first fruits' after the lifting of the crop, which was sent to the principal chieftains or the 'high priest', which was called *amoamohanga*,³ while, as mentioned above, the name of the first fruits proper was *tamaahu*.

We can then sum up the results as follows: The first kumaras lifted (from the sacred plot) were used as an offering of first fruits, which was generally accompanied by a ritual meal, often restricted to a limited number of persons. This rite removed the *tapu* of the field so that the lifting of the kumara could take place. Perhaps the *tapu* of the kumara was also removed on this occasion, but frequently, after the crop has been stored, another meal was taken, with an offering through which the kumara was released for food.

If this is compared with KAPITI's description we immediately come up against a difficulty. There is nothing about *tapus* and their removal there, although the "Hawaiki Programme" expressly states that there was such a procedure, as indeed is the

¹ Best Agr. 108, 114.

² Best Agr. 115.

³ Williams s.v. *amoamohanga*; Best Agr. 95; JPS. 16, 85 (Gudgeon).

only possibility compatible with the general mentality of the Maori. Thus we can safely assume that the *tapu* of the field was removed immediately before the crop was lifted, but no doubt after the lifting of the crop in the sacred plot had started. This was usually done by a rite of the first fruits, viz. in connexion with the offering of first fruits. Here is the difficulty, for it cannot only be a case of a gap in KAPITI's description, but an offering of first fruits at this stage is simply incompatible with KAPITI's account, as, indeed, the kumaras first lifted are buried again. Of course we may imagine anything about the kumaras then lifted afterwards as regards offering, meal, etc., but partly this would be little convincing conjectures, partly we are still left with the rite performed over the first kumaras. What is its place, then? The only reasonable consequence is the simple one that the *tapu* of the field is removed as the first kumara plant is buried. As it can hardly be imagined that the kumara should be released for food without a ritual meal, I suppose that such a meal was eaten after the lifting of the crop in conformity with conditions in other tribes.

The line "They lay down, they remove *tapu*, it is finished" of the "Hawaiki Programme" may allude to either of these two rites and therefore is of little use to us.

The view advanced, on the other hand, is supported by the interpretation of the only harvest myth known to us from the Ngati-Porou. It is only extant in COLENSO's translation, which runs as follows:¹

"THE STORY OF THE FIGHTING OF TUMATAUENGA WITH HIS ELDER BROTHER RONGOMARAEROA

(Literally translated.)

Their angry contention arose about their kumara plantation; the name of that plantation was Pohutukawa. Then Tumatauenga went to see Rurutangiakau, to fetch weapons for himself; and Rurutangiakau gave to him his own child Te Akerautangi; it had two mouths, four eyes, four ears, and four nostrils to its two noses.

¹ TNZI. 14, 36 f. Colenso does not state his source, but White refers it to the Ngati-Porou (AHM. III Eng. 114 f.).

Then their fighting began in earnest, and Rongomaraeroa with his people were killed, all slain by Tumatauenga. The name given to that battle was Moengatoto (sleeping-in-blood, or bloody sleep). Tumatauenga also baked in an oven and ate his elder brother Rongomaraeroa, so that he was wholly devoured as food. Now the plain interpretation, or meaning, of these names in common words, is, that Rongomaraeroa is the kumara (root), and that Tumatauenga is man.

A remnant, however, of the Kumara (tribe) escaped destruction, and fled into a great lady named Pani to dwell; her stomach (*puku*) was wholly the storehouse for the kumara, and the kumara plantation was also the stomach of Pani. When the people of her town were greatly in want of vegetable food, Pani lit the firewood of her cooking-oven, as if for cooking largely, and it burnt well, and the oven was getting ready. The men (of the place) looking on, said, one to another, "Where can the vegetable food possibly be for that big oven, now being prepared by that woman?" They did not know of her storehouse, she herself only knew. She went outside to the stream of water, and collected it (the food) in two gatherings only (*or*, two scrapings together with her hands); she filled her basket, and she returned to the village (*pa*), to place her food in the oven, and to attend to the baking of it; and when the kumara was properly cooked, she served it out to her people, distributing it evenly. And thus she did every morning and every evening for many days. Now the vegetable food of the time of war is fern-root (pounded and prepared in a mass), which (root) the Maoris commonly call the Permanent-running-root-of-the-soil. In the morning of another day, Pani again went and lit the fire of her cooking-oven, to bake food for all her people; then she went outside, as before, to the stream of water, and seizing her big basket she sat down in the water, groping and collecting beneath her with her hands. While she was thus engaged in gathering the kumara together, there was a man hidden on the other side of that stream, his name was Patatai, and he was a *moho*; he, seeing her and her doings, suddenly made a loud startling noise with his lips (such as the Maoris make to startle wood-pigeons), which Pani heard, and was wholly overcome with shame, at herself and her actions having been seen. The name of that water was Monariki. The woman

returned crying to the village, through her great shame; and hence it was that the kumara was secured for man. The name of her husband was Mauiwharekino. From Pani came the several sacred forms of words (*nga karakia*) used ceremonially by the wise men (*tohungas*) at planting and at harvesting the kumara. It was Tumatauenga who destroyed the kumara, lest the strengthening virtues of Rongomaraeroa should come down (or become known) to the habitable earth (or to this land)."

This myth falls into two motifs, the battle in the field and the parturient Pani.

We shall begin with the first motif.¹ The scene is a field owned in common by Rongo and Tu, i.e. by the divine originator of the kumara and man as a *tapu* warrior. This corresponds completely to the situation when a sacred plot is to be harvested, for it has just this double sacral connexion, to belong to the sacred kumara as well as the priest. Tu seeks help from Rurutangiakau; this name may perhaps—in part at COLENZO's suggestion—be interpreted as “the-whispering-scrub-of-the-coast”; at any rate Tu gets Rurutangiakau's own child “Te Akerautangi”; this is the name of a tree, *Dodonaea viscosa*, the hard wood of which is worked up into weapons (of the same name) and digging-sticks. The two mouths, etc., describe the carvings of the digging-stick at the upper end, with a face on each side. In certain places such richly ornamented digging-sticks were used at the ritual in the sacred plot.² With this weapon Tu killed Rongo. The battle was called Moengatoto, the *toto* bed or the *toto* sleep. *Toto* may be blood—but perhaps also weeds or a third something. Finally Rongo is cooked in an oven by Tu and eaten.

This describes a harvest in mythical form. It is not, however, an ordinary harvest, for the kumara is not to be eaten by man; on the contrary Tu will withhold the kumara from man. This harvest completely corresponds to the one made of the first fruits in the sacred plot, the killing in question consists in the kumara being buried again after being lifted. It is quite interesting that the name of the battle alludes to sleep (or bed) for in the ritual text recited at the burial (p. 176 f.) it is just said that the kumara

¹ In the following section I am indebted to Colenso's Commentary, TNZI. 14, 37 f.

² See e.g. Best Agr. 36.

is to sleep, and correspondingly it is 'awakened' after the harvest.

Ritually the burial of the first fruits means that the field can be harvested, i.e. that it is no more *tapu*. The myth shows us that this is done by the *tapu* of the kumara, its inner life, which in this situation is called Rongo, being killed, or more exactly, suffering a defeat which leads to temporary death, a sleep. The whole attitude is characteristic of the Maori, the kumara is not given to him, he captures it.

The myth accentuates that this does not remove the eating *tapu* of the kumara; it is not for man, but for Tu, i.e. the officiating priest (in this situation), that the kumara is lifted. Thus our previous considerations are corroborated.

Tu eats Rongo. If there was a ritual parallel to this, which is very probable, the eating must take place after the lifting of the crop.

It is not without interest to compare the myth with a version from the Ngati-Kahungunu, as the end of a song from this tribe consists in a rendering of the myth about Tu and Rongo's contention.

Of the more or less identical versions of the song, the one edited by NGATA is used. The end of the song (Lines 16—25) runs as follows in translation:

It began with Tu's and Rongo's contention
About their field, Pohutukawa.
One was defeated, it was Moengakura,
The other was defeated, it was Moengatoto.
It was Ueka who became sick of the fight,
He went out and found Marere-o-tonga,
And Timuwhakairia, [in whom] the ritual knowledge was safe.
A peace was made, mediated by women,
It was a permanent peace [made] before the god,
The contention was brought to an end!¹

This version completely agrees with the current form of the ritual, in which the field is released for the harvest by an offering of first fruits, the mythical reflection of which here is the peace made 'before the god', i.e. at the sacred precinct.

¹ Ngata No. 115.

I cannot tell for certain who Timuwakairia is,¹ but Marere-o-tonga is one of the mythical founders of joy and the ceremonial games.² This is undoubtedly connected with the great festivals which are celebrated after the lifting of the crop and which are heralded by the offering of first fruits.

As an offering of first fruits no doubt was made also among the Ngati-Porou, it is natural to conjecture that it was also a conclusion of peace, but this cannot be any more than guesswork.

We shall now turn to the second mythical motif, the parturient Pani. Some of the kumara escape from Tu's attack and hide in Pani's stomach, i.e. the kumara store, as is expressly stated. The situation then is certain: the kumara is lifted and stored. (Pani's stomach is also the field; this piece of information is of course connected with another situation, viz. the planting, as shown above).

Pani gives birth to the kumara in a stream which is called Monariki, and cooks it in an oven. During this she is taken by surprise and escapes to the village in her shame; in this way man gets hold of the kumara.

In its entirety this agrees completely with a rite through which the eating *tapu* is removed; but an interpretation of the details is probably impossible as we do not know anything about this rite among the Ngati-Porou. So we must confine ourselves to stating that the myth corroborates our assumption that such a rite was performed.

Still, something may be said about the relation between Pani's delivery and the ritual, not, it is true, among the Ngati-Porou, but among the neighbouring Ngati-Awa, as the myth there is elaborated in such a way that we may venture a more detailed interpretation.

The myth begins by Rongo stealing the kumara in Heaven and fecundating Pani with it. Next it says:³

"Pani became pregnant and when the time of her delivery approached, Rongo said, "Go you to Mona-ariki's (or Moanariki's) water and give birth there." The woman came to the water and began reciting her *karakia*; it is like this:

¹ Cf. AHM. III, 37, 38, 25 f.

² JPS. 38, 53 (Best); TNZI. 34, 38.

³ Best Agr. 154.

Pani! Pani! Rinse in the water!
 It comes down behind, comes down before me.
 Like whom? Like Pani.

Then she gave birth; the woman's kumara children were born; Pio, Matatu . . . (various sorts), and the others were born, for the woman has many children. Now Rongo said, "Arrange a *tapu* oven (and) an oven for the people (*umu waharoa*)."¹ The *tapu* [directions] for the *tapu* were given; the name of the *tapu* oven is *kirihau* or *kohukohu*; the *kohukohu* ritual was given—this is the *karakia*:

Taumaha ki runga, taumahi ki raro
 etc. (Unfortunately I am unable to give a translation).

Then it was made profane and it was finished."

In connexion with Pani's ovens another version from the same tribe has the following passage:²

"And this was the origin of the knowledge possessed by the Maori people of carefully preparing and cooking food. Hence the Maori can cook food before he eats it."

The myth then continues by telling how Pani is taken by surprise—here by her son Maui—and ashamed escapes down to Mataora (a kind of underworld). There Maui finds her while she is working in her kumara field. This episode is introduced by a statement that now we shall learn how the results of Pani's birth and oven were handed down to the descendants. However, this does not become obvious to the reader; but the meaning is probably that when Maui—who is a kind of culture hero—finds Pani, her knowledge, etc., is secured for man.

It is not this conclusion which we shall deal with here, but the scenes in which Pani gives birth to and cooks the kumara.

The *karakia* recited by Pani during her childbirth is quite interesting. It highly strikes one as being a ritual formula recited by one who—more or less—represents Pani. Actually it is not suitable at all to Pani, as indeed Pani is invoked.

Behind the myth we rather clearly see a ritual consisting in

¹ On *waharoa* see Best T. 1120. Williams has a different translation, which, however, fits less well here. Best Agr. 155 makes *waharoa* be for the priests. There is, then, some uncertainty as to the translation.

² Best T. 829.

somebody—presumably a woman (*ruahine*?)—washing kumara tubers in a brook or the like in order afterwards to cook them in an oven. We can also give reasonable grounds for the washing. BEST has a paragraph which seems to give us the clue. He writes: "Any tubers cooked as food for the workmen while engaged in lifting the crop, must not be scraped, but are cooked with the skin on and eaten in the same condition."¹ We do not know whether 'Pani's oven' was fired as an introduction to or in conclusion of the harvest, but in both cases it would be natural if the rule mentioned by BEST was observed. Hence we have the practical reason for the cleaning of the kumara. In itself it is probable that the same comes into play when the *marere* at the planting are put into water. But this practical measure, as it is played in a sacral sphere, obtains a more profound significance: it becomes the birth of the kumara.

As to the oven, the word *taumaha* in the *karakia* recited suggests a connexion with the offering of first fruits and the desecration of the field. On the other hand the mythical context and a few lines later in the *karakia* suggest that the main thing is the removal of the eating *tapu* of the kumara. It is especially noticeable that Pani's oven is a 'primordial oven', by which all cooking in ovens is initiated and hence ritually justified. The doubleness of the function may have its simple reason in the fact that both things took place at the performance of the same rite among the Ngati-Awa and not separately at two different rites as presumably in the case of the Ngati-Porou.

The fact that the Ngati-Porou also knew the myth of the parturient Pani and her oven suggests that there was a related rite, which, however,—as mentioned above—must be supposed to have been performed as the conclusion of the harvest and only in order to remove the eating *tapu*.

It is now seen that the last item of the "Hawaiki Programme": "They lay down, they remove *tapu*," can refer to both rites among the Ngati-Porou. 'They lay down' can either refer to the first fruits which are buried again or the words may allude to the fact that the kumara was put into the water or into the oven at the concluding rite. The former possibility is perhaps the most probable one.

¹ Best Agr. 114.

The joy at the harvest extended into great festivals which were especially brilliant because they fell in the season when food was most abundant. In the myth of Tu and Rongo's contention and their reconciliation (the Ngati-Kahungunu) we found an allusion to this joyful sequel. Feasts, games, dancing, singing, speeches, and other gay or serious entertainments made the harvest festivals one of the great events of the year—or rather its greatest.¹ We have several testimonies (from the Ngati-Puhi) to that effect from the earliest travellers. CRUISE writes: "One of the gentlemen of the ship was present at the shackerie [i.e. *hakari*] or harvest-home (if it may be so called), of Shungie's [Hongi's] people. It was celebrated in a wood, where a square space had been cleared of trees, in the centre of which three very tall posts, driven into the ground in the form of a triangle, supported an immense pile of baskets of koomeras [kumaras]. The tribe of Teperree of Wangarooa was invited to participate in the rejoicings which consisted of a number of dances performed round the pile, succeeded by a very bountiful feast; and when Teperree's men were going away, they received a present of as many koomeras [kumaras] as they could carry with them."² WALSH gives a piece of information which undeniably arouses one's curiosity: "It [i.e. the harvest] was naturally made the occasion of a *hakari*, or harvest festival, accompanied by religious rites, but of these I have been unable to learn any details."³ It is a pity and unfortunately only too characteristic of our sources of Maori religion, that they so often leave us in the lurch on points as to which our imagination easily induces us to believe, perhaps rightly, that they were the very most interesting ones.

Appendix I.

Io's Names.

An asterisk means that the reference in question also includes an interpretation of the name.

The names are listed alphabetically, *te*, prepositions, and negatives, however, being disregarded.

¹ Cf. Best Agr. 112.

² Cruise 106.

³ TNZI. 35, 20 (Walsh).

- Io-te-akaaka. Lore II, 4.
- Io-te-hau-e-rangi. Lore I, 16*
- Io-i-te-hiringa. Lore I, 6.
- Io-i-te-mahara. Lore I, 8.
- Io-mata-aho. Lore I, 16*, Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57, JPS. 29, 141.
- Io-matakaka. Best Rel. 190.
- Io-mata-kana. Man 1913 § 57.
- Io-mata-nui. Best Rel. 253 f.*
- Io-mata-ngaro. Lore I, 6, 16*; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57, JPS. 29, 141.
- Io-mata-putahi. Lore I, 16*.
- Io-mata-wai. Lore I, 16*.
- Io-matua. Lore I, 8, 16*; Best Rel. 253 f.; Man 1913 § 57; JPS. 29, 141.
- Io-matua-kore. Lore I, 16*.
- Io-matua-te-kore. Best Rel. 253 f.*; Lore I, 13; Ngata Mot. 201 (= JPS. 16, 45); Man 1913 § 57.
- Io-te-matua-te-kore. Lore I, 6.
- Io-matua-taketake-te-waiora. Lore II, 4.
- Io-nui. Lore I, 16*; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57; JPS. 29, 141.
- Io-te-pukenga. Best Rel. 253 f.*
- Io-i-te-pukenga. Lore I, 6.
- Io-roa. Lore I, 16; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57.
- Io-taketake. Lore I, 6; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57.
- Io-te-taketake. Lore I, 16.
- Io-tamaua-take. Lore I, 16*.
- Io-tikitiki-rangi. Lore II, 4.
- Io-tikitiki-o-rangi. Lore I, 16*; Man 1913 § 57; JPS. 29, 141.
- Io-te-toi-o-nga-rangi. Lore I, 16; Best Rel. 253 f.*
- Io-urutapu. Best Rel. 253 f.*
- Io-te-waiora. JPS. 32, 2; Man 1913 § 57.
- Io-wananga (o-nga-rangi) JPS. 32, 2*.
- Io-te-wahanga. Lore I, 16*; Best Rel. 253 f.*; Man 1913 § 57.
- Io-i-te-wananga. Lore I, 8.
- Io-te-whiwhia. Best Rel. 253 f.
- Io-te-kore-te-whiwhia. Man 1913 § 57.

Appendix II.

Io's Origin.

It is difficult to decide definitively whether Io as a high god arose in pre- or post-European times. The Io known to us at any rate is characterized by European inspirations. By throwing light on the question of Io's origin we can, however, contribute to an estimate of Io's age.

The question apparently has already been discussed by RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI in a paper from 1950, reprinted in "Essays on the History of Religions", Leiden 1954, pp. 37—42, under the title of "Io and Rangi". With great learning and numerous parallels he makes an analysis of Io's character and concludes: "... in the last analysis Io is Rangi himself sublimated and raised to a higher plane." This is not the result of the present discussion, but there is reason at once to point out two things which to an essential degree explains the differences. One is that PETTAZZONI completely disregards the possibility that Io as a high god may have entered, as it were, sideways into Maori religion, viz. from Christianity. The other is the fact that PETTAZZONI's argumentation is phenomenological, not historical. The conclusion might perhaps be supposed to remain in force even if Io admittedly was not a former god of Heaven.

These preliminary remarks are intended to make it evident that the question of Io's historical origin actually has hardly been touched on by PETTAZZONI. I think we ought to disregard the previous speculations about Io as an early, common-Polynesian god, Io, Iho, or Kiho, since, as mentioned on p. 36 ff., they rest on a foundation which will not stand the test of criticism.

It is evident that Io's history in a wide sense can very easily be enormously ramified. Individual priests, special social conditions, the development and character of other gods, etc., may enter as factors. We have no means of pursuing all these hypothetical threads. There is, however, a problem which to any consideration must be of importance, viz. the question: did the name of Io exist as a god's name before the high god arose, and if so, what did it cover?

Now it appears that side by side with the tradition of the high

god Io a few pieces of information about another Io or, if you like, several other Ios are extant. Several of these pieces of information, however, are so inane that they cannot be used for anything. There will, however, be a few left which are worth considering in detail.

To these perhaps hardly belongs a genealogy in which Io appears among Rangi's and Papa's children, because it originates from the Chatham Islands.¹ Yet, it is worth including, because it suggests rather an old Io, who was not a high god, but only was one among many others, on a line with Rongo, Tane, Tangaroa, Tiki, and other gods from the general pantheon of the Maoris.

In a kumara *karakia* there is an Io,² who perhaps might be brushed aside as only a refrain *i—o*, if we had not a very interesting kumara myth in which Io appears. However conditions may be as regards Io in the *karakia*, the myth is at any rate the principal document in this case, both because it gives us unambiguous information about another Io and because it originates from the district of the Ngati-Kahungunu, the centre of the high-god tradition and therefore is highly relevant to the question. The myth comes from a manuscript written by S. LOCKE and has been printed in Ngata Mot., the introduction to No. 115. It runs as follows:

"Rongomaraeroa and Tumatauenga contended about the fields, Tawarua and Tawaraio. Tumatauenga rose (started?) immediately in the evening. He was killed, it was (the battle of) Moengakura. In the morning the other started, [he was killed,] it was the battle of Moengatoto. Io began building a fortified place with palisades and a watch-tower.

Now Ueha realized that man would be exterminated, he would not appear in the world. How should man be saved? Then he went out to Marereotonga in order to have him make peace. He came, but did not quite succeed.

Then he sent for Mohanuiterangi, and at length a permanent peace was concluded. It was a peace which woman had mediated, a consolidated peace in the sacred precinct (literally: 'before the god', *ki mua ki te atua*); the war was over.

¹ JPS. 4, 42 (Tamahiwaki).

² Grey Mot. 293 f. (Line 51).

Rongomaraeroa's sphere is that of providing food, sending people on travels, dancing, and building houses. Tumatauenga's sphere is always war and fight. Io's work is that of building fortified places with palisades. Therefore this song is true."

The song alluded to contains a short version of the myth without Io being mentioned (see p. 184).

The remarkable thing is that we from the Ngati-Kahungunu themselves learn about an Io who in spite of the scanty characterization is easily distinguished from the high god. As it is difficult to imagine that this myth with Io arose after Io's name had become most sacred, it is almost certain that the Io who builds fortified places is earlier.

Furthermore, the kumara myth as a type is undoubtedly old among the Maoris; as pointed out above (p. 183 f.) the myth is a ritual myth. Finally Io's appearance in the Moriori genealogy from the Chatham Islands points in the same direction.

So we dare assume that this Io is the earlier. The question then is whether he has anything else in common with the high god than the name. Has the Io who builds fortified places been changed into the high god by an independent Maori priest?

It is difficult to answer the question definitively unless further information should emerge. What could move a Maori to seize upon just this figure it is difficult to say. Tentatively we may point to a few features: Io is not compromised by direct participation in the conflict, but keeps to the defensive line. One of the high god's principal features in the early Io tradition is just that of keeping aloof and keeping things within their boundaries. The relation of the Io building fortified places to the conclusion of peace is quite obscure. It might be supposed that he introduced the peace. But all this will only be vague hypotheses. We do not even obtain any support by including Ioio-whenua in our considerations. It is true that BEST says about the latter that he "represents peace and all peaceful conditions and pursuits, thus in Matatua lore,"¹ for in the Ngati-Kahungunu tradition he, together with others, gets the character that "all these are personifications of or represent volcanic action, earthquakes, and subterranean fire."² So we are back again where we started.

¹ JPS. 38, 53 (Best).

² JPS. 37, 68 (Best).

Quite independent of a possible genetic connexion between the two Io's, however, is the following consideration: The sacred name of the high god must rather soon have made the tradition of other Io's impossible. The fact that we possess such a tradition at all from the tribe which must be considered the centre of the worship of the high god is evidence that the tradition must be very late. All things considered there is the greatest probability that Io became a high god after the Europeans came to New Zealand.

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Abbreviations.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF PERIODICALS AND SERIAL PUBLICATIONS

DMB.	Dominion Museum Bulletin. Wellington.
DMM.	Dominion Museum Monograph. Wellington.
JPS.	Journal of the Polynesian Society.
JRAI.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
MPS.	Memoirs of the Polynesian Society.
NZJSc.	New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology.
TNZI.	Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute.

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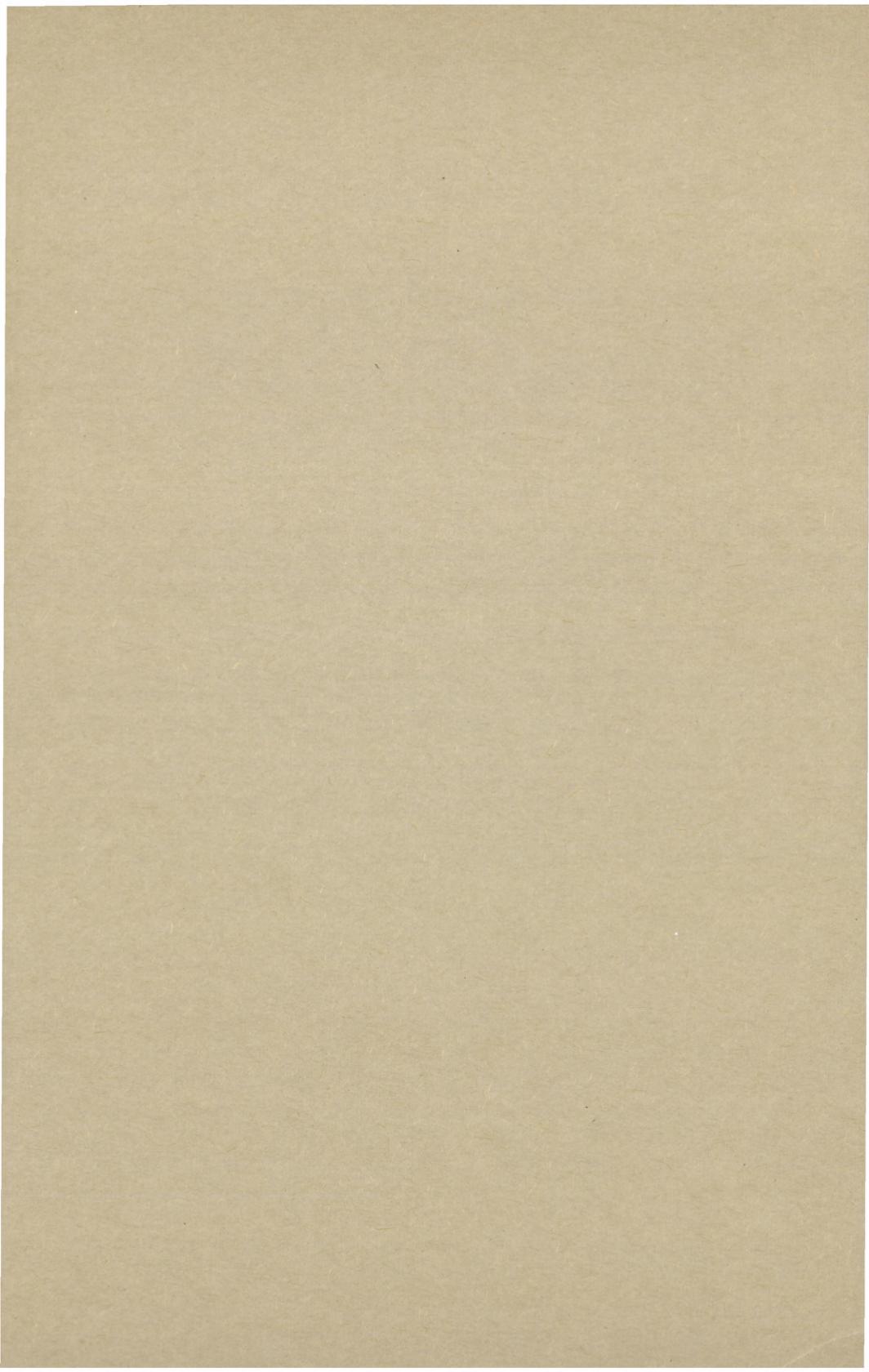
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(The Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan 1953–55)

BY

KLAUS FERDINAND



København 1959
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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Preface

The material for this article has been collected on the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan 1953—55 (The Henning Haslund-Christensen Memorial Mission). The ethnographical part is based on my exploratory field-work in various parts of Hazārajāt in parts of the months July and August 1953, and July, August and September 1954 (Shibar-Bāmīān, Dāy Zangī (Shahristān), Be(h)sūd and Jāghōrī), and finally Ghōrband-Shibar in January 1955, besides work with Hazāra informants at different periods in Kābul. On our tour in 1953 together with our leader H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark we were very anxious to try to find the original Hazāra language, but everywhere we got the disappointing answer that they only spoke Persian.—At last we got a track to follow, at a place near Mārkhāna, Besūd, there should still be people speaking “Mongolian”, but again we got the same answer: “We do not know anything other than Persian, but the *khān*'s have a special language for themselves.”—Maybe, at last we had really found something! By the kind help of the Hākim in Dīwāl Qol, Besūd, we had a dozen *arbābs* and *whitebeards* collected for a meeting with us, and here they immediately told us that they have not only one language of their own, but two! One, they laughingly said, was just “reverse Persian” quickly spoken, “but the common man does not know it, so we speak it at conferences. The other,” they told us, “is only bits of our original tongue, which we still use among the Persian. We call it *Hazāragī*.” And there we got it, *Hazāragī*, and everybody knew it now, even our interpreter and our servant. The first word-list, sentences and bits of poetry were taken down by tape-recorder in Besūd. When we got back to Kābul I was soon brought into contact with Shāh ‘Alī Akbar, Shahristānī, then a student at the Faculty of Letters, by whose kind help

most of the rest of the linguistic material has been collected. As I have no linguistic experience myself, I consulted Mr. G. K. Dulling of the British Embassy, which led to a close cooperation, of which this is the result.

Here I would like to express my gratitude to our inspiring leader, H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, for our successful travels in the summer of 1953, and to my good expedition comrades, Lennart Edelberg and Peter Rasmussen. Furthermore I owe a debt of gratitude to the Danish State Research Foundation and our leaders at home, Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith of the National Museum and Professor Kaare Grønbech of the University of Copenhagen, who made this expedition a reality.

Furthermore, I want to thank *The Royal Afghan Government* for the unique hospitality and the never failing confidence they have always shown us, and for the valuable help given us by the *Press Department* and *The Kābul University*.

Finally I wish to voice my gratitude to Shāh 'Alī Akbar and to my numerous friends in Afghanistan, not least to C. K. Dulling.

Copenhagen, August 1955.

K. F.

Various unforeseen circumstances have delayed the publishing of the following *Preliminary Notes* . . . These were originally written in Kābul, and later slightly revised in Copenhagen as a first small report on my work on the Hazāra culture, and at the same time they were meant as an introduction to the *Preliminary Notes on the Hazāra Language* by C. K. Dulling, which were chiefly based on material collected by our mission.

Three years have elapsed since then, some corrections have been necessary, and some more references to literature added. Here I should like to thank Professor Kaj Barr of the University of Copenhagen for his kind help in reading through the manuscript, and for his corrections and suggestions, chiefly where I have touched on linguistic matters. Professor N. E. Nørlund, likewise of the University of Copenhagen, has been so kind as to read the appendix on *The Calendar system* and has made some corrections, so that these pages now appear more correct astronomically, and I hope also more intelligible.

The work of C. K. Dulling will be published shortly.

Århus, October 1958.

K. F.

Transliteration

Basically the system in the Persian-English Dictionary of Steingass, 1947, is used; exceptions are that no distinctions are made between the different written forms of *t*, *s*, *h*, *d*, and *z*; other deviations are:

- (1) In place-names, tribal names, and *other words* (these last-mentioned always in *italics*), where I know the written (Persian) form, this is given irrespective of the local pronunciation, except for the short or unwritten vowels. The written vowels are transcribed in the following manner:

† always *ā*

- ! (a) in initial position *a*, *e*, or *o*
(b) in medial and final position *ā*

⌚ ! *ō* or *ū*, as in Ōbeh and Ūnai

⌚ ! *i* or *ī*, as in Aimāq

- ⌚ (a) usually as *ō* or *ū*, and sometimes *au*, the latter as in Yaka
 - ⌚lang
(b) sometimes as *w*, when semi-vowel; in Appendix II, when unpronounced as in *khwāhar*

⌚ as “silent h” in a medial or final position, as *a* or *e*; in some place-names it is retained (e.g. Ōbeh), or given in brackets, the first times mentioned, e.g. Be(h)sūd

- ⌚ (a) usually *ē* or *ī*, sometimes *y*
(b) in final position *ī*, except after *ā* or *ō*, when given as *y*, e.g. *dāy*

Note. The — does not necessarily denote that the vowel is long, e.g. *ī* in final position.

- (2) Place-names, tribal names, and other words (*Hazāragī* etc. always given in *italics*) the written form of which is unknown to me, or where no written form exists, are all given in inverted commas, e.g. ‘*kado*’ = P. *kardan*. Some of these are transcribed from tape-recordings (in the forthcoming work of C. K. Dulling it will appear which ones), others are given in my primitive transcription. In all cases ā, as in ‘Changhūs’, signifies a long vowel. å is the vowel in English *saw*, and it is usually long, but not necessarily. Very often å in pronunciation is exactly the same as the ā under (1). In general all too few long vowels are given in the transcription.

Abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic
ASP.	Afghan Spoken Persian, i.e. Kābulī Tājikī
H.	Hazāragī
M.	Mongolian
P.	Persian (literary)
Pa.	Pashto
T.	Turkish
Urd.	Urdu

The Mongol Tribes of Afghanistan

The so-called Mongol tribes of Afghanistan are often mentioned in literature, but until very recently the information found on them was sparse and unfortunately often misleading. The tribes fall into three main groups: Hazāra, Chahār Aimāq, and the scattered subgroups calling themselves *Moghōl*.

The *Moghōls* are found in Ghōr, spread around Herāt and Majimana, and in Qataghan and Badakhshān. Their main centre is still in Southern Ghōr around the villages 'Zirni', 'Nili' and 'Qaisar', and *Moghōl* informants near Ōbeh, Herāt (Dec. 1955) stated that the *Moghōl* were prior to the *Taimanī* in Ghōr; later, I should think about 150 to 200 years ago, their spreading from Ghōr was caused by fighting with the *Taimanī*.

The *Moghōls* I met in Qataghan near Pul-i-Khomrī (Dec. 1953) declared themselves to be of Mongolian origin, and distinguished between two groups, one which had arrived together with Chinggis Khan (now found in Badakhshān as an Uzbek subtribe), and their own group which had arrived with 'Timūr Kuragān', and in which they included all the *Moghōls* in Western Afghanistan. They called themselves '*Moghōl Shājahān*', because they were supposed to have joined Shāh Jahān in his attacks on India. These *Moghōls* were pashtunised and were nomads, they lived in *black tents* of the Durānnī type (found in S. and W. Afghanistan) and four years earlier they had arrived from Majimana because they wanted to settle as farmers in Qataghan. Their name and their Mongolian features were the chief remnants of their Mongolian origin, as they themselves said; they remembered some few words of their old language, but knew that others of their groups still spoke it.¹

¹ Cf. Leech 1838, and the vocabulary of Leech reedited in Ligeti 1954; cf. also Ramstedt 1906; a short word-list of *Moghōli* was collected by A. F. Mackenzie in 'Morchaghol' near Majimana in 1951. In 1954 *Moghōli* was studied near Herāt

The *Chahār Ajmāq* are, as their name implies, four tribes, but only three of them—*Tajimanī*, *Firōzkōhī*, and *Jamshēdī*—are generally agreed to belong to the *Four Tribes*; the fourth varies in different areas: In some *Hazāra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau* is given, in others *Timūrī*, or in yet others *Ēlāt*, which is a common name for minor and rather diffused “Persian”-speaking tribes such as *Zurī*, *Timūrī*, *Qipchāq*, etc.

The *Chahār* ('*Chār*') *Ajmāq*, or just the *Ajmāq*, as they are often named, are mainly found in the mountain areas of the Herāt and Maimana Provinces, and in Bādgīsāt; roughly speaking they are distributed from South to North like this: *Tajimanī* in Ghōr and Shaharak; *Timūrī* diffused in the lower parts of Herāt Province (along the Harī Rūd, in Guriān and Ghōriān, and in Kushk) and in Iran from Khāf towards Mashhad (Meshed); *Firōzkōhī* in Chaghcharān and in the neighbouring areas towards Ābeh, *Qal'a-i-Nau* and Maimana; *Jamshēdī* are now confined to the Kushk area of Bādgīsāt, and finally the *Hazāra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau*, also known as the *Hazārī*, live around *Qal'a-i-Nau*.¹

The origin of the *Ajmāqs*, who are more or less half-nomadic, has never been studied. Their language is Persian (very close to Herāti Tājikī), perhaps with a slightly greater amount of Turkish words than is usual in the Tājikī dialects. But otherwise I think it is justifiable to say that the *Ajmāqs* are of rather mixed origin. Some of the groups are supposed to be connected with the Afghans (e.g. the Kakaṛ among the *Tajimanī*, and many subtribes among the *Jamshēdī* according to local informants) and others to be of Persian origin (e.g. the *Firōzkōhī*, also according to their own tradition); otherwise it is common to connect the *Ajmāqs* with the Turco-Mongols of Central Asia. This is supported by Mongoloid

and Maimana by S. Imaura (Kyoto University) and S. Schurmann (Harvard University) and later again in the Ghōrāt by Imaura and Schurmann on two separate missions in 1955, cf. Imaura and Schurmann, 1955. In December 1954 I visited Moghōls near Herāt and made a few tape recordings of their language and songs, which will be published in *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen.

¹ The *Hazāra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau* or the *Hazārī* and the *Hazāra* of *Hazārajāt* are not necessarily connected because of their common name, as the word *hazāra* most probably is derived from Persian *hazār* = 1000; the *Hazārī* consider themselves as very mixed, and consisting of subtribes of Turkish and *Ajmāq* origin besides a few from the *Hazārajāt*, which, e.g., is shown by the subtribal name “Dāy Zangi”. But the *Hazārī* do not explain their name from this last-mentioned connexion but from a settling of 1000 houses of different tribes around *Qal'a-i-Nau*.



Fig. 1. The village Garmāb, West Hazārajāt, with stacks of cow-dung cakes ('chalma') on the flat roofs of the mud houses. In the front a simple hand-loom for making rugs ('gelam'). This village is situated at such an altitude, that the villagers remain in their houses during the summer. (Phot. in July 1953 by H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark).

features met among some of the tribes (but found to a far less degree than among the Hazāra of the Hazārajāt), and by many Central Asian cultural elements, such the yurt, the chāparī (vide p. 15 ff.), the churn, etc., found among the northern tribes, i.e. the Fīrōzkōhī, the Jamshēdī, and the Hazāra-i-Qal'a-i-Nāu. There are also other cultural traditions, which for example are shown by the existence, only among the Taimanī, of a special type of the *black tent* (vide Fig. 6). It is noteworthy that this black tent is not closely connected with the Afghan black tent types,¹ and also that the yurt does not exist among the Taimanī. It is therefore possible culturally to distinguish between two main groups: The *Northern Aimāqs* (i.e. the Fīrōzkōhī, the Jamshēdī, and the Hazāra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau), and the *Southern Aimāqs* (i.e. the Tājmanī). In reality there is also a third group, consisting of the Tīmūrī and many of the so-called Élāts. These tribes are mostly half-nomadic, or even totally nomadic, and culturally are not easily distinguished from the Afghans (mainly of the Durānnī tribes), thus they use the Durānnī type of the black tent. In other

¹ A short account of the different black tent types of the Afghan nomads is given by me in Ferdinand 1956, p. 64 f.; cf. also Ferdinand 1959, in: Humlum).

words, culturally they are afghanised, although they have kept their Persian (*Tājīkī*) language.

Besides the cultural divisions of the *Aimāq* tribes, it is furthermore to be considered, as already indicated, that the different *Aimāq* tribes themselves are of mixed origin, which can be well demonstrated by a study of the subtribal names as compared with their traditional origins. In this connexion, I find an explanation due to popular etymology of the tribal name *Jamshēdī* very expressive: according to that it should originate from Persian *jam'* *shud*, meaning *collected* or *put together*. The tribal name *Chahār Aimāq* itself, the first part of which is Persian (P. *chahār* = four), and the second Turco-Mongol (M. *aimag* = tribe) may reflect the complexity of the tribes; it might also indicate the same as an old *Tajmani khān* explained to me, that the *Aimāqs* were of different origins, but had been organised in four tribes by Chinggis Khan; personally I should prefer to modify this definite statement to a vaguer one, and say, by one of the Turco-Mongol rulers (a Timurid?), who once reigned in these areas.

In mode of living and by many cultural traits the *Aimāqs* differ from the *Hazāra* of the *Hazārajāt*, but to themselves the most important difference is that the *Aimāqs* belong to the Sunnī sect of Islam.¹

The Hazāra²

The Hazāras and their distribution

Though educated *Hazāras* often claim that all three groups, or better, peoples, the *Moghōl*, the *Chahār Aimāq* and the *Hazāra*, are one and the same, i.e. Mongol, this, when the problem is examined from a cultural point of view, is not true.

The *Hazāras* are the largest ($1/2$ —1 million) of these three peoples, and although they are not all of the same origin, they constitute a cultural unit, and are considered as such by themselves and by others, in so far as they belong to the same Shi'a

¹ Further material on the *Chahār Aimāq* will be published later.

² A correct transliteration from the Persian script would be *Hazārah*; in the following the unpronounced final *-h* in this and similar cases will be omitted, except in a few place-names. Unpronounced *-h-* in place-names will be given in (), when first mentioned, and then omitted. It should be noted that the initial *h* in *Hazāra* often is hardly audible in the spoken language.



Fig. 2. Village of domed houses (Bād Āsiā, Besūd, 2800 m) at the edge of the farmland. These houses are used for habitation the whole year. (August 1954 by K. F.).

sect (the Isma'iliya Hazāras are not really admitted as Hazāra by the Hazāras of the Shi'a).

The region where the Hazāras live is usually called Hazārajāt, with the exception of the area to the North of the Hindūkush main range, where among others the Isma'iliya Hazāras are found; these are also known as *Kayānī* (from their head Saiyed-i-Kayān living near Dōshī, Qataghan), as *Āghā Khānī* and *Ghalāt* or *Ghālī* (properly from Ar. *ghālī*, pl. *ghulāt*, meaning fanatic, extreme, and often used to signify a sect; by popular etymology it was explained to me as originating from Ar. *ghalāt* = error).

In the North the Hazāra area borders on the southern parts of the Mazār-i-Sherīf and Qataghan provinces (including the

Ka(h)mard and Saighān, Dōāb, and parts of Darra-i-Sūf, Dōshī and Ghōrī in the Hazāra area).¹ In the East the border crosses the middle of the Ghōrband valley, and runs southwards along the Paghmān and Sanglakh mountain ranges, then to the East of the Unaī pass, and from there, roughly speaking, it follows the foot of the mountains South-Southwest up to the area of Qalāt-i-Ghilzai. Formerly the Hazāras lived round Ghaznī, and were in possession of the western part of the plain where the main road Kābul-Qandahār runs today, i.e. Qarabāgh, Muqur, and obviously also Qalāt itself,² and even the plain south of Qalāt, where the Afghan farmers told us that the karēzes found there were made long ago by the Hazāras. It seems that it is since the time of Ahmad Shāh Bābā Durānnī (or Abdālī) (1747—1773), or according to Raverty a little earlier, that the Hazāras have been pushed towards the Northwest into the mountains.³ Formerly the southern border was very close to Qandahār, but during these 60—70 years it has become very indistinct, as a large contingent of Afghan tribes has settled there and wholly or in part taken over the land from the Hazāras; this is the case with Dahla(h) (the Arghandāb basin, South of Jāghōri), Tīrī (north of Qandahār), etc., and even further north in Uruzgān, in Dāya

¹ Hazāra people are also to be found spread in Badakhshān and Qataghan, as e.g. reported by Burhan-ud-Din (vide Jarring, 1939, p. 13 ff.). A rather large settlement of Hazāras to the south of Sar-i-Pul in the Mazār-i-Sherif province, bordering on Chaghcharān, dates, according to Bacon (Wilber 1956, p. 49), from the time of Amīr Habibullāh Khān (1901—1919), when Hazāra refugees who left Hazārajāt after the conquest in 1892 by Amīr 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Khān were free to return to Afghanistan and were given lands there. From the time of the conquest and onwards date the settlement of Hazāras around Quetta, and I believe the biggest contingent of Hazāras in the areas around Mashhad in Iran. In this connexion, I think, Ivanow (1926, p. 154 ff.) is mistaken, when he speaks of the Barbaris (i.e. Hazāra) near Mashhad as only coming from Qal'a-i-Nāy. Ivanow mentions the following subdivisions: 1. Uruzghani, 2. Jaghuri, 3. Bisud, 4. Daizangi, 5. Daikundi, 6. Laljangi, all of which are tribes or/and regions in Hazārajāt.

² Qalāt-i-Ghilzai was in the time of the Moghol Emperor Akbar (1556—1605) named *Kalāt-i-Barluk*, according to Raverty (1888, Appendix p. 39). Barluk was then possibly a Hazāra tribe, as Raverty (*op. cit.* App. p. 49) refers to it as "the ming or hazārah of Barluk".

³ Cf. Raverty, who writes (1880, App. p. 35): "Within the last century and a half or two centuries, especially from the time that the Ghalzí Afgháns threw off the yoke of the Ṣafawís [under Mir Wājs, 1720—32], they began to encroach on the *hazārah* people, and to thrust them back towards the west; and, on account of the steady increase of some branches of the Ghalzís, many of whom are *īlāts*, *kochis*, or nomads, this is still going on. The Durránis, in other parts, have been doing the same, as I shall show when I come to the account of the so-called Hazárahs." Apparently, and unfortunately, Raverty never came to that!



Fig. 3. 'Chapars' of the Northern Hazāra during pitching by women and one man in a side valley of the Ghōrband ('Dāy Kalo' tribe, 'Urdogali', 3100 m). On the left the curved sticks ('chapar-chub') have just been stuck into the ground by the women, and on the right the man(!) assisted by the women tie the curved sticks to the central pole ('acha'). (July 1953 by K. F.).

wa Fōlād and in Gēzāo (Gēzāb) to the North West of the Helmand. In the West the Hazāras border on the Aimāq area, but as good maps are lacking, this will roughly say, the Ghōr, Chaghcharān and Sangchārak. This border I can only define exactly at the (Kābul-) Panjāo (Panjāb)-Herāt road, where it runs a little to the East of Dāulat Yār just west of the Hazāra village Garmew (Garmāb).

Tribal and social situation

Apart from the Tājik population, everybody else in Afghanistan belongs to a more definite ethnic group, mostly a tribal group with a more or less fixed structure. A common Afghan proverb is: "A Hazāra without a *Dāy*, is as an Afghan without *-zai*," which means, that it is just as unthinkable to meet a Hazāra who does not belong to a certain tribe, as it is to meet a de-tribalised Afghan. It seems that most Hazāra tribes fall

under this *Dāy* heading, but how genuine this is, it is difficult to say.¹ It is commonly said that there should be 10 *Dāy*'s. These are *Dāy Khitay* (in Uruzgān), *Dāy Mirkasha(h)* (in Jāghōrī and to the West of Qarabāgh and Ghaznī), *Dāy Barka* (parts of which live in 'Pashay' in Jāghōrī), *Dāy Fōlād* (north of Uruzgān, west of Jāghōrī), *Dāy Kundī* (the large region bordering on the Aimāq area, south west of *Dāy Zangī*), *Dāy Zangī* (south of the western part of Kōh-i-Bābā), *Dāy Mirdād* (east of *Dāy Zangī* and in Be(h)sūd, *Dāy Dehqo* (*Dehqān*)) (eastern Besūd) *Dāy Chopo* (*Chōpān*) (south of Jāghōrī), and *Dāy Qozī* (the large region north of Bāmiān, and Shibar, southern part of Qataghan). There exists at least an eleventh *Dāy* called 'Kalo' (*Kalān*) (at the western upper end of the Ghōrband valley), but this is only a subtribe of the Shejkh 'Alī.

The explanations of the name *Dāy* are manifold, and those of the Hazāras themselves are not satisfactory. According to the common traditions of historical writing, *Dāy* was the ancestor of all Hazāras, and so the different *Dāy*'s are his sons; but this is all too artificial. The solution suggested by Fraser-Tyler (1953, p. 56—57) is hardly more probable; he says that *Dāy* is a corruption of the Persian *dah* and means 10, and therefore reflects the Chinggisid military organisation. But this is far from certain; and to me it has also been explained that *Dāy* simply meant "villages" (plural of P. *deh*); maybe this idea is reflected in the common form *Deh Zangi* and *Deh Kundī* found on the maps of the *Survey of India* and often in British literature—*Dāy Zangī*, as it is pronounced, would then be a transformation of *Deh-i-Zangī*—the village of *Zangī*. But today *Dāy* does not mean *village*, and many Hazāras just explain it as meaning *tribe*, and such a meaning is just what might be expected in this connexion. If this word could be connected with the *Dāy* which in Hazāragī means a stack of winter fodder or of bushes for fuel, in other words: things collected and placed together, has not been made out. If so, *Dāy Kundī*, for instance, could perhaps mean the *lot of*, or *in Kundī*, or the *tribe of Kundī*. In this connexion I want to point out the possibility that the use of *Dāy* has been

¹ Several important tribes are not listed as *Dāy*, e.g. Shejkh 'Alī and Besūd; cf. Bacon 1951, p. 244, where she mentions the resemblance to the Mongolian tribe "Bäsüt", which appears in the "Secret History of the Mongols".



Fig. 4. The 'chapar' (Fig. 3 on the right) now pitched with straw mats ('chēgh') round it and felt ('namad') on top, leaving a smoke-hole open above the door. In the background uncultivated meadow. (July 1953 by K. F.).

supported and strengthened by analogy with the Pashtū *-zai* (= son of) (Persianised *-jai*, as e.g. in *Ghiljai*).¹ In spite of this argument and the others referred to above, it must be added that the actual meaning of *Dāy* has yet to be explained. It is not at all clear today, whether *Dāy* is Mongolian after all, or simply just means son or descendent, which would give the best explanation.

The overwhelming interest which is paid to tribal adherence among the Afghans is not so strongly felt among the Hazāras; but it is possible that this was different in the time before Amīr 'Abdu-r-Rahmān (1880—1901), when Hazārajāt was rather independent of the Central Government. Primarily the tribal organisation is a paternal lineage system; all the subtribes are named after an ancestor, and these again originate from a common ancestor, so that the tribal system looks exactly like a family genealogy.

¹ Connection with Persian *Dāyī*, *Dā'i* = maternal uncle (also in Turkish dialects) would be without any known analogy.

The woman, unveiled as she is, has a comparatively free position, but in spite of her important rôle in the daily work, the maternal line is never accepted or reckoned as important, even if in actual life the connexions with the mother's line (especially with the mother's brother, '*abagha*') are very close. The relations with the mother's line are naturally strengthened by the common custom of cousin marriage, which is recommended by Islam; both parallel- and cross-cousin marriages are common with possibly a preference for the latter.

No practice of either exogamy or endogamy can be found in the subtribes. But all Hazāras can be said to be endogamous as marriages with *outsiders* are very rare; this is found most pronouncedly among the Hazāra Isma'iliyas.. Between the two sects of Hazāras (i.e. Shiite and Isma'iliya) the number of marriages is said to be even smaller than the marriages between Shiites and Sunnis.

Religious similarities and differences strongly influence tribal feelings and in the case of the Hazāras very much help them to preserve their tribal integrity. The opposition and even hostility between the two sects, Sunnī and Shī'a, is a well-known phenomenon in Islām, and as there are hardly any other Shī'as in Afghanistan (except the town dwelling Qizilbāsh and the remote Badakhshāni) Hazāra and Shī'a are nearly identical both in their own opinion and in that of others: A Hazāra will deny that he is of the same *tribe* (*qaum*) as a Hazāra Isma'iliya, and a common Afghan, who is a Sunnī, will often in his general antipathy to the Shī'as call a Qizilbāsh a *Hazāra*. This attitude has greatly helped to keep the Hazāras distinct and apart from others.

The strength of a society can largely be determined by its ability to absorb foreign groups; that ability was obviously strong among the Hazāras in former days and can still be shown to exist on a small scale today.

The Hazāras themselves explain that they consist of real Hazāras, Hazāra Saiyed, Afghān Hazāra, and Tājīk Hazāra, and some will, as mentioned above, even incorporate Qizilbāsh. When you meet these different sorts of Hazāras, as e.g. in Shahristān, formerly called Se(h) Pāy (Southern Dāy Zangī), you will find that a complete cultural assimilation has taken



Fig. 5. 'Chapar' completely covered with straw from the Hazāra between Dōshi and Pul-i-Khomri. The frame consists of curved sticks and there is no central pole. This type is also found with mats and felt cover. (Phot. by Peter Rasmussen, November 1953).

place. It is most likely that this process took place continuously from the first arrival of the Hazāras in Afghanistan; but it is very hard to get any further information about this, because oral tradition has very vague ideas of time, even when reckoned in generations. The Saiyeds, although culturally Hazāras, hold a special position; they are supposed to be the descendants of the Prophet Mohammad, and are therefore very much respected by the lay people, who give a tithe of their harvest to them every year ($1/10$ or even $1/5$ in some places). This position they certainly want to retain by keeping themselves pure, so they do not intermarry with ordinary people. Concerning the other groups, it is tradition alone that tells that the subtribe so and so is of another origin than the rest.—You will find Afghān Hazāras all over Hazārajāt, and in some cases you can see, just as in the case of the Saiyeds, that they are somewhat less mongoloid than the rest.

This I have observed from the features of single persons, but it is also my impression that some Hazāras of larger areas, such as Shahristān in Southern Dāy Zangī, and Jāghōrī, are generally less mongoloid than for instance Dāy Zangī as a whole, or Besūd.

How the process of assimilation has worked is unknown, but racial changes on a larger scale cannot be explained just by the arrival of a single family or a single person, which is enough to create a later subtribe and the tradition of its foreign origin. In the cases of Jāghōrī and Shahristān we must think of other possibilities, such as an intermixture with a *pre-Hazāra* population or influx of larger groups of foreigners.

We can still see examples of assimilation going on : twenty-five years ago five Afghan families from Wardak settled in Eastern Besūd, and there they have since been completely absorbed culturally as well as socially by the Hazāras; they have become Shi'a and are already well mixed through marriages with their Hazāra neighbours.

The interior strength of the Hazara society ('ulus' or '*mardom-i-hazāra*') is still considerable, and the region of Central and North Central Hazārajāt has kept its national integrity till now. Only on the Eastern outskirts of Besūd, and west of Ghaznī ('Jighātu' area), can one find smaller groups of Qizilbāsh, who have established themselves as a superior class of landlords among the Hazāras; but since these Qizilbāsh are also Shi'a, they are never considered real foreigners.

In former days the Hazāra culture only changed slowly by impulses from *newcomers*, and through contact with the outside world, e.g. westwards with Iran, where they had their Shi'a brethren.¹ Till about 70 years ago Hazārajāt was very isolated, and in practice independent of the Central Government.² At that

¹ Today an important trade-connexion exists with Qataghan, from where the Hazāras get their salt, one of the few things they have always imported; I believe this connexion is an old and important one, which in the material culture counts far more than the more spiritual ties towards Iran.

² Apart from the Hazāras in the "plains" around and south of Ghaznī, who were under the governorship of that city, Bāmīān seems to have been the only permanent seat of a governor under the Amīr of Kābul within the Hazāra area. But at various periods strong rulers have exercised some authority or have at least collected tax in the more accessible parts of Hazārajāt. During the reign of Shāh Zamān (1793—99) a strong governor of Bāmīān "reduced the Hazaurehs to a degree of order and obedience never equalled" according to Elphinstone (1842, II, p. 212), and from 1836—38 Burnes (1842, p. 230) writes: "The Huzaras



Fig. 6. *Tajmanī* summer camp in Shaharak with the special *Tajmanī* black tent and 'chapars' of the *Aimāq* type, with the vertical lower and the conical upper part. Mats and woven goathair "cloth" are used as covers of both types of tents.
(July 1953 by K. F.).

time very few dared to go to Hazārajāt; the nomads kept to the Pashtūn area, and very few trade-caravans passed through the central parts, they preferred the route by the Ūnai, 'Hajigak', and Irāq passes, to Bāmīān, and the more northern routes through the Shejkh 'Alī area in the Ghōrband valley held open by force and subsidies.

The nomads were the first who tried to open up Hazārajāt proper, and they started to go there during the reign of Amīr Shēr 'Alī Khān (1863—1879), just at the time when they began to get good modern rifles, as they have explained to me. Afterwards Amīr 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Khān (1880—1901), the real founder of modern united Afghanistan, conquered Hazārajāt (1892), and it is after that time that we find large areas of Hazārajāt settled by Afghans (vide p. 12). It was also 'Abdu-r-Rahmān

of Dihzungee are nearly independent: those of Dih-Koondee altogether so. At Kara Bagh they come down upon the plains beyond Ghuzni, and are subject to Cabool, as are those of Jaghooree, Behsood, and Fouladee."

Khān, who officially gave the nomads pastures in Hazārajāt and divided the pasture grounds between the different tribes.

A new situation then arose in Hazārajāt which has changed the life of the Hazāras considerably; the nomads soon learnt that here was a virgin field for trading, and started off from their summer camps on trading expeditions to all parts of Hazārajāt and also to the Aīmāq area. They bought animals, clarified butter, and rugs, and brought in cloth, shoes, sugar, tea, etc., which certainly have made life easier for the Hazāras, but also extinguished some of their cultural traits, e.g. the old Hazāra costumes, which have entirely disappeared.

Through the new position of Hazārajāt, the Hazāras also got an opportunity of going outside Hazārajāt, and from that time on dates the larger settlements of Hazāras in the cities (e.g. in Chindāwul in Kābul, where they stay together with the Qizilbāsh¹), and where they usually work as ordinary labourers; but also a seasonal migration started, and many single Hazāras as well as whole families go in winter-time to Kābul in search of occasional work under the somewhat milder climatic conditions there.² This contact has brought many new things to the Hazāras, house-building slowly changed, baking ovens appeared, and more recently non-traditional crops were introduced (potatoes, etc.).

The contact between nomads and settlers is often a difficult one, but Hazārajāt has up to now been large enough for both groups, and a collaboration has developed, not only in trade, but also in other matters; the Hazāras often do the weaving for the nomads of coarse transport-sacks, kelims, etc. (but not of tent-cloth) and also the shearing of their sheep, for which they

¹ Chindāwul is a district of the city of Kābul; its name refers to the originally military organisation of the Qizilbāsh'es (Persians of Turkish extraction who arrived together with Nadir Shah Afshar), and it means, according to Steingass (1947, p. 400), "The rear of an army", or "camp-followers"; Elphinstone (1842, I, p. 419) explains the word as "vanguard".

² These items of information I have concordantly from many Hazāra informants, but neither the settlements in the towns nor the seasonal migration are entirely new features, though they must have been considerably furthered since the conquest. Elphinstone (1842, II, p. 213) writes: "There are many Hazaurehs in Caubul; five hundred are in the King's guard, the rest gain their bread by their labour; many of them are muleteers." And Burnes (1842, p. 231): "All the drudgery and work in Cabool is done by Huzaras, some of whom are slaves and some free: in winter there are not less than ten thousand who reside in the city, and gain a livelihood by clearing the roofs of snow and acting as porters." These last lines remind one very much of the position today.



Fig. 7. Fīrōzkōhī 'chapars' at 'Gandao' near Daulatyār. The roof has got an extra cover of mats on top of the goathair "cloth". The vertical mats of the middle 'chapar' are painted with mineral colours dissolved in milk. Note the tripod churn of the same type used among the Hazāras. (July 1953 by K. F.).

get share payment. As the nomads often are "capitalists", they lend the Hazāras money, and take land as security as long as the loan is not paid back (the so-called *ejāra* system); during that time the Hazāra is the tenant of the nomad, and as it often happens that he is unable to pay back his loan, he will remain a tenant. In their trade the nomads usually give the Hazāra credit till the following summer, and then get payment in kind, but the poorer Hazāras are often unable to pay and then the debts are increased considerably, and the payment postponed for another year, and so it runs year after year with the result that the Hazāra loses his land and ends up as tenant for the nomad. This is what may and does happen in large parts of Hazārajāt in these years.

In spite of all the ways in which the Hazāras and nomads meet and collaborate, intermixture never occurs; the meeting is between two fully intact nations with different culture and language. As for the latter, very few Hazāras have learned

Pashto, while the Persian known to the nomads is mostly the Hazāragī.

What is going on in Hazārajāt is one of the most interesting processes in Afghanistan, and it ought to be followed most carefully not only out of scientific interest.

Tribal government

In former times Hazārajāt was ruled by tribal chieftains, some of whom it would be right to call local kings. Their power and influence varied greatly and could usually be expressed simply by the amount of horsemen they had at their disposal. The very powerful, for instance those of Yakaulang, north of Dāy Zangi, were named *il-khān*, that is to say the *head* of the *ulus*, the *tribe* or *society*; they would have had about 2000 horsemen under them. The other *kings* were only titled *khān* or *mīr*, and would have had the support of about a 1000 horsemen. The title *bēg* was also in common use, but signified a less important position, usually it was the title of sons and relations of the *khāns* and *mīrs*. An old farmer explained the title contemptuously: "In the old days everyone was a *bēg*."

The *khān* and the *mīr* had their background in the tribal system, but as their position was traditional or hereditary, they were not solely the mouthpiece of their tribes. Their private policy was often their main preoccupation, and the kind of warfare that occurred in Hazārajāt was always the result of rivalry between the *khāns*; there were no blood-feuds among the common people, such as are still frequent among the Pash-tūns. This "feudal" system has doubtless, in former days, been the origin of the branching off of new *lineage groups*, when a *khān*'s son succeeded in establishing himself in an independent status.

For political reasons and in order to keep the *khān* families in a stratum above the common people, marriages were always between the various *khān* families. This family hierarchy was so strong, that if a *khān* failed to have a son, his eldest daughter would be the ruler with the title '*agha*', and she usually married a common man from her own tribe.

A political system like this did in fact contain the beginnings of a higher state development; this can be seen in Jāghōrī, where

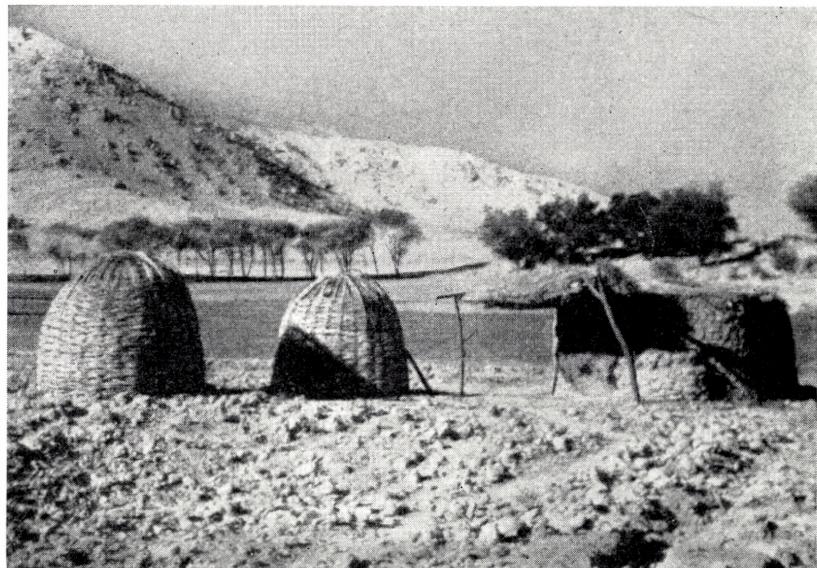


Fig. 8. Square mud hut ('kota') with flat branch roof and an attached branch sun-shelter supported by poles in front of the 'kota'. This hut is erected on a fallow field and is used as a summer habitation; beside it are seen two movable "wattled" branch "huts" ('âghil') for the sheep and goats. (Bâgh, Shahristân, July 1954 by K. F.).

a small kingdom, with administration, regular army, etc., arose. Jâghôrî was more or less officially recognised by Amîr Shêr 'Alî Khân (1863–79), who gave the ruler the title of *Sardâr* (= prince).

When Hazârajât was conquered by Amîr 'Abdu-r-Rahmân Khân, there was an urgent need to control the old local chieftains and to lessen their influence, before putting up a new administration independent of the local background. But it is not an easy task to overthrow a traditional tribal system completely, nor has this happened: today the same *khân* families who once ruled are more or less still in power, because of their riches and the respect paid to them, but now usually as collaborators with the Government, and as the spokesmen of their people.

The great changes have happened at the top of the tribal system, whereas the village rule is largely unaltered. It is still the whitebeards (H. 'ispî-rish') who are the leaders besides the often elected village heads, the '*darughâ*' or the '*aspaqal*' or

'apsaqal' (T. *aq-saqal* = whitebeard), as they are called. But as spokesmen in liaison with the government, there are now the *arbāb's*, who represent many villages; the *arbāb's* (or *malek's*) are, as far as I have been informed, a new institution, and are apparently meant to replace the old *khān's*, as they are regional and at the same time partly subtribal representatives.

Altogether the new development points towards the elimination of the tribal system, and the substitution of a regional partition for it. This is certainly mostly felt e.g. in Besūd and Dāy Zangī, where many villages are inhabited not only by different subtribes, but even by different tribes. On inquiry here, village names are often given as subtribes, and I believe these are felt to be just as expressive. The tribal organisation is today best preserved in Jāghōrī, where the lineage group or division group and the local group apparently still correspond. The process that is going on is not only a practical political change, but also a psychological one, during which the content of the tribal adherence, the tribal feeling, loses its actuality and becomes an emotional tradition.

The geographical background

Hazārajāt is an elevated mountainous country; there are big mountain ranges, where the peaks stand over 5000 m high as in Kōh-i-Bābā and the Hindū Kush. There are elevated plateaus where water erosion has obliterated the plateau character, such as Besūd (approximately 2800—3000 m). There are also broad valleys, where the main river runs in a gorge in the middle and the sides are cut up into small valleys (H. 'qol') as in Shahristān. In other places deep-cut green valleys with steeply rising slopes are common, as in Dāy Zangī.

Every region has its typical features; but common to all Hazārajāt is the steppe character with a relatively rich vegetation; occasionally, however, there are sparse trees, such the pistachio or *khinjak*, in the warmer southern regions. Hazārajāt has very severe winters with heavy snowfalls, which in the Central and North Central parts even cut the communications between neighbouring villages and isolate the country for up to six months of the year. The precipitation which mainly sets in in the winter season and in spring time, mostly consists of snow, except



Fig. 9. 'Aghil', movable "wattled" branch "huts", with entrance in the middle of the side. These are used as shelters for sheep and goats in the midday sun and at night; then they are covered with some kind of cloth. The entrance to the 'aghil' on the left is closed by a ladder. (Bāgh, Shahristān, July 1954 by K. F.).

towards the South, where it becomes rain. Now and then, the monsoon from the South-East will bring slight rain to the Eastern elevated parts in late summer, otherwise the summer is dry with a cloudless sky.

Settlement and habitations

Hazārajāt is densely populated considering its natural properties; practically every level piece of ground with possibilities of irrigation comes under cultivation. The villages are mostly located at the edge of the irrigated zone in the narrow valleys,

and in the wider valleys at the bottom, in the places most sheltered from snow-drifts and avalanches.

In the elevated parts of Hazārajāt the villages are always built with the houses attached to each other so as to afford maximum shelter. The square and flat-roofed houses are built of mud or of stones, according to available resources. The amount of wood used is negligible, and in Besūd, where wood is very scarce, they are all dome-shaped and, indeed, very well built of sun-dried bricks.

If you have got no other means of determining the altitude and the severity of the winter, you can judge from the amount of cakes of cow-dung (H. 'chalma') and stacks of thorny scrub collected as fuel for the winter, placed on top of roofs, or just outside the village.—All through the summer you will see the women busy kneading dung together with straw for *chalma*, while the small boys constantly bring home on their backs big loads of fuel and herbs and grasses (rhubarb, etc.) from the mountains for winter fodder for the animals.—Enormous collections are made for these stacks, which are very characteristic of the Hazāra villages; no doubt the Hazāras must be counted among the greatest "haymakers" in the world.

For the sake of warmth the old type of Hazāra house often consisted of one room with a porch. There were no windows, and only a smoke-hole (H. 'mori') in the roof which could be closed. In other places, you find a two- or three-roomed house, with a living room, a stable for the animals and a small store room; however, the stable is always built with a fire-place, so that the human beings can join the animals in severe winters, as in the one-room house. The distinction between these houses is not regional or tribal, but depends on the climate, the wealth of the owner and impulses from outside.

The furniture of the houses is extremely simple. In a corner an open fire-place (H. 'dedgo') is situated and in many houses there is now a baking-oven in the middle of the room. There are recesses in the walls for storage purposes, one of them with the family wooden box. Small platforms are scooped out of the walls for oil lamps, and apart from these, you find ordinary household implements, such as imported copper ware, hand-made earthenware bowls, wooden bowls, etc. Rolled up in a corner is a well-

made mat of felt for covering the floor when the family go to sleep. It is astonishing to find clean and tidy houses—with piles of cow-dung just outside the door.



Fig. 10. Hazāra woman of Shahristān clad in the, now very seldom seen, old Hazāra dress: Remarkable are the long sleeves and the head dress, a piece of cloth folded up, which together with the physical features, give her a very "Mongolian" appearance. (July 1954 by K. F.).

In the highest regions (Dāy Zangī, Besūd, etc.) the people stay in their villages the whole year, but in lower and warmer areas they generally move out for the three summer months, as the fleas become unbearable in the winter houses. They just move to a near-by fallow field, and there they erect a small square mud-hut (H. 'kota') with a light roof of branches and poles. In front of

the *kota* there are sun shelters for men and animals (vide Fig. 8), and in Shahristān also small dome-shaped branch-huts (H. ‘*âghil*’) for goats and sheep (vide Fig. 9). These and the Jāghōrī square fences of wood (H. ‘*chârchubi*’) are movable, so that the dung can be well spread over the fallow field. This *kota*-system is found in Shahristān and in Jāghōrī.

In other regions, where there are good mountain pastures and fertile mountain valleys, there is a move uphill every summer. This is found in a few places in Dāy Zangī and Dāy Kundī, and is certainly connected with dry-field farming, apart from the pasture needs of the animals. The shelters here are a little different in shape, often irregularly rectangular with roof branches, poles, etc. (H. ‘*manâ*’). In the Ghōrband-Shibar-Bāmīān region we find the same system, except that the people there instead of using stone-shelters live in tents in the open mountain valleys during the summer time; there they have irrigated fields of barley, wheat, and lucerne (about 3100 m altitude) besides their dry-field farming of wheat (H. and ASP. ‘*lalmi*’).

Their tents resemble the yurt type because they are round, and because as seen from the outside they have a mat wall rising vertically to the height of about 1 m and furthermore a dome-shaped roof covered with felt rising from the upper edge of these mats (Fig. 4). But the inside frame shows a different shape from the yurt: there is no upper and lower part here, the frame is made of sticks stuck into the ground in a circle, and then bent towards the middle and tied together at the top of a forked central pole (H. ‘*acha*’ (Fig. 3)). In this framework an opening is made for a door with no specified orientation; there is no regular smoke-hole in the roof, the felts are just placed so as to allow the smoke to escape over the door.

This tent is called ‘*chapar*’ or ‘*chapari*’ (the ordinary ASP. name for a temporary shelter of branches or straw); following its construction it would be more correct to call the Hazāra *chapar* a movable *beehive-shaped hut* with a felt-cover rather than a tent. Besides the places already mentioned this *hut* is found in the rest of the Northern Hazāra area (the Kahmard and Saighān, Dōāb, Dōshī and the Ghōrī regions), but there usually without the central tent pole (Fig. 5). The *chapar* is used for six months of the year, i.e. not only in summer time



Fig. 11. Hazāra woman (note her modern narrow cuff) with her cradle ('gawara' = P. *gahwāre*), in which the child is firmly tied up. (Bāgh, Shahristān. July 1954 by Marianne Ferdinand).

in the mountains, but also round the villages in the early summer and autumn. This suggests that the Northern Hazāras [formerly were used to a more unsettled life, and it was then no wonder that they were all well acquainted with the construction of a yurt (H. and ASP. 'khergā'). We were told that some 50–60 years ago the yurt was in common use among them, besides the *chapari*. This very much resembles the situation among the Northern Aymāq and among some of the Uzbeks of Qataghan, where nowadays the yurt and the *chapar* are found side by side.

At first sight the Chahār Aymāq *chapar* resembles the Hazāra one closely, the circular ground-plan, the mats and the felt-

cover are the same, but structurally the *Ajmāq chapar* is not a *beehive-shaped hut*, for the framework does not consist of curved tent poles, but of two sets of straight sticks; each of the Hazāra curved poles corresponds to two straight sticks tied together to form an obtuse angle. Consequently the *Ajmāq chapar* is more like the yurt, as they both consist of a circular vertical lower part and a sloping, conical upper part (Fig. 7); furthermore the *central tent pole* is often missing (as in the *chaparī* of the northernmost Hazāras).¹

For obvious reasons one might regard the different types of the *chapar* as prototypes of the yurt, and advance a nice evolution scheme: beehive-shaped hut with central pole—beehive-shaped hut without central pole, *Ajmāq chapar*—yurt. But it is not quite so easy as this, for the *chapars* might indeed be degenerative forms or just simpler parallels to the yurt.

Among the Ghōrbānd Hazāra the yurt as a whole-year habitation has disappeared, probably because it was no longer necessary and also too expensive, as the settled life progressed and the Hazāras acquired houses. The cheap and easily made *chapar* partly took over the functions of the yurt, and its use was adjusted to the changed conditions; but in my opinion there is no reason to think that the Hazāra *chapar* is a new invention or a degenerated form, the *type* is all too fixed for that, and furthermore a comparison with the Northern *Ajmāq* does not support this idea. Among the *Ajmāq* we find both kinds with more or less specialised use; the *khergā* as the fine tent used for guests and as living-room, and the *chapar* as the kitchen and working tent, and often the night shelter for the animals as well.

These two kinds of dwellings have most likely existed side by side from ancient times, and in the course of time influenced and supplemented each other—possibly the *chapar* types are older than the yurt type—but further conclusions are out of the question until further studies have been made on the different tribes of Afghanistan as well as comparisons with the neighbouring areas.²

¹ The *chaparī* of the Jamshēdī living in Turkmenistan has been published by E. G. Hafferberg (Gafferberg), 1948, p. 124 ff.

² Other traditional dwellings than the ones referred to are also to be found in these areas. Among Tājiks around 'Kāoliān' (N.E. of 'Belchirāgh') and to the East of 'Takht-i-Mirzā' (S. of Sar-i-Pul) Lennart Edelberg in July 1953 came

Daily activities

On account of the weather the main activities of the Hazāras are confined to summer and autumn; in the winter they stay mostly indoors, and do very little work. The women prepare the

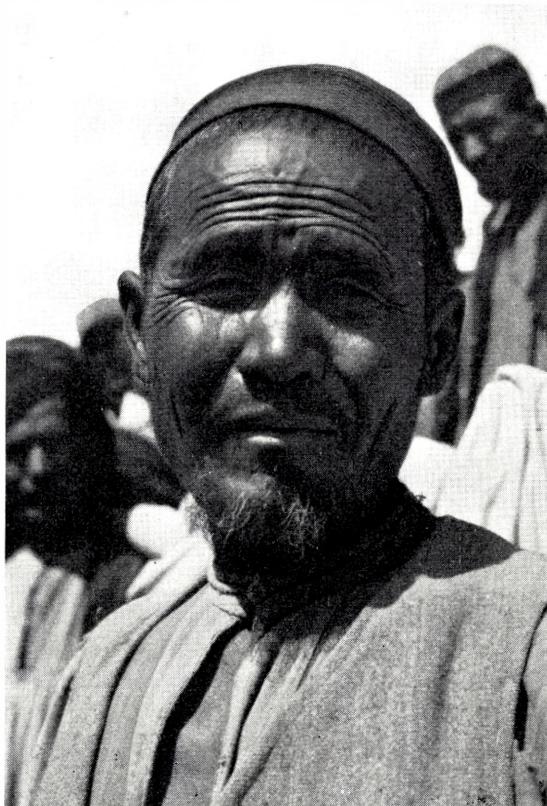


Fig. 12. A typical Hazāra of the Southern Dāy Zangī (July 1954 by K.F.).

two daily meals, at times only one meal a day, and the men do the important work: feeding the animals, and taking them out in the midday sun; this, however, is without any immediate across *chapars* of yet another shape, alongside yurts. Briefly, the frame of these *chapars* is something like a cross between the frame of a Hazāra *chapar* without a centre-pole, and a barrel-vaulted frame. Similar dwellings, some even with more purely barrel-vaulted structure, are known from Southern Tajikistan and Southern Uzbekistan. (Cf. E. G. Hafferberg, 1948, p. 137, and B. Kh. Karamysheva, 1956, p. 14 ff.).

profit, for the animals yield no milk in winter. Roofs and entrances must be kept clear of snow, otherwise life outside is very limited, no travelling is done, and even when there is a death, it is often impossible to take the corpse to the proper burial ground. Early in winter the men may go out shooting mountain goats, but on the whole hunting is of little importance, though they have ordinary loop-type snares for partridges (H. and ASP. 'kauk' = P. *kabk*), etc.

I have often asked the Hazāras what they do in winter. The usual answer is: "Nothing but eating and sleeping!"

In winter the Ajmāqs fish through holes in the ice of the Hari Rūd, but the Hazāras do not fish in winter; in general fishing is very rare among the Hazāras, who seem to have a traditional aversion to eating fish.

In the summer time the Hazāras are very busy, chiefly with farming and their enormous collecting activity. The main crops in Hazārajāt are winter- and spring-wheat, barley and various papilionaceous flowers, such as lucerne, clover, beans, etc.

One harvest is usual every year, but in the warmer areas towards the South there is an extra summer crop, mostly maize. The farmwork is exclusively the work of the men, with the exception of weeding, which is done by the women.

Irrigated farming is by far the most important and this does not show the same difficulties as in other parts of Afghanistan, because water is abundant. The smaller rivers and brooks are the most useful; they can easily be converted into irrigation-ditches; the big rivers, such as the Helmand, the Arghandāb, or the Kaj Rūd, unfortunately for Hazārajāt, can only be very little exploited, as they run at the bottom of valleys with sloping sides or in gorges, so that there is very little flat land on their sides. Peculiar to Hazārajāt are the artificial ponds (H. 'na(w)ur'), which usually get their water from hillside springs. When these ponds are full, they are used for watering rather small areas nearby. These *na(w)ur's* are always the property of a single man, just as the *karēz*'es are in Southern Hazārajāt.

The tilling of the land is almost the same as in the other parts of Afghanistan: ploughs, *mālā* (wooden planks for levelling the land), spades and some special wooden implements for irrigation work are the tools commonly used. The plough is



Fig. 13. Hazāra labourers in a street in Kābul sawing up a plank into boards (Spring 1954 by K. F.).

used similarly in most of Afghanistan just before sowing and usually also immediately after it, to get the seed into the ground. The fields are often sloping, and are therefore traversed with tiny furrows to lead the water over them without erosion. Often these fields are slightly terraced, but elaborate terracing with nearly horizontal surfaces is rarely found.

Non-irrigated farming is mainly possible in such regions of Afghanistan as have a considerable snowfall during the winter, and therefore this kind of farming is very common in Hazārajāt. It is astonishing to see the green or brown (i.e. fallow) squares of the dry-fields dotted all over the mountain-slopes; and the

sight of these difficult and inaccesible places far from the villages makes one realize the hardship of Hazāra life. The dry crop (H. and ASP. '*lalmi*') is mostly spring-wheat, and the fields are given the same treatment as the watered fields, except that they are not fertilized, but only get the manure left by the grazing animals; every second year the fields lie fallow, but altogether the output is very limited, and in some years it fails completely. Nevertheless the dry crop is the only answer to the demands of the increasing population and every year the *lalmi*-farming increases, but in this expansion we have a possibility of conflict with the nomads over the borders between their pastures and the dry-crop land.

Next to farming, animal breeding is the most important work; every household has a milch cow, often a ploughing bullock, some sheep and goats; asses are also frequently found, but horses are rather rare. It is only in the open and fertile Lāl-i-Sar-Jangal and in Yakaūlang that grazing herds of horses (H. '*galla*') are met with; everywhere horses are the property of the rich.

The tending of the animals is the work of the small boys and girls; they leave the village in the early morning with the animals, and bring them back at noon for milking, and then again in the afternoon they take them to the hillsides and come back only when darkness falls. This marks out the daily rhythm of a village and is the basic division of all the activities of the women, who milk and make the milk-products.

The milking can be done up to three times a day, and the women are always helped by the small herdsmen; a cow can only be milked when the calf is near, and the cow usually licks the calf while being milked. If the calf dies, its skin is stuffed with straw, and this *Kalbspuppe* then receives the mother's caresses during milking. The cows give milk from calving and, in the best cases, until the beginning of the winter, whereas sheep and goats only yield for a couple of months. Though the output is rather small, milk and milk products are most important for the Hazāra economy.

Every morning the women are busy boiling the milk; this is the beginning of all milk preparation, and afterwards they start churning butter from soured milk from the night before; they churn it in goat-skins hung from a tripod, just as can be seen among the Afghan nomads. As salting of butter is unknown,

butter (H. and ASP. *maska*) as such is never kept, but, as usual in Afghanistan and other neighbouring countries, is clarified, so that the water content is at a minimum (H. and ASP. *rōghān*). *Rōghān* is one of the important articles for sale to the towns.

The buttermilk (H. and ASP. *dūgh*) in the skin can be eaten thick as such, but it is usually diluted with water. A large proportion of the *dūgh* is dried, first by boiling it, and later by hanging it in a cloth, so the water can drip out. It is then formed into round lumps and dried in the sun; the result, *q(u)rūt*, is one of the favourite winter dishes all over Afghanistan. The Hazāras also make 'chako' or 'archi' (the name in Jāghōrī), which is the dry portion of soured milk (H. 'shīr'), made by draining it through a cloth. It is extraordinary that several people from Dāy Zangī and Gēzau have stated that butter and its by-products have recently been introduced to Hazārajāt, and were not known before the Amīr 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Khān; it should be noted that the processes of making the above-mentioned milk products and their names are nearly like those commonly found among the Tājik's of Eastern Afghanistan.

If the above statement is true, the Hazāras in olden days must have had *qaimāq* only and no butter; *qaimāq* is fairly widespread in Afghanistan, but best known from the Uzbeks. *Qaimāq* is the creamy skin which gathers on the top of milk when it is boiling; this product was in former times kept in special cool places and served as an addition to the food throughout the winter. The milk left after this boiling is called 'sāf' (which is the ordinary name for plain milk, too); the *sāf* is usually soured and then becomes yoghurt, which the Hazāras call 'shīr', as opposed to the ASP. *māst*, cf. ASP. and P. *shīr* = milk.

The whole milk industry of the Hazāra is very simple, and often you will meet people who do not even make *q(u)rūt*; the more refined things such as cheese, even if they know the process of manufacture, are mostly out of the question.

The exploitation of animal products is the work of women, but the general care of animals belongs to men, they do the marking, castration, shearing, feeding, and slaughtering. Ear clipping is found, though no really organised system of marking animals exists. Castration of horned cattle, sheep, and goats is common, but castration is never practised on horses and asses.

There are two methods both widely used outside Hazārajāt: 1. 'kufto' (P. *kūftan*) = to beat or 'tab kado' = to clap; this is done by placing a stick on either side of the *spermatic cord* and then hitting the sticks with a stone, so that the *cord* gets crushed. This is mainly practised on months-old animals, and is better in summer time than the following method. 2. 'khasi kado' = to castrate; this is done by slitting the scrotum with a knife and pressing the testicles out, and then afterwards putting salt or charcoal on the wound. Both methods are used on the animals mentioned.

Shearing of sheep and goats is done twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn. For this they use a very simple, primitive pair of scissors with the two separate blades attached to either end of a small wooden crossbar. This instrument is also found among the Afghan nomads.

In slaughtering the Hazāras follow the Islamic method.

Hazārajāt has, more than many other parts of Afghanistan, been self-sufficient until recent years, and naturally many different handicrafts are performed. Again the women take a great share in the work done, they spin, weave, sew, make pottery, felt, and some of the leatherwork.

Weaving is done on simple, horizontal looms (H. 'tānesta'); they make cloth for clothing ('barak'), rugs ('gelam'), transport sacks ('juāl'), and blankets ('shål'). The Hazāra women also make excellent felt in the well-known way of spreading the loose, carded wool on old felt ('namad'), and sprinkling it with water; it is then rolled and tied up to be rolled over the ground hundreds of times. All these products are usually so well made that they have a market outside Hazārajāt.

The women do all the sewing of clothes. They have in a remarkable way been able to adapt new ideas; nowhere else but in Hazārajāt you will find all the men clad in overcoats of European cut, made of their own *barak*. This is maybe expressive of the changing Hazāra culture, but it is sad for the ethnologist, because of the difficulty in finding genuine Hazāra clothes. This particular change happened about 30 years ago, and I believe it is mainly due to the return of Hazāra ex-servicemen from the old British Indian Army¹ as well as to the nomads' trading with

¹ In the beginning of this century a Hazāra regiment or battalion (?) was formed in Quetta under the Indian Army. Even today many Hazāras from the

second-hand American clothes; otherwise the clothes are now of the ordinary Eastern pattern, a change which started when Hazārajāt was opened up. This does not count for the Northern Hazāras, who generally are clad in *barak* cloaks ('*chakman*') (a shorter inner and a longer outer cloak) of the kind found among Turks in the North.

Handmade pottery is exceptional to Hazārajāt;¹ however, the potter's wheel is now slowly appearing, mainly introduced by small number of Ghaznī Hazāras, who work in the summer time in Hazārajāt.

Specialised craftsmen are rare in Hazārajāt, which means that the ordinary men have many different tasks: manufacturing of farm implements (in so far as iron is not used), housebuilding, carpentry, etc. The only indispensable craftsman is the blacksmith (*āhangar*), who is found everywhere; in Besūd you also find half-professional bricklayers (*gēl-kargar*) from older times, and here and there, as an innovation, carpenters (*najār*). Leatherwork is important, as leather is used for many things: storing sacks; churning skins; shoes (the old type is a sole-type, H. 'kåpi'); belts; harness for horses, etc. Usually this is men's work, but in some cases the preparation is the work of the women; the tanning is mainly done with ash water and extracts of bark, and sometimes with flour, but never with fat in any form.

The barber's work is disreputable, and as there are no barbers in Hazārajāt, all Hazāras must do this contemptible work themselves. So the lack of specialisation in Hazāra life is reflected in the common Afghan saying: "Hazārajāt has nothing but 30,000 barbers."

Traditions

The Hazāra will often tell that they are the descendants of Chinggis Khan (H. '*Changhūs*') and that they are '*moghol*'. This is definitely a tradition in many areas, but it is difficult to judge to what extent it is an original one. It may be derivative, as the people who can tell more in detail about the origin of the Hazāras,

southern regions (Jāghōri, etc.) go to Quetta for occasional work, sometimes only for the winter, but also for a year or two.

¹ Cf. a preliminary note by H. R. H. Prince Peter in Man Vol. LIV (1954) article 73.

always have their knowledge from literary sources. But in this respect it may be worth while mentioning the use of '*moghol*' to describe a well-behaved and decent person—and of the antonym '*namoghol*'.

As already mentioned several times, there is a distinction in cultural traits between the main group of the Hazāra and the Northern Hazāra; the latter in many respects resembles the Uzbek in Qataghan;—this is also reflected in their tradition of origin. The Sheikh 'Ali of Ghōrband say they are *turk* and so do the *turkmān*, a Hazāra subtribe in the Turkmān valley, South of Ghōrband; these people seem ignorant of the existence of Chinggis Khan.¹

Apart from these statements I have not met with any tales or stories throwing light on their origin. The Hazāra traditions are strongly influenced by Persian literature and Islam, and a great deal of the story-telling is mere memorisation of literature, for instance the Shah-nāma of Firdausi, Hanhi Haidari (the 72 wars of Mohammad), etc.²

Music and poetry

The Hazāras are very fond of music, and have their own "style", just as every part of Afghanistan has. A large number of different tunes are found and a Hazāra can always tell from which region a certain tune originates. Peculiar to the Hazāra is a kind of yodelling, which I have only heard in Jāghōrī (e.g. as a wife's song to her departed husband), and maybe also the way small girls sing while they rhythmically beat their Adam's apples, is peculiar to the Hazāras. The instrument used most is the *daṇḍbura*, a plucked two-stringed instrument; there are also

¹ The Sheikh 'Ali are divided into the following subtribes: 'Qa(r)lugh', 'Dāy Kalo', 'Karam 'Ali' and 'Neh Amān' (usually pronounced 'Neimān'); several informants told me that Dāy Kalo originated from Dāy Zangi, a single informant told me that Neimān were also from Dāy Zangi; cf. Naiman in the "Secret History" (Haenisch, 1948, p. 83 and 183), and Czaplicka, 1918, p. 38 ff., where Naiman is mentioned as a subtribe among the Uzbek and also among the Qazaq; it is still disputed whether the Naiman were originally Mongols or Turks, but most scholars now hold them to be Turks. Qarluqs are found in many places in Qataghan and Badakhshān, and Jarring (1939, p. 71 ff.) considers them distinct from the Uzbek, perhaps also in language; Burhan-ud-din (*ibid.*) says they speak Turkish as distinct from *Uzbeki*.

² The women are the tellers of the fairy- and folk-tales, and so they keep quite a separate tradition from the men, but unfortunately I have little information about this.

the *ghichak* (a two-stringed bowed instrument) and the *Jaw's harp*, *chang*, which are rarely found now; all three instruments are characteristic of the Uzbeks as well. Simple reed pipes are common, especially among herdsmen.

Their songs are of the type generally used in Afghan Persian: *chārbait* (four-lined verses) and *ghazal* (two-lined verses), and when sung with or without instrumental accompaniment, the singer simply goes on with new *chārbait*s or *ghazals* to the same tune. The songs are mainly about love, particularly unrequited love being a favoured theme (H. and ASP. 'jödāi').

Besides the true Hazāragī poetry, the ordinary ASP. poetry becomes more and more common—but in idea there is not much difference, it is just the vocabulary that differs.

Here is an example of an old type Hazāragī-*ghazal* from Shahristān in Dāy Zangī, given in the transliteration of Shah 'Alī Akbar, a little modified.

Dosh raftum pal-i-shi sob nabūd nim shew būd
Yak makhak istadum u mah qasharak dar khew būd

Nāgah bédār shōdak pir khōsūr mādar aú
Zad traqqās-i-balā¹ khisht² nabūd, nim zew būd

Sag aú qāvqala kad tā bekanad pay-i-ma-ra
Koftamash ham chu misāl-i kula paspartew³ būd

Kula yak su kāpi yak su ma beka(r)dum dotaji
Kār-i-dota-ra tu medani ki sāda dar budew būd

Abu Sahl⁴ āshiq ru-yi-tu shōd ay mah-i-new
U majal yād-i-tū būd khāna ki dar Garmew bud

Goftamash yār ki in āshiq-i-dérina-i tu'st
Goft wākh kor shawum⁵ sar-ma tah-i-jamkhew būd.

¹ *balā* (Ar.) is heavenly misfortune, often personified as a horrid woman.

² There is a play on words here, for *khisht* both means a brick and sheep dung, while *zew* means a small brick.

³ "kula paspartew" is a game, where a cap is thrown around, while its owner tries to catch it; something like the English "pig in the middle"!

⁴ Abu Sahl is the author, and was a well-known poet of Shahristān.

⁵ "kor shawum" means "strike me blind"; it is a common swear-word of women.

1. Last night I went to her side, it was not morning then, but
the middle of the night.
One little kiss I took: The moon-browed one slept.
2. At once the old mother-in-law woke
And with damned ill-luck made a racket like no sheep's
dropping, but a good half brick.
3. Her dog yapped ready to bite me,
And I kicked it just as if it were in a "kula paspartew".
4. My cap on one side and my boots on the other, I made off
myself,
You know this making off, which always means running for it.
5. Oh, my new moon! Abu Sahl fell in love with you,
Do you remember the time you lived in Garmew?
6. I said to her, "My dearest, here is your former lover!"
She said, "Woe! my head was under my bed-rug!"

Appendix I

The calendar system

In Afghanistan there is little distinction between astronomy and astrology, and all those with any knowledge of the heavens and the stars are at the same time soothsayers. This science is to a large extent influenced by literature, first and foremost I should say Arabic, but local traditions are also found.

The Hazāras are well-known for their knowledge of the sky and the heavenly bodies, and they have two ways of dividing the year, besides the official Afghan (solar) calendar:¹ these are usually spoken of as the summer and winter "countings", and are named after the *qamar-i-'aqrab* and the '*toghal*', respectively. The *qamar-i-'aqrab* (Ar. *qamar* = moon, Ar. *'aqrab* = the constellation Scorpio) is the designation used to describe the approximate $2\frac{1}{2}$ days in every month from the Afghan solar month Hammal to the month 'Aqrab when the moon appears in the constellation Scorpio. The reckoning of these successive meetings

¹ The Afghan solar calendar starts at the vernal equinox, the 21th of March, and the months are the following: Hammāl, Saur, Jabzā, Saretan, Asad, Sumbula, Mizān, 'Aqrab, Qaus, Jadi, Dalw, Hut (properly the Arabic appellations of the signs of the Zodiac).

is fairly well-known throughout Afghanistan, but is not used as a calendar system as such, for the knowledge of its working is limited to but a few specialists, for whom these meetings constitute the keystone in an astrological classification of every day of the year; a classification, which seems to have a basis in literature and to be influenced by Arabic astronomy. The constellation Scorpio is further remarkable in that it is believed among the Hazāras that the central star in the constellation is particularly baleful, and can exercise a fatal influence on astronomers, and astronomers only.

The second "counting" of the Hazāras, the so-called winter "counting" or '*toghal*'¹ reckoning is much more of a real calendar, and of far more importance to the common man than the *qamar-i-'aqrab* reckoning. The *toghal* reckoning, as could likewise be said of that of the *qamar-i-'aqrab*, is a cross between an astral and lunar calendar and depends on the conjunctions of the moon with the Pleiades (H. '*mechid*' or '-*t*'; ASP. '*parwīn*'). It is these conjunctions which are termed *toghal*, and the periods between each two successive *toghals* is astronomically a sidereal month. The Hazāras have this reckoning in common with some of the Chahār Aimāq tribes (the northern group at least), and apparently also with the Uzbeks, though it is very few I have asked about it; it is not found among the Afghan tribes, nor among the Tājiks in the Kābul area.

According to many different Hazāra informants every *toghal* is due to last for seven days, although I have been able to find only five names for special days during the *toghal*—each of which describes the relationship of the moon to the Pleiades.

- First day: '*toghal kado*' (*kardan*) = they are near each other.
- Second day: '*baghal k.*' = side by side.
- Third day: '*mur(u)la k.*' = they rub each other.
- Fourth day: '*barghula k.*' (in Besūd, and some places of Dāy Zangi) = they chase; in Jāghōrī: '*merim*' = I or we go.
- Fifth day: '*ter meshā*' (Jāghōrī) = they have finished.

¹ A satisfactory explanation of the word *toghal* has so far not been found. Derivation from Mongol. *toya* 'number, counting' seems highly improbable as in the later dialects the velar consonant would have disappeared and the vowels would have been contracted.

Other localities content themselves with saying ‘*awwal-i-toghal*’; ‘*doyum-i-toghal*, etc. (1st *toghal*, 2nd *toghal*, etc.).

In Waras, a district of the Dāy Zangī, an expression is used to mark the end of the *toghal*: “*toghal ter shud, qaraōl-ish mond*”—“the *toghal* is ended, but its guardian stays!” This phrase and the names of the different days of the *toghal* seem to indicate that the *toghal* is understood as a battle between the moon and the Pleiades, and that the victorious(?) “guardian” (the Pleiades?) remains and waits for another “attack” from the moon. This is in accordance with the usage among the Northern Ājmāq, where the *toghal* is often called: ‘*jang-i-mah-o-parmi*’ = “the battle between the moon and the Pleiades”.

The enumeration of successive *toghals* seems peculiar. There are 11 *toghals* in all, beginning in early summer with ‘*bist-o-yakum* (= 21st) *toghal*, and descending in odd numbers till ‘*yak*(= 1st)-*toghal*’, which generally occurs about the beginning of the month Hammāl.

Many Hazāras are ignorant of the origin of the working of this calendar system, and are unable to explain it. In the popular mind it often becomes combined with the fairly recently introduced Afghan solar calender, with the result that you get very strange explanations when questioning informants.

But the system is not strange after all; as a calendar it is accurate enough, since the orbit of the moon and the position of the Pleiades are near the ecliptic (which runs through the constellation Scorpio), so that at a certain stage the Pleiades and the moon are bound to meet. Needless to say, the visible meetings happen at different times of the night according to the season of the year. Thus during 21st—11th *toghals* (i.e. the 6 *toghals* of the summer and autumn) the conjunction appears after midnight. During the 9th—1st *toghals* (i.e. the 5 *toghals* of the winter) it occurs in the evening. Although such meetings occur every lunar month, they are only visible 11 times a year. Furthermore, because of the movement of the earth, the number of days between each two *toghals* is less than a lunar month by two days or so. It is for this reason that the odd numbers are used in counting. The 21st *toghal* indicates that the meeting takes places approximately 21 days after the new moon (the visible

one, not the astronomical one), the next *toghal*, the 19th, that the meeting is on new moon + 19 days, etc. Thus it can be seen that the time which elapses between two successive *toghals* is roughly two days or so less than a lunar month.¹

Once the *toghal* series is finished (in the early spring) there remains a longish period, which, in Hazaragī, bears no particular name, although it is sometimes called ‘*hīch*’ (= nothing) or ‘*hichum*’ (= the “nothing’th”). This period lasts until the Pleiades are again visible and the following *toghal* takes place.

Among the ordinary people, the *toghals* are often associated primarily with the cold winter, and any *toghals* other than the winter ones (i.e. the ninth to the first *toghal*) are often neglected. This is the more understandable since it is in the winter that the phenomenon of the *toghal* is visible in the evening just as the *qamar-i-‘aqrab* is visible in the summer evenings.

At the time of a *toghal* it is commonly believed that there is a “crisis” in the sky which causes change in the weather: cold and snow or rain is the usual result. During the winter, when the weather is of the greatest interest to the snowbound Hazāras, the relationship between the moon and the Pleiades during the *toghals* is used to foretell the weather, the greater (visible) distance between them, the colder the weather, and vice versa.

Besides their astrological significance, the different *toghals* are also used as a mere indication of the passing of the unpleasant winter and the returning of the spring. Proverbs are found among the Shibar Hazāras to express this course, and here their general meaning is reported: At the 9th *toghal* the snow and the cold have arrived, with the 7th the difficult winter—at the 5th the rain starts and goods are going down in prices, the 3rd brings “virility” and the days become good, so that farmwork can start.—The Hazāras have often expressed to me the close connexion between farming and the *toghal* system, and the real importance of the latter is its use as a calendar and directory to farmers. But it is so only among the Hazāras. The Northern Aimāq, who live under somewhat milder climatic conditions, said that the *toghal* reckoning was primarily in use among shepherds.—Here it must be added that the Pleiades as such play a greater rôle than

¹ A lunar month (“synodic month”) is 29.530588 days, whereas the period between two successive *toghals* is a “sidereal month” and lasts 27.33166 days.

expressed in this article, for example the Hazāra assume that the sowing of wheat will be without any success if it is done after the “disappearance” of the Pleiades (H. ‘mechid shista’). The *toghal* system is one of the most interesting features of Hazāra Culture, but its cultural significance will only be apparent when discussed in connexion with the *Aimāq toghal* system and other similar systems.

The Zodiac, the Hazāra lunar months and some old customs

Afghanistan has been changing fast in recent years, and the Afghan solar calendar is well established among the common people. The knowledge of the “Tatar animal cycle” was widespread, and its use official in Afghanistan until the reign of King Amānullāh (1919—29). This 12-year cycle is, in fact, still used among the Uzbeks and occasionally in Iran, and appears in local almanacs published in Herāt. Despite the widespread knowledge of this system, nomenclature varies (e.g. differences between Kābul and Iran) and Hazāragī offers no exception to this tendency. To indicate “year”, *jil* (Mongolian and Qataghani Uzbekī) is used, as opposed to the Turkish *yıl* of Iran, and the Persian *sāl* of ASP. (e.g. H. ‘*jil-i-mush*’ for ASP. *mūsh-sāl* = the year of the mouse). This is interesting and would seem to indicate an early arrival of the “Animal cycle” among the Hazāras.

The years which differ from ASP. are the following:

Leopard: ‘*yulbars*’ or as ASP. *palang*

Hare: ‘*taulai*’

Monkey: ‘*shādibaker*’ or ‘*shādi*’

Dog: ‘*kutā*’

Although the “Animal cycle” is based on a cycle of solar years, there is no special Hazāra solar month. Until the time of Amānullāh, the Hazāras used the following terms to indicate the Mohammedan lunar months:

‘*Ashur*’ (Ar. ‘āšūrā’ = Moharram)

‘*Safar*’

‘*Algho-i-awwal*’

‘*Algho-i-doyum*’

‘*Algho-i-seyum*’

‘*Algho-i-chārum*’

‘*Rejāb*’
 ‘*Shabo*’
 ‘*Ramazo*’
 ‘*Id mah*’
 ‘*Khālī*’
 ‘*Qurbo*’

The four *algho* months are collectively known as ‘*ātesh algho*’. The names of the remaining months are Arabic and correspond to ASP. or Pashtu use. ‘*Ātesh algho*’ literally means “fire leaping”. At the new moon of each of these four months, four(?) fires were lighted in a row in front of every house; the men of the household had to leap these fires, at the same time saying: “Good luck come, bad luck go” (*Niki dar (a)mad — bādi bur shud*). To encourage them to leap, the assembled often shouted: “Come broken-necked one, jump (over the fire), so that your broken neck may disappear” (*Motak bur biya, alghuch ku, ke motak-tu bur musha*). This purification rite, which appears to be of ancient origin, was performed four times a year in Dāy Zangī, but only once a year in Jāghōrī, and then on the most unlucky day of the Moslem year (13th Safar). Generally the “leaping ceremony” was combined with other rites. While the jumping was in progress, the women of the household ascended the roof, from where they threw pots full of water, which broke on the ground. At new moon (*mah-i-nawi*) the ‘*Nān-i-kam*’ ceremony (i.e. “little bread”) took place: the head of the household placed a piece of bread on the Quran, holding it aloft, so that each member of the family was able to pass under it, before the dedicated bread was shared out for eating.

The Mullahs do much to stamp out customs and practices which are not strictly Islamic, and the ‘*ātesh algho*’ died out some thirty years ago, condemned by the Mullahs as heathenish and being connected with ‘*Zardasht*’ (i.e. the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers). For the same reason music is fast dying out in the Besūd area.

It appears, in the system of traditions of the Hazāras, that fire formerly played a more important rôle than it does now. In the Jāghōrī, e.g., lamps are lit on the occasion of the Festival of the Dead (*id-i-mordo*), where each lamp is dedicated to a

deceased person. The eve of the major feasts, ('*id-i-qurbo*' and '*id-i-ramazo*') and marriages also involved the lighting of special lamps. When calamity overtook a community—flocks having been devoured by wolves, etc.—it was a commonly held belief that this was due to the souls of the dead being in trouble. The souls were appeased by lighting a fire between three stones, into which was sprinkled *rōghān* (clarified butter); this custom is named '*kongushu*'.

Altogether the attitude of the Mullahs and the people's own response to it makes the tracing of non-Islamic customs among the Hazāras extremely difficult; the few remnants of old customs are rapidly disappearing, and from an ethnological point of view this is certainly very deplorable, because the study of the origin of the Hazāra thus becomes a difficult and uncertain one.

Appendix II

Kinship-terminology

	Dāy Zangi ¹	Ghōrband ²	Kābul ³
Fa	âta, bâba (= daddy)	'ata'	padar, bâbâ
FaFa	bakala, 'bâkul' (J.)	'atakalu'	padar kalân, bâbâ kalân, bâbâjî
FaMo	mâma, 'âchul' (J.), âja	'baba'	mâdar kalân, paderî
FaFaFa	bakala kalo	'ata kalu'	nêka (Pa.)
FaFaMo	mâma kalo	'baba kalu'	mâdar kalân
FaBr	abagha, abgha (sideform of B.), 'tata'	'abagha'	kâkâ, audor, 'ammû (Ar.)
FaBrWi	'i(y)aenga', 'beka' (B. & Gh.)	?	zan-i-kâkâ, zan-i-audor, zan-i-'ammû
FaBrSo	baché-abagha	'bâché-abagha'	bacha-i-kâkâ, audor-zâda, 'ammû-zâda
FaBrDa	dokhtar-i-abagha	'dokhtar-i-abagha'	dokhtari-kâkâ, audor- zâda, 'ammû-zâda

¹ The great majority of the Dāy Zangi terms besides some of the terms from the other regions originate from Shâh 'Ali Akbar Shahristâni; terms in inverted commas '' are in my own transcription, the others are transcribed from tape-recordings, a few of which originate from Besûd. Abbreviations used: B. = Besûd; D.Z. = Dāy Zangi; Gh. = Ghaznî; J. = Jâghorî; Sh. = Shahristân; U. = Uruzgân.

² These terms have been communicated to me by a Hazara student (age app. 22) from Chahâr-deh-i-Ghōrband. Possibly his Hazaragî was not the very best. The transcription is my own; there are too few long vowels, except perhaps in 'bâcha'.

³ All the Kâbul terms are directly transliterated from the Persian script. Dr. Moh. Karim Nushin was my informant. For the most peculiar ones I have put the written letters within brackets. (a) signifies that the written form also appears in: Rakhimi, etc.: Tadzhiksko-Russkii Slovar', 1954. (b) that the form also appears in Nawees: Afghan Dictionary, 1957.

	Dāy Zangī	Ghōrband	Kābul
FaSi	'amma'	'amma'	'amma (Ar.)
FaSiHu	'eznagi', '(i)ezna'	'khesh', 'dāmād' (in address), 'yæzna'	shauhar-i-'amma
FaSiSo	'baché-amma'	'bâché-amma'	bacha-i-'amma
FaSiDa	'dokhtar-i-amma'	'dokhtar-i-amma'	dokhtar-i-'amma
StFa	'babandar', 'atandar'	'atandar'	padar-andar
StMo	âcha, 'mayandar'	'mâyindar'	mâdar-andar
StBr	'brarandar'	'bra(da)randar'	brâdar-andar
StSi	'khorandar'	'khorandar'	khwâhar-andar
StSo	'bachandar'	'bâchandar'	bacha-i-andar
StDa	'dokhtar-i-zan', '-andar'	'dokhtarandar'	dokhtar-andar
Mo	âya (D.Z., B.), âba (B., Gh., J.), aika (J., U.)	âya', 'âpa'	mâdar
MoSi	'khâla' (Ar.)	'khâla'	khâla
MoSiHu	(i)ezna, 'shu-i-khâla'	'shü-i-khâla'	shauhar-i-khâla
MoSiSo	bola	'bola'	bacha-i-khâla, khâla-zâda
MoSiDa			dokhtar-i-khâla, khâla-zâda
MoBr	'naghechi' (Sh. & D.Z.), 'naghchi' (J.), taghâi (B. & Sh.)	'tâgha' (as Uzbek)	mâmâ
MoBrWi	e'inga or iyanga	'zan-i-tâgha'	zan-i-mâmâ
MoBrSo	'baché-naghechi'	'bâché-tâgha', ushtuk-	bacha-i-mâmâ, ushtuk (small Ch.)
MoBrDa	formed in the usual descriptive way		
MoFa	bakala, 'bâkul' (J.)	'baba'	padar kalân, mâderî
MoMo	mâma, 'âchul' (J.)	'âba', 'âya kalu'	madar kalân, 'anâ'
MoFaFa	bakala kalo	'baba kalu', 'ata kalu'	nêka-i-mâderî
MoFaMo	mâma kalo	'âba kalu' (bibi)	mâdar kalân, bîbî
Br	'brar'	'brar'	brâdar
Br elder	'lâla'	'brar kalu'	
Br young	'brarak'	'khurd brar'	
BrWi	'beka' or 'baka' (B.), iyanga	'yanga'	zan-i-brâdar, yanga [yংঘ] (a)
BrCh	formed in the usual descriptive way		'ushtuk'-i-brâdar', 'aulâd-i-brâdar', bachahâ-i-brâdar
BrSo			
BrDa			
Si	'khor', 'khohar'	'khôr'	khwâhar
SiHu	(i)ezna, 'kuka' (B. & J.)	'shü-i-khôr'	yâzna, shauhar-i-khwâhar

	Dây Zangî	Ghôrband	Kâbul
SiCh	'jea' (Uzbek jean)	'ushtuk-i-khôr'	'ushtuk-i-khwâhar', 'aulâd-i-khwâhar', bachahâ-i-khwâhar
SiSo & Da		formed in the usual descriptive way	
Wi	khatu(n) khâtu(n), aurtona (B.)	'zan'	zan, 'ayâl', kûch, khânadârî
Wi eld.	'khatun-i-awwal' or 'kalo'	'zan awwal-ingar'	
WiFa	'khosur'	'até-zan'	khosur
WiMo	'khosur-mâdar'	'khoshui', 'âyé-zan'	khoshû
WiBr	'khosur b(u)ra'	'khosur bura'	khosur b(u)ra [brh]
WiSi	egechi	'khoshna'	khêâshna [xiašnh] ^(b)
WiSiHu	bâja	'bâja'	bâja [bajh] ^(a & b)
WiBrWi	'zan-i-khosur bra'	'zan-i-khosur bura'	
Fiancée	khusta	'nâmzâd'	
Hu	'shuî', 'shauhar'	'shuî'	shauhar
HuFa	'khosur'	'khosur kalu'	khosur
HuMo	'khosur (-madar)'	'khoshui'	khoshû
HuBr eld. & you.	'khosurb(u)ra'	'ewar'	ēwar-i-kalân & ēwar-i-khôrd [aivr] ^(b)
HuSi	'apsu'	?	nanû
HuSiHu	(i)ezna	?	shauhar-i-nanû
Hu oth. Wi	'ambâk'	'ambâk'	ambâq
HuSo by oth. Wi	'baché-andar'	'bâché-andar'	bacha-andar
Hu eld. Wi & you. Wi	their names are used or mother of so and so		
Children	'zauzat', 'ushtuk'	'ushtuk'	'zauzat', 'ushtuk'
So	'baché-ma(n)'	'bâché-man', 'bâcha'	bacha, pesar
SoWi	beri	'zan-i-baché-ma', 'arôs'	'arûs
SoWiFa	'khesh'	'khosur'	khosur-i-bacha
SoWiMo	qudaghu	'khoshú-i-bacha'	khoshû-i-bacha
SoSo	'nosa'	'baché-bacha'	nawâsa
SoSoWi	beri	'arus-i-baché-bacha'	zan-i-nawâsa
SoDa	'nosa'	'dokhtar-i-zan-i-bâcha'	dokhtar-i-bacha, nawâsa
SoSoSo	'nosa' (p. nebara)	?	kawâsa
SoSoSoSo	—	'kun-i-kasa'	kûn-i-kâsa (= bottom of bowl)
SoSoSoSoSo	—	'lakhak-i-darwâza'	'lakhak-i-darwâza' (= the threshold)
SoSoSoSoSoSo	—	—	'nolapôsh-i-kandûcha' (= the cloth-bundle that stops the lower opening of a small clay vessel for grain)

	Dây Zangi	Ghôrband	Kâbul
Da	'dokhtar'	'dokhtar'	dokhtar
DaHu	'dâmad'	'shuï-dokhtar', 'dâmad'	dâmâd
DaHuFa	khesh	'até-dâmad'	khosur
DaHuMo	qudaghu	'âyé-dâmad'	khoshû
DaSo	'nosa'	'bâché-dokhtar'	nawâsa (bachagî)
DaSoWi	beri	?	'arûs-i-nawâsa (or -i-dokhtar)
DaDa	'nosa'	'dokhtar-i-dokhtar'	nawâsa (dokhtari)
DaCh	'nosa'	'ushtuk-i-dokhtar'	nawâsa ¹

Abbreviations used: Fa Father; FaFa = Father's father, etc.

Mo = Mother

So = Son

Da = Daughter

Br = Brother; Br eld. = elder Br; Br you. = younger Br.

Si = Sister

Ch = Children

Hu = Husband

Wi = Wife

The kinship terms given above are the theoretical ones, which are slightly different when used to address a person: women are often named as mother of so and so, younger people by their name, and respected elder people by the kinship term; in the cases when this ends in an *-a*, this is altered to *-ei* (vocative), e.g. *abaghei*, *atei*, *ammei*, etc. When a noun ending in accented *-a* is used with "ezafeh" (-i-) (e.g. *bacha-i-man*), the *-a-i-* is

¹ Dr. Nushin gave the following terms, which did not appear in my questionnaire:

mâmâ khosur for HuMoBr and WiMoBr

khâlâ khoshû for HuMoSi and WiMoSi

kâkâ khosur for HuFaBr and WiFaBr

'amma khoshû for HuFaSi and WiFaSi

Furthermore Dr. Nushin added the following popular sayings, for Father-in-law (khosur): *daba-i-kôna* = the old skin flask for oil Mother-in-law (khoshû): *mâr miâne âstîn* = the snake in the sleeve (because she will always be somewhere around to watch the meetings between her daughter and her future son-in-law)

Husband's brother (êwar): *pina sar-i-zânû* = the patch on the knee (of the trousers)

Husband's sister (nanû): *kazhdum zîr-i-bûrlâ* = the scorpion under the mat

Husband (shauhar): *tâj-i-sar* = the crown on the head

The relatives of the wife (*qâum-i-zan*): *qaila bezan* = go on eating

The relatives of the husband (*qâum-i-shawî*): *dêga beshawî* = wash the pot.

The last two expressions refer to the "fact" that on festive occasions in the home, it is the husband's family who has to work, whereas that of the wife is always very well served.

pronounced as stressed *é* followed by an unstressed hardly audible *e*, which here has been transcribed as e.g. *baché-man*.

It is interesting to note the differences between Central Hazāragī and Northern Hazāragī. The latter is less Mongolian than the former, and seems also slightly more influenced by Turkish. It is notable that my informant stated that Central Hazāragī is expanding at present, and new terms are coming to Ghōrband from Dāy Zangī via Yakaūlang, for instance: '*khosta*', '*khatu*', and '*beri*'.

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I. DELTE MENINGER

Et Foredrag jeg holdt i Det danske Videnskabernes Selskab i 1948 gjorde jeg bl. a. Rede for det flere Gange rejste Spørgsmaal om det shakespearske Drama *Henry the Sixt's Ægthed* og *Tilblivelse*. Mit Hoved-Ærinde var vistnok at meddele 120 Parallelleter til Steder i Stykkets anden og tredie Del, men derved beviste jeg tillige Ægtheds- og Integritets-Tvivlene. Thi man tvivlede ikke om Dramaets Forfatterskab og Helhed af abstrakte Grunde, men fordi det genklang eller gav Genklang i adskillige Stykker fra Samtiden, det vil sige den i 1587 restaurerede Londoner-Scene. — W. Shakespeares Forhold til sine »Forgængere«, som man endnu gerne kalder den aller første Gruppe af Dramatikere eller »University Wits«, blev derved sat i Forbindelse med Ægtheds-Kritiken. Mine Betragtninger gik især ud paa at vise, at Antallet af Fælles-Vers og Fælles-Vendinger er for *stort*, og at Fællesskabet fortsættes for *længe* gennem Aarene, til at man tør drage ægthedskritiske Slutninger af alle disse Ligheder. Holder man sig alene til Fællesskab i Fraser og Glosers o. lign., da maatte man ud fra de tidlige anerkendte Forudsætninger tro, at *alle* Stykker fra denne Tidsalder var skrevne af alle *andre* end den formodede eller attestede Forfatter. Men et saadant Fællesskab i Stil og Vendinger kendes mange andre Steder fra; ogsaa i vore egne gamle danske Folkeviser foreligger en saadan Udrøring af Sprogstoffet. Herimod strider egentlig ikke de ret talrige Vidnesbyrd fra Tiden 1587—1641, der foreligger om Samarbejde. Der findes et Exempel paa Dobbelt-Forfatterskab, nemlig BEAUMONT og FLETCHER's; saadanne Janus-Hoveder findes i alle Landes Litteraturer. Samarbejdet varede dog kun kort, og efter Beaumonts Død fortsatte Fletcher i en Menneskealder paa egen

Haand. I litterære og dramaturgiske Fejder ser man undertiden en Gruppe Forfattere eller Skuespillere rotte sig sammen og i Hast gøre et Fælles-Stykke. Tiden gjorde det nødvendigt; her tænkes særlig paa den store Dramatiker-Strid mellem Marston, Dekker, Jonson o. Fl., der frembragte Arbejder som *Histriomastix* og *Satiromastix*. Tiden maa ogsaa bære Skylden for diverse Stykker bestemte for *Hoffet*, med en Frist paa fjorten Dage til Forfatterskab og Indspilling. Shakespeares *De lystige Koner i Windsor* skal være et saadant Produkt; men det er dog i det Hele taget gaaet fri for Ægtheds-Tvivl, skont Kvartudgaverne rummer store Afvigelser indbyrdes. Et kendt Exempel paa Samarbejde er *The Book of Sir Thomas More*. Men dette ofte gennemdiskuterede Arbejde er ikke egnet til at styrke Tilliden til hyppigt Samarbejde, eller gennemgribende Fællesskab om Stykker. Det er beregnet for Hoffet og rimeligvis skrevet i Løbet af faa Dage fra *Ende til anden*. Forfatteren, hvis Haandskrift er kendt, var Sir ANTHONY MUNDAY. Men som alle Stykker har dette gennemgaaet en dramatisk Censur og er befundet for kort og vel ogsaa for fattigt til at opføres uforandret. Et ikke sikkert Antal Penne har leveret *Indskud* med uundgaaelige Smaa-Endringer af Originalen. I Alt har man gættet paa fra 7 til 11 forskellige Medarbejdere, deriblandt W. Shakespeare. Nogles Haandskrift var bekendt. Det kan f. Ex. være gaaet for sig ved at man har trommet saamange Dramatikere sammen som muligt, og under en Højtlæsning af Stykket fordelt Bearbejdelsen paa de disponible Kræfter, som strax har leveret Manuscript; formentlig er Stykket endnu en Gang blevet forelagt Medarbejderne til Godkendelse. Men saaledes kan nu ikke ret mange af de os kendte Stykker være blevet til.

Da jeg sidst omtalte Stykkerne om *Henrik VI* i dette Selskab, herskede der tilsyneladende Enighed mellem de fleste Kritikere om dette Arbejdes Ægthed, idet jeg dog mente det godt gjort, at nogle Rettelser i de senere Kvartudgaver og i Folioen kunde skyldes tilfældige, ret overfladiske Revisioner under diverse Genoptagelser. Jeg henviser til det første Afsnit i mit Skrift *Shakespeare og hans Samtidige* (1948), spec. Side 23—24. Jeg antydede dengang, at et Værk som een Gang havde været Genstand for Ægthedskritik, vist aldrig kommer ganske ud af Farezonen, men at der nu var Haab om, at *Henrik VI* vilde undgaa Tilbagefald

til Chorizonterne for en Tid. — Det kom jeg alligevel til at op leve. Tidsalderen blev i Løbet af faa Aar chorizontisk.

Det Ejendommelige ved denne nye, oplosende Kritik er at den er anlagt paa en helt anden Basis end den tidligere. De benytter ganske vist EDM. MALONES, Miss JANE LEES, J. M. ROBERTSONS Citater til Støtte for deres Tankegange. Disse Forgængere rejste imidlertid ikke deres Sag paa Grundlag af en generel Tvivl om det statelige Triptychons Enhed, men alene paa de paafaldende Overensstemmelser mellem visse Steder i Værket og andre i Samtidiges Værker. Men den nyere, amerikanske Skole mener at kunne høre to (tre) forskellige Stemmer i fem Stykker fra Shakespeares Ungdom, nemlig i 2.—3. Del af *Henry VI*, i *Titus Andronicus*, i *Richard II*, i *Richard III* og endelig i *Romeo and Juliet*. For det sidste Stykkes Vedkommende antages en Forfatter som er identisk med første Haand i de fire førstnævnte Stykker og endnu en ukendt, ældre Forfatter. Disse Digtere nævnes ikke med Navn, og Intet tyder paa, at man har tænkt paa nogen kendte Størrelser. Muligt har noget saadant foresvævet Hypothesens Op-havsmænd, men som deres Bøger nu er skrevne, peger disse Forskere snarest mod virkelig ukendte Digtere fra Fortiden. De er ikke paa det Rene med, at en generel Tvivl neppe er tilladelig, og at de har skilt deres Sag fra Forgængernes ved at pege mod det Ubestemte. Mærkelig er ogsaa den Rolle *metriske* Argumenter spiller for dem, i ringere Grad stilistiske og andre Paastande. Med alt det er deres Ideer egentlig ikke fuldt originale, thi man har før været opmærksom paa den til Dels rabiate eller næsten utænkelige Versifikation i Dele af 2. og 3. Del af Dramaet, og paa den tynde og korrekte Behandling af Blankversene i mange af Tiraderne baade i første Del (som de aldrig beviser) og i 2.—3. Del.

Jeg sigter her især til *The Composition (d. e. Tilblivelse) of Shakespeare's Plays* af ALBERT FEUILLERAT (mangeaarig, nu afdød Professor ved Yale University) fra 1953, og *The Contention and Shakespeare's 2 Henry VI*, af CHARLES TYLER PROUTY (Professor i Engelsk sammesteds) fra 1954. Det sidste Arbejde er en Fortsættelse af det første. Nogen Behandling af *1 Henry VI* fra samme Hænder foreligger vist ikke. Men efter Methoden kan de oprindelige Forfattere af første Del ikke have været de samme som af anden og tredje Del, skønt første Del kun findes i Folioen.

I Bevisførelsen er der somme Tider en Del theaterhistoriske Argumenter, hvilke vi vil lade ude af Betragtning. Det er mig umuligt at vurdere disse Spidsfindigheder; men det kan rigtig nok være os det samme, om *King Henry VI* tilhørte det ene eller det andet Kompagni. Af Vigtighed er det derimod, at Professoerne Feuillerat og Prouty ikke respekterer Tidsgrænsen 1587—88 for engelsk dramatisk Litteratur. Stykker skrevne før denne Tid havde ringe Lighed med det nye Theaters Frembringelser. Før Scenens Rekonstruktion blev der endnu spillet middelalderlige Mysterier og Mirakler og Farcer, endvidere grove, mest prosaiske Haupt- und Staatsaktioner og lette men plumpe Komedier paa den folkelige Scene. Uden for de to Typer af professionelt Drama stod allehaande Tilløb fra en Del Digtere, der havde Herregaards-Opførelser eller ogsaa slet ingen Opførelser i Sigte. Men det er umuligt med Professor A. Feuillerat at tænke sig *Den spanske Tragedie* fra 1585, med mindre deres Forfatter THOMAS KYD ved et rent Mirakel skulde have foregrebet Renaissance-Dramaet i Smaat og Stort. — I enkelte Tilfælde er Stykker fra en fjernere Fortid bearbejdede i Shakespeares Tid. Saaledes *Promos and Cassandra*, omdigtet indtil det Ukendelige i *Measure for Measure*, eller *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, der har givet Anledning til *Henrik den Fjerde* og til *Henrik den Femte*. Men i det sidste Tilfælde ser man ret det Svælg der adskilte Skuespilleres enevældige Tidsrum fra Digternes Tid. Modsætningen mellem de fordringsfulde, akademisk svungne Dramaer, og de tarvelige Fjælebods-Stykker.

De tre Dele af *Henrik den Sjette* har set Lyset i forskellige Skikkelses. Første Del blev trykt i Folio'en 1623 i en pæn og renlig Text. Den sene Offentliggørelse har givet Anledning til den litteraturhistoriske Legende, at den ogsaa er *skrevet* senere end anden og tredje Del. Nu er det vel en rimelig Grundsætning, at det ældre Værk er det tidligst trykte, men her kan den ingen Gyldighed have, da Alle er enige om, at første Del er fra ca. 1592 og spillet inden anden og tredje Del blev trykte. Man veed ikke Grunden til denne Offentliggørelse, men har opstillet talrige og indviklede, især theaterhistoriske Gisninger. Alligevel har Professor J. DOVER WILSON genoptaget den gamle og meningsstyrrende Lære om første Del som en senere Tildigtning. Dette

Spørgsmaal vilde være af uhyre stor Betydning, dersom der over Hovedet var nogen Grund til at stille det.

Anden Del (»Kvarto«) udkom med Titelen *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster etc.*, en vidtløftig Indholds-Angivelse hos Bogtrykkeren Thomas Creed og Forlæggeren Thomas Milleington 1594, og med nogle Trykfejl og flere Varianter hos samme Forlægger men med en ny velkendt Trykker, den ofte uhedlige Valentine Simmes 1600. Tredie Udgave kom uden Trykaar, men sikkert 1619, denne Gang trykt hos Isaac Jeffard og Thomas Parrier, og for-enet med tredie Del under Titelen *The Whole Contention . . .* med en Del nye Rettelser, delvis blot af Metrum og Sprog samt mange Trykfejl. Heri spores Indflydelse fra en moderniseret Theater-Text. Endelig udkom den under Titelen af anden Del af Kong Henrik VI med en Del afgjorte Forbedringer, men ikke talrige nye Vers i Folioen 1623. Dette er *textus receptus*.

Tredie Del kom 1595 i lille Oktav (»Kvarto«) under Titelen *The true tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole contention between the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke etc.* hos Thomas Millington og Peter Short. Udtrykket *whole contention* giver her nærmest Meningen »supplerende Del, Resten af«. Den blev optrykt sammen med anden Del (og første Del) som ovenfor angivet. Striden mellem York og Lancaster begynder dog allerede i første Del. Rettelserne i Folioen er talrige. Henved to Trediede stammer fra *The True Tragedie*, men med mange Ændringer, Resten er helt nye.

I *Cassells National Library* findes en synoptisk Udgave.

Af nyere Udgaver fremhæver jeg N. DELIUS' (mange, ogsaa tospalte Tryk) med meget fin, tysk Kommentar, ogsaa engelske Optryk, bl. A. med Indledning af FURNIVAL. Endvidere H. C. HART's (1910 og senere, i *The Arden Shakespeare*), og JOHN DOVER WILSON's (1951—52). Den sidste optager mange af Harts Kommentarer og tilføjer nye, til Dels meget vildledende. *The Temple Shakespeares* Udgave og Wilsons har Glossarer.

Noget af den meget omfattende og ofte paastaaelige Litteratur om Trilogien er omtalt og behandlet i mit fornævnte Arbejde om Shakespeares Samtidige. Den bedste Behandling er THOMAS KENNY's *The Life and Genius of Shakespeare* (1864), den som har haft størst Indflydelse, er »Miss LEES« berømte Paper i *New Shake-*

speare Society's Transactions 1875—76, udbredt gennem EDW. DOWDENS bekendte og ypperlige lille Haandbog i *Literary Primers*. Miss Lees Hypotheser ligger til Grund for al senere sønderdelende Kritik, men de benyttes ofte paa anden Haand. — En god Textkritik er givet i MADELEINE DOKAN: Henry VI, Parts II and III (Iowa City *Humanistic Studios* IV vol. 4, 1928).

II. TRILOGIENS FØRSTE DEL

Forordningen om at 1. Del skulde være forfattet senere end 2. og 3. Del, er som omtalt fastholdt af *nogle* men ikke alle Tilhængere af Læren om en 3—4 forskellige Forfattere. De to Theorier klæder ikke hinanden! saa meget mere som det drejer sig om akkurat de samme Mennesker. Sprog og Stil er ens, men Versifikationen i 2. Del er rigtig nok extravagant og kan ikke tilskrives nogen af de udlagte Barnefædre; den skyldes daarlig Tradition. Ydermere har en Del af Tragediens *anden Del* ingen Mening uden at første Del *forudsættes kendt*. Thi anden Del optager og fortsætter det Thema som er anslaaet i første Dels Slutning. Læserne af *The Contention* vilde ikke kunne forstaa den tragiske Kærligheds-Historie mellem Dronningen og Suffolk, der har friet til den høje Dame paa Kongens Vegne og tabt sit Hjerte til hende. Denne Historie (noget folkeviseaagtig) er opfundet af Stykkernes Forfatter eller Forfattere, men savnes aldeles i tidligere Tradition, f. Ex. i HOLINSHEDS Krønike, som er Værkets Hovedkilde. Af denne ulykkeelige Lidenskab flyder i Følge Stykkernes Idé, Kongens og Dronningens vigtigste Ulykker. For at redde den usandsynlige Paastand har Professor John Dover Wilson maattet gibe til en ny Udfugts-Hypothese. Der skelnes mellem tre Lag i følgende Orden: 1) *The Contention*, 2) *Første Del* minus Historien med Dronningens Kærlighed, 3) denne Kærlighed som et senere tildigtet *missing link*. Dette gør jo ikke Sagen bedre. Første og anden Del har ingen Grænse; de løber ud i Et.

Iovrigt betragter Dover Wilson dog Værket som en Slags Enhed. Indtil han kom til »the drafts« i sin Udgave, fandt han i 2.—3. Del GREENES Komposition, i 1. Del PEELES. Men i sidste Øjeblik ændrede han sin Opfattelse og lod Greene være Opfinderen af alle 3 Dele. Hvorledes Opfinder? Snart taler han om et *Arbejds-Instrument*, altsaa en *Plan* lagt af Greene, snart som

om Stykkerne først var skrevne af denne smidige og poetiske Kompositor og Versifikator. Det Sidste synes ganske umuligt. Tilmed er *Henrik VI* meget episk anlagt, følger Krønikerne trofast; Greene og Peele går anderledes frem. Dog var især Greene meget alsidig. Men i Aaret 1592, som temmelig sikkert er Aaret for *Henrik VI*'s første Del, var Greene gaaet over til Puritanismen og brændte Alt hvad han havde tilbedt.

Samme Greene har fra forrige Aarhundrede været lumsk mistænkt for at have skrevet første Del. Efter mit Skøn kan Stykket ikke tillægges Greene, fordi dennes Stil er mere egal og sikker end Stykkets, fraset enkelte glimrende Oprin. Kompositionen kunde være ham væsentlig paatvungen af Krønikerne. Men Karaktertegningen er *over* Greenes Maal; især Kongen er et Skabningens Mesterstykke. Til Peele som Medarbejder er man tyet paa Grund af visse tynde Vers og mythologiske Hentydninger; men hans Stykker har ingen Lighed med dette. — NASHE er først foreslaaet af FLEAY, der dog efter lod sin Kandidat falde. H. C. Hart tog ham op igen og indførte ham lempelig i Ensemblet, hvor han dog kun fik en beskeden Rolle. Men hos Dr. Wilson er hans Plads mere anselig. Jeg veed dog ikke, hvorfor han skulde have skrevet Stykkets fire første Scener og derefter næsten totalt forsvinde. Nashe og Greene var meget gode Venner, men Nashe var Prosaiker, hans faa Blankvers er meget ringe. Shakespeares Stykker vrimler med Reminiscenser fra Nashe.

Den første Scene minder meget om MARLOWE, fra hvem der findes en Del Reminiscenser, men hvis Kandidatur er almindelig vraget. De fleste sproglige Erindringer i Stykket er fra SPENSER, der ogsaa er baade Shakespeares og Greenes vigtigste Læremester i den poetiske Stil; men ogsaa den engelske Bearbejdelse af ARIOSTO hørte til de to Digteres Hovedpude-Lekture. Hermed er rigtig nok fældet en haard Dom over den sønderdelende Methode.

Vi vil nu gennemgaa Attributionerne Scene for Scene, men Læseren kan sagtens se, at Dr. Wilson ikke er kommen til Ende med sine Overvejelser. Han forestiller sig i næsten alle Scener »a draft of Greene« eller simpelt hen »Greene«. Hvad er Forskelnen? Og hvorledes kan han skelne mellem »a draft« og »a manuscript«, da han dog Ingenting veed om at Greene brugte Afskrifter? Hvorledes aner han, at der ingen draft of Greene eksisterede til de faa Scener hvori han ikke vil give Greene Del? Mere rigtigt burde Wilson have anerkendt Greene som Forfatter af hele første Del,

og uden Medarbejdere. Og egentlig ogsaa af 2.—3. Del. Han var da ogsaa bleven nødt til at kommentere Bogen anderledes. Ved hvert Ord eller Udtryk eller Vending der ikke findes andre Steder hos Shakespeare, skriver han — oftest følgende Hart — »non-Shakespearean«. Havde han anvendt samme Fremgangsmaade ved alle de Stykker af Shakespeare han har udgivet, vilde det shakespeareiske Ordforraad blive meget ringe. Endvidere er det en Selvfølge, at den Lærde ved et Arbejde som i Grunden til-lægger Greene det hele Værk, burde have skrevet »non-Greenesque« ved Alt hvad der ikke er at finde i Greenes anerkendte Skrifter. Men da fik han-Noget at bestille. Thi *Henrik VI* er ikke skrevet med Greenes Ordforraad, hvilket næppe behøver at eftervises; det er egentlig allerede indlysende af det urimeligt ringe Antal af Gloser og Fraser der i Kommentarerne til vort Triptychon hen-vises til Greene. Massen af nogenlunde særprægede Ord og Ven-dinger i *Henrik VI* mangler hos Greene.

I det Følgende betyder H. Hart's Udgave, W. = J. Dover Wilson, og C. = Sir Edmund Chambers, *William Shakespeare, a Study of Facts and Problems I*, 1930.

FØRSTE AKT.

1. Sc. H.: Shakespeare over en »sketch« af Greene. Men der gives ingen Methode til at skelne mellem Samarbejde mellem to og Overarbejdelse. C.: Shakespeare. W.: Nashe working upon a draft or plot by Greene. Et plot er absolut uigenkendeligt i en enkelt Scene. Forelaa der Ms. af Greene, kunde det let inde-holde en Vending fra Nashe, som dog er usikker. — Jeg udelader Edm. Chambers' evige »Tvivl«; alle hans Attributioner er usikre. — Scenen ligner snarest *Marlowe* og *Kyd*, efter min Smag.

Sc. 2. H.: Greene, med mulig Hjælp fra Nashe. Umuligt, Greene kan ikke have søgt Hjælp hos Nashe. Med hvad Motiv? C.: Peele. — Ja den kunde endelig være af Peele om galt skulde være. W.: Nashe. — Hvis Greene alt havde skrevet hele Stykket?

Sc. 3. H.: Greene. C.: Shakespeare. W.: Nashe.

Sc. 4. H.: Shakespeare med Hjælp af Nashe. — Hvor befandt Nashe sig under disse Operationer? C.: Peele. W.: Nashe.

Sc. 5. H.: Greene. C.: Peele. W.: Nashe.

Sc. 6. H.: Greene. C.: Peele. W.: Nashe. — Men Scenen ligner ingen af disse Forfattere, snarest *Marlowe*.

ANDEN AKT.

Sc. 1. H.: Greene. C.: Peele. W.: Greene. — Den kendte Talbot-Scene med Orléans' Generobring er noget i Greenes og Marlowes Stil.

Sc. 2. H.: Greene revideret af Shakespeare. C.: Peele. W.: som Hart. — Scenen ligner Greene og Marlowe.

Sc. 3. H.: Greene + Shakespeare. C.: Peele. W.: som Hart.

Sc. 4. H., C., W.: Shakespeare. Men det er af Trang til Enighed, at den celebre Blomsterpluknings-Scene tilskrives Sh. Thi den ligner dog Greene ikke lidet.

Sc. 5. H.: Shakespeare. C.: Shakespeare. W.: ligesaa undtagen 74—92. Der er ingen Grund til at undtage disse Vers, der med nogen Variant genfindes i anden Del II. 2; og græsselfigt forvanskede i *The Contention*.

TREDIE AKT.

Sc. 1. (Striden mellem Gloucester og Winchester fortsættes I. 3 og er haandgribelig af samme Pen. Nogen Lighed med Marlowe.) H.: quite beyond Greene . . . But he certainly bore a hand in its construction. C.: Shakespeare. W.: Omtrent som Hart.

Sc. 2. (Generobringen af Rouen minder om den af Orléans — begge er frit opfundne — og skyldes samme Pen.) H.: Shakespeare. C.: Peele. W.: »Greene's verse slightly rehandled by Sh.« Men det er visselig ubevisligt. Mellem 1. og 2. Scene er intet Tegn paa Forfatter-Skifte.

Sc. 3. Hart: Greene. C.: Peele. W.: Greene eller Nashe. Sagen er, at Englænderne ikke kan lide at tildele Shakespeare disse *Jeanne d'Arc*-Scener. — Peele og Nashe er særlig umulige til Kandidaturen.

Sc. 4. (Noget sjusket Overlevering.) Hart: Greene. C.: Shakespeare. W.: Først af Greene, senere »possibly Nashe«. Der er ingen paaviselig Grund til at formode Autor-Skifte.

FJERDE AKT.

Sc. 1. (Kronings-Scenen, mest frit opfundet.) H.: Shakespeare. C.: ligesaa. W.: Mostly Sh., though I find traces of a basic text (by? Greene) here and there. — Dersom Dr. Wilsons basiske Text een Gang for alle maa tilskrives Greene, er hans

Spørgsmaalstegn overflødig. Og der kan ikke være flere basiske Texter.

Sc. 2. H., C., W. enige om Shakespeare, W. med Tilfojelsen: »Yet the repetitions ‘bloody’ . . . pale . . . timorous suggest a basic text (by? Greene).« Disse Ord er dog ikke opfundne af Greene og kunde i saa Fald laanes. Tonen er noget marlowesk.

Sc. 3. H.: Shakespeare. C.: Peele. W.: reshaped by Shakespeare, med a basic text »by? Greene«.

Sc. 4. (fortsætter 3 og maa være af samme Forfatter.) H.: Shakespeare. C.: ligesaa. W.: som ved Sc. 3.

Sc. 5. H.: Shakespeare. C.: Peele. W.: Shakespeare (»written . . . to replace 4. 6).«

Sc. 6. H.: Shakespeare (»draft by Greene«). C.: Peele. W.: Greene.

Sc. 7. H.: Greene + Shakespeare. C.: Peele. W.: a basic text by Greene or Peele or by Nashe, imitating both; the whole touched up by Shakespeare. — Den store Variation i Diagnoserne skyldes Methodens Vilkaarlighed. Tonen er den samme som i alle Talbot-Scenerne, noget marlowesk.

FEMTE AKT.

Sc. 1. H.: Greene. C.: Shakespeare. W.: Greene. (»Note the insipidity, diffuseness, and prosiness of the verse, which is certainly not Sh.«.) Men Stilen ligner ikke Greenes.

Sc. 2. H.: finder Scenen for kort til at skonne om. Men det kommer af Methoden. Sceneinddelingen er sikkert ikke den oprindelige. Sc. 2 ligner Sc. 1 og Sc. 3. C.: Peele. W.: Greene.

Sc. 3. C.: Vers 1—44 Peele, Vers 45—195 Greene. W.: første Gruppe Nashe, anden Gruppe Greene. H.: in a rough state by Greene and smoothed and finished by Sh.« Hart kan umuligt forestille sig noget ved en raa Form for Greene. Stilen er den samme som i forrige Scene.

Sc. 4. (*Jeanne d'Arcs Dom, Fredsslutningen.*) H.: Shakespeare, med tænkelig Hjælp fra Peele. C.: 1—93 Peele, Resten Shakespeare. W.: Greene, Nashe, Shakespeare i een Køre.

Sc. 5. H.: Shakespeare. C.: Greene. W.: Greene, 55—58 rewritten by Sh.

Experternes Modsigelser er jo graverende og røber at det hele Foretagende er utilforladeligt. Og dog er den reelle Modsætning mellem de Lærdes Skøn neppe uhyre. Mellem quasi-Greene og quasi-Peele og omrent-Marlowe, raa Udkast og Skizzter man aldrig har set, er Forskellen ringe. Forfattere, der er berøvet deres Ejendommelighed, kan efter Slump blive til een eller mange. Det er under disse Omstændigheder bedst at holde sig til Traditionen.

Gives der overhovedet noget Sted i den første *Henrik den Sjette*, der kalder paa Theorien om en Pluralitet af Forfattere? Nej, siger PETER ALEXANDER. Jo, mener J. DOVER WILSON. Han henviser (se hans Udgave I xxi seq.) til en Diskrepans, som vel er en pur Forglemmelse, imellem Akt V Sc. 1, hvor Hertugen af Exeter udbryder ved Synet af Winchester som Kardinal:

What! is my Lord of Winchester installed,
And called unto a cardinals degree?

mens Kardinalen allerede er kreeret Akt I Sc. 3. Dette er for ubetydeligt. Hvis det altsaa overhovedet kan kaldes en »inconsistency«. — Ligeledes antager Dr. Wilson at IV 5 og IV 6 er Dubletter, den ene af Greene, den anden af Shakespeare, fordi den første kunde undværes.

En særlig Mærkværdighed er den Methode, hvorefter Dr. Wilson bestemmer om et Vers er af Greene eller Shakespeare eller begge. Hovedsagen er, at de flotte og fuldttonende Vers (»med eller uden Enjambement«) tilskrives Shakespeare, de tørre og trælse Greene; mens det blandede Gods tilskrives en efter Omstændighederne mere eller mindre indgribende Revision af Shakespeare. Paa denne Maade bliver Shakespeare alligevel delagtig i forskellige Vers, paa hvis Kvalitet det aabenbart ikke kom an. Paafaldende er det, at Greene, der alligevel har skrevet mange søde og indtagende Rythmer, i dette Stykke skal være Sorteper. — Paa den anden Side overhøres Marlowes Stemme — selv om den kun er en Efterligning, ganske og aldeles.

At Methoden er hjælpeløs og vilkaarlig og spekulativ, det er vel nogenlunde indlysende.

Med denne Fordeling af Forfatterskabet er Theorien om at 1. Del er skrevet senere end 2.—3. Del ikke solidarisk, og for saa vidt uden Betydning. Efter Wilsons Mening er det bevist, at 2.—3. Del er opført to Maaneder for 1. Del, og at Enkelt-

dramaet og Dobbeltstykket er produceret af hver sin Trup. Den theaterhistoriske Argumentation er meget tynd og indviklet. Det Modsatte er vel snarere sandsynligt.

Dr. Wilson gaar saa vidt som til at hævde, at Forfatteren eller Forfatterne af 2. Del ikke har kendt 1. Del. Det ser imidlertid ud, som denne Paastand er udformet, for Wilson har erkendt at 1. og 2.—3. Del har samme Forfatter, nemlig Greene hvem han længere henne giver praktisk talt Æren for det Hele. Hvad han vil argumentere for, er den af ham selv under Trykningen opgivne Theori, at de to Værker har hver sin »Basis«, hvormed han i Virkeligheden mener hver sin Forfatter, nemlig Peele og Greene. Meget pudsigt og forkert benytter han et gammelt Argument af *Malone*. Henrik VI siger i 2. Del at han kun var 9 Maaneder gammel Konge, hvilket var sandt. Men i 1. Del opträder Kongen som Dreng og fører selv Ordet. Aarsagen er sikkert dramaturgisk, som Dover Wilson ogsaa gør opmærksom paa. Men er her en Modsigelse, da kan den vel bedre forklares af, at Forfatteren af 1. Del endnu ikke havde skrevet 2. Del. — Professor Wilson er ogsaa misfornøjet med Skildringen af de to Antagonister Gloucester og Winchester i de to Stykker. Dog er Winchester den samme ubehagelige Fyr i de to Stykker, mens Gloucester i 1. Del er en stojende Fyr, i 2. Del (nemlig i Modgangens Stunder) meget værdig. Svaret maa blive, at det Ene er lige saa mærkeligt eller lidet mærkeligt som det Andet. Og hvad lod der sig slutte om Stykkernes Tidsfølge? Første Del kunde dog være ældre end anden. — Med en ligefrem Triumf i Røsten hævder Wilson at have fundet et stærkt Bevis for sin Paastand i den Omstændighed, at *Talbot*, der for længst er død og begravet i 1. Del, ikke nævnes i 2. Del. Ja det er vist en Uhøflighed, men det maa Greene eller Shakespeare om. Dog er Talbot ogsaa temmelig forglemt i Krønikerne efter sin Død. Der sigtes til Tiraden 2. Del I 76 ff. hvor »Brave York« og Somerset omtales hæderfuldt af Gloucester, skønt de i 1. Del opträder som Talbots Fjender. Gloucester er vel ikke at lide paa? — Repliken er ifølge Wilson af Greene. Sagtens skal disse Indvendinger oprindelig stamme fra, at Wilson engang mente, at 1. Del havde Peele til Kaptajn, nu er efter hans Menings-Skifte Greene Manden for begge Stykker. Efter hans Argumenter maatte imidlertid Forfatteren af 1. Del være lige saa uvidende om 2. Del som omvendt. Dersom 1. Del er skrevet

først, er det jo intet Under at Greene endnu ikke kunde anden Del udenad. Dog der er Ting nok som beviste, at Stykkerne er blevet til i den naturlige Rækkefølge. Frem for Alt er som omtalt Dronningens og Suffolks Kærlighed et stærkt Bevis, dernæst det fælles Ensemble og de trods Knurren fra Wilsons Side vel overholdte Karakterer.

Ifølge Dover Wilson er hele *Henrik VI* rask sammenskrevet med Henblik paa en kortvarig national Stemning. Og Slutningen af 5. Akt er skreven en rum Tid efter det Forudgaaende som missing link mellem 1. og 2. Del. Wilson ynder saadanne Sætninger.

III. THE CONTENTION OG ANDEN DEL

Anden Del byder paa et dobbelt Problem: Forholdet til *The Contention*, og Enhed eller Flerhed af Forfattere. H. C. Hart har i sin Udgave stærkt benyttet og tiltraadt RICHARD GRANT WHITES Behandling af Stykket som staar i 7. Bd. af dennes store Udgave Boston 1865, først skrevet i 1859 som Afhandling, men Hart har benyttet et senere Tryk 1881, hvorved det tager sig ud som om Grant White har sine Meninger fra før omtalte Miss JANE LEE; Forholdet er omvendt. Men vi henviser især til hendes meget udførlige Afhandling fra 1876 eller 1875. En lille Bog af Fleay fra Nov. 1875 bringer som Miss Lee stærkt *Peele* paa Bane, men lader ham umotiveret falde til sidst. Hun fraskriver Shakespeare al Andel i *The Contention*, ogsaa af Scenerne med den berømte Oprører *Jack Cade*, følges heri af ingen uden til en vis Grad J. Dover Wilson. Hendes endelige Operationer er imidlertid udførte paa Folio'ens Text.

Hendes store Originalitet er altsaa den at først tilskrive Marlowe hele Stykket, senere under Udarbejdelsenændret til ca.^{1/3} af 2. Del og ca. ^{2/3} af den 3. Part. Dette udtrykkes dog ikke saa groft som her refereret. Miss Lees Regnskab ser saaledes ud: »Speaking broadly, in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedie*, the characters of King Henry VI, Cardinal Beaufort, York, Suffolk, the two Cliffords are drawn by Marlowe, but I say this with the reservation, that in certain scenes written by Greene the parts of these characters were written by Greene also.« Ogsaa Richards Repliker stammer fra Marlowe mens nogle af Yorks Repliker

dog kommer paa Greenes Kappe. Greene er endvidere ansvarlig for Duke Humphrey (»in a certain measure«), Hertuginde Eleanor, Clarence, Edward IV o. fl. Jack Cade er dog Greenes bedste Bytte. Fordelingen paa Scener ser saaledes ud, idet Forfatterne skrives med Kursiv og Revisorerne med Brødskrift:

- Akt I Sc. 1: S, M G (ɔ: Overvægt af Marlowe)
- - - 2: S, G.
- - - 3: S, G M (ɔ: Overvægt af Greene).
- - - 4: S, G.
- II - 1: S, G.
- - - 2: S, M G(?).
- - - 3: S og M?, G.
- - - 4: S, G.
- III - 1: S og M(?), M G. (Marlowe reviderer Marlowe!)
- - - 2: S og M, M G (Ligesaa).
- - - 3: S, M.
- IV - 1: M, G.
- - - 2—4: S, G.
- - - 5: G (urevideret, hvorfor egentlig?).
- - - 6—9: S, G.
- - - 10: S M, G.
- V - 1: M S, M G(?) (Marlowe reviderer Marlowe).
- - - 2: M S, G M (Ligesaa).
- - - 3: S, G M.

Dette er væsentlig Selvbedrag, men der er det Sande i Paastandene, at Tonen ofte er marlowesk.

Miss Lees Forsøg har øvet en betydelig Indflydelse paa J. M. ROBERTSONS almindelige Stormløb mod Shakespeare. Denne bragte dog ikke noget meget Nyt om *Henrik VI*, men ramte haardt deres Efterfølger *Richard III*, som ogsaa er marlowesk i Tonen. Om Robertsons Tendenser henviser jeg ellers til mit Skrift *Shakespeares Ungdomsstykker*.

H. C. HARTS ofte omtalte Udgave bragte meget Nyt. Marlowe er her forviist til det ubekendte Land. I hans Sted figurerer Peele altsaa med en Masse Citater. Peele har i *Jack Straw* leveret Forbilledet for Jack Cade-Scenerne. Peele er her snart Planlægger, snart Forfatter af *Henrik VI*. Marlowe erstattes af Shakespeare. Shakespeare faar her Jack Cade-Scenerne i stærk Modsætning

til Fleay, der havde vindiceret dem for Marlowe. Ogsaa Medarbejdernes kab fra *Kyd* afvises. Der er dog en Masse Kyd-Citater i begge Dele af *The Whole Contention*, skønt ikke nok til at tildele ham Forfatterskabet. Der er ingen Skema eller Tabel i Harts Udgave, og vi holder os til de ret talrige Attributioner i Indledningen.

AKT I.

Sc. 1. »Shakespeare opened the Act as he usually (or often) does with Peele's help here and there.« Dette er umuligt, for Stykket blev først (vilkaarligt) inddelt i Akter 1623. »Peele has less to do with this scene (which is Shakespeare's) in *Contention* than in Part II (ø: tredie Del af *Henrik VI*), where both developed it together.« — Shakespeare og Peele har altsaa baade skrevet *Contention* og senere revideret den sammen?

Sc. 2. »The opening of the scene is again Shakespeare's, who with Peele did the expansion in the finished play.«

Sc. 3. Uklar Attribution (»This is what would be natural in Shakespeare«).

Sc. 4. Nærmest anvist Peele.

AKT II.

Sc. 1. Shakespeare, »under Peele's guidance with regard to stage-directions«. Men disse er uden al Ejendommelighed og vel tilføjede efter Stykkets Udarbejdelse. Q afviger næsten ganske fra Folioens Regie i denne Scene.

Sc. 2. Shakespeare og Peele (som »closes the scene«). — I Virkeligheden optager Scenen Traade fra 1. Del (II 4 og IV 5). Stamtræet er behandlet af Kenny og ret forskelligt i Q (som er en Oktav) og F. Overleveringen i Q er besynderlig vild. Ingenting vidner om Peeles Stil.

Sc. 3. Delt mellem Shakespeare og Peele (der skrev første Halvdel) i Q, men revideret af Shakespeare. — Altsaa Shakespeare reviderer Shakespeare. — Stykkerne har Intet som ligner Peele, men meget stærke Ligheder med Kyd.

Sc. 4. Peele gøres kun ansvarlig for Regien, men der er kun et Par korte Bemærkninger uden Karakter og nogen Afvigelse i Q. Kun Udtrykket *mourning cloaks* minder om *mourning cloaks* et Sted hos Peele. Det stammer vel fra Theatrets Garderobe. — Videre Attribution mangler for denne Akt hos H. C. Hart.

AKT III.

Sc. 1. »The whole scene is Shakespeare's written lightly for a shorter play and expanded fully by the same writer.«

Sc. 2. »All Shakespeare's« (men dog med Regie for Peele) baade i Q og F.

AKT IV.

Sc. 1. »Opened by Shakespeare, and the coming seven lines awkwardly tacked on to Peele's opening . . . The revision is Shakespeare's Work.«

Sc. 2. Peele, som det synes, men vel ogsaa Shakespeare.

Sc. 3. P. og Sh. »worked out Cade together in both plays«, d. v. s. Q og F.

Sc. 4. Shakespeare (se Harts Udgave II S. 148).

Sc. 5. Shakespeare (se *ib.* S. 152).

Sc. 6—10. Peele og Shakespeare. — *Sc. 8* (Clifford og Cade) »entirely rewritten by Shakespeare«. — *Sc. 9.* »The preliminary speech . . . is added by Shakespeare.« Derpaa et Stykke »either of Peele or Greene«. Resten er »wholly Shakespeare's«.

Sc. 10. Nye Anskuelser om Cade-Scenerne. »Too many cooks spoilt Cade. There are signs of Nashe . . .«

AKT V.

Sc. 1. Peele, Marlowe(?), mest Shakespeare.

Sc. 2. »Peele opens it.« »Undoubted evidences of Shakespeare in the final play.«

Sc. 3. »A joint production of Peele and Shakespeare.«

Harts Anskuelser om Forfatter og Bearbejder gælder altsaa baade »Kvarterne« og den store Folio-Udgave. Man kan vist se bort fra hans Paastande om Greene og Marlowe og Nashe. Hans Hypothese gælder i Grunden kun Peele og Shakespeare. Den lader sig ikke forene med hans Tro paa »Kvart«-Udgaverne, som umuligt kan være forfattede af disse Herrer. Peeles Texter er pyntelige og tomme, net komponerede, Shakespeares kender vi. Men de to Contention-Spil, især det første, er vanskabte.

En smuk Behandling er givet af Problemets af P. Alexander i *Shakespeare's H. VI and R. III* 1929 og af E. K. Chambers, *The Relation of Contention to 2, 3 Henry VI*, i Proc. Oxford Bibliogr.

Society II 1 1926 samt i hans før omtalte *William Shakespeare* 1930 I, især S. 282: who could ever have written such a text as Q, which in some places shows the hand of a competent dramatist, and in others is too bad for the veriest stage hack, to say nothing of the competent dramatists to whom it has been ascribed? . . . Many of the features of Q, indeed, recur in the ‘bad’ Qq of *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Henry V*, where also a reporter seems to be wholly or in part responsible.«

Imod Sir Edmund Chambers gaar den fortræffelige EDGAR I. FRIPP, 1938, S. 273 ff. (om 1. og 2. Del, som her for en Gangs Skyld grupperes) og 288 ff. (om tredie Del). Han antog de tre Dele af *Henrik den Sjette* for et oprindeligt Værk af Marlowe, som fra Shakespeares Haand »underwent more than one revision«. Han mener allerede at Shakespeare har bearbejdet Marlowe i de to Contention-Bind. Shakespeare skulde senere have gennemset det Hele en Gang til. Første Del er en Slags angliseret *Tamburlaine*, Talbot er en ny Tamburlaine-Skikkelse. I anden Del er Duke Humphrey Helt og Hertuginden Heltinde, begge forfølges med »Marlovian cruelty«. Shakespeare genfindes i Rosenpluknings-Scenerne, i Mortimers Død i Tower, i Talbots Henvendelse til Guvernøren i Bordeaux og dennes Svar, i Talbots Død. Overhovedet skal Shakespeare være mild og Marlowe brutal. I tredie Del (»almost certainly written for Christmas 1591—92«) synes Shakespeares Haand stærkere. Første Del er efter denne Opfatelse skrevet først. — En Svaghed ved E. Fripps Hypothese er det, at Tonen i Stykket synes at faa et stadig højere Sving.

Professor John Dover Wilsons Udgave 1952 betegner et Tilbageskridt, »til Malone« mener han, snarere til Miss Lee. Kun er Marlowe (og Peele) udviste, og Greene triumferer.

Fordelingen af 2. Del følger ligesom den af 1. Del oftest Forgaengernes Grænseesk, men erstatter oftest Peele med Greene. Man skulde tro at disse Digtere lignede hinanden, men dette er aldeles ikke Tilfældet. Greene var en poetisk Kraft af høj Rang. Hans Komposition, hans Skikkeler og store Scener er overalt en Mesters, hans Versifikation er noget mere end korrekt, hans poetiske Veltalenhed og Billedsprog vindende. Jeg finder navnlig Bevægelsen i hans Tirader og Repliker rosærdig. Men Peele var kun en lille Digter, dog med gode Indfald i Kompositionen og en Del Manér i sin monotone Vers- og Ordkunst. Peele var

kunstlet overalt, hans Personer noget livløse, eller kedelige. De kan sjeldent forvexles. Greene var den mindst og Peele den mest akademiske af »the University wits«. Forfatteren af de to Contention'er var vel (paa en Maade) Shakespeare, men ukendelig mange Steder paa Grund af daarlig Opskrift; den Skyldige har man søgt i en bestemt, desværre navnløs Skuespiller. Men vil man gætte paa en anden, ligger Thomas Kyd nærmere end Greene og Peele.

AKT I.

Sc. 1. »A basic text by Greene rehandled by Sh.« Dette Motto kunde staa over hver Scene i denne Udgave. Men Wilson siger Vers 1—129 »are non-Sh.«. Der tænkes vel især paa Versene; dog det er en Fordom at Shakespeare altid skrev flotte Vers. Mange, rigtig nok især senere, er paafaldende slappe.

Sc. 2. Greene.

Sc. 3. Greene. »Sh. seems to have touched up the verse in places to add dignity to« Gloucester.

Sc. 4. Greene »touched up«.

ANDEN AKT.

Sc. 1—2. Som tilforn.

Sc. 3. Greene, undtagen 88—90. Disse Linier er dog som de andre.

Sc. 4. Greene.

TREDIE AKT.

Sc. 1. Skrevet først af Greene, revideret af Shakespeare.

Sc. 2. Ligesaa.

Sc. 3. Ligesaa (»one or two details suggest a basic text«).

FJERDE AKT.

Sc. 1. En sammensat basisk Text af Greene og Nashe, »certainly revised by Sh.« Stilen er snarest Marlowe-Kyd'sk.

Sc. 2—10, Jack Cade-Scenerne først af Nashe, senere reviderede af Shakespeare. Scenerne er væsentlig identiske i *The Contention*, der af Wilson anses for en daarlig »report«. 4. Scene tilskriver han dog Greene.

Sc. 9 »even below Greene's usual level«. — Scenen er Fylde-kalk, synes jeg, og savner Karakter.

Sc. 10. »One or two touches . . . suggest Sh. . . . The prose is . . . full of Nashe clues, and the verse points to Greene or an imitation of him.« En Efterligning af Greene? Aabenbart er Dr. Wilson ved at skifte Mening. En Greene-Efterligner kunde jo have skrevet hele Stykket? Altsaa f. Ex. Wm. Shakespeare?

FEMTE AKT

tilskrives Nashe, Greene med Shakespeare som Revisor. —

Den hele Konstruktion virker utilforladelig. Som man vil se, opereres her overalt med en »basic text«.

IV. REFORM-FORSØG

ALBERT FEUILLERATS Bog, *The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays* stræber efter at paavise de virkelige Forfattere til *The Whole Contention* uden for de kendte Digteres Kres, i Tiden før Theatrets Rekonstruktion, som allerede omtalt. Tankegangen er til Dels støttet paa Miss Lees gamle Argumenter, som dog sigter til et ganske modsat Resultat. Den opererer med tilsyneladende nye og exakte Definitioner af Shakespeares Sprog og Stil. Den respekterer ikke hævdvundne Methoder. A. Feuillerats Udryksmaade hører til det mest decidedede og paastaaelige i Shakespeare-Litteraturen: »The Reader will not find here any of the brilliant controversies that have recently transformed some provinces of Shakespearian criticism into eloquent debating societies.« Bogen er dog meget sensations-betonet. »The present volume is simply an unimaginative, minute analysis, verse by verse, line by line, of the text of Shakespeare's plays, a steadfast search of facts, facts turned into percentages leading to inevitable deductions which are still facts, and which I believe have some importance for a true understanding of Shakespeare's genius.« Hvis man ved Fakta forstaar det for Undersøgelsen umiddelbart Givne, har A. Feuillerat kun de samme Fakta som alle Andre. Men hans Fakta er netop Konstruktioner; og ikke saa lidt »imaginative«.

Omregningen af Fakta i Procenter kan egentlig siges at være overflødig. Udbyttet for Shakespeares Genius maa siges at være Nul.

Bogen er opfyldt med theaterhistoriske Betragtninger, idet Feuillerat siger Theaterhistorien er forsømt i den tidlige Litteratur. Dette er nu langt fra at være Tilfældet. Snarere har de søgt Distraktion i deres theaterhistoriske Hypotheser, thi i deres Attributions-Forsøg har de ikke kunnet bruge dem til Noget.

A. Feuillerat hævder at der ingen Methode gives til at skelne mellem en Omarbejdelse i Forhold til dens Original og en oprindelig Text i Forhold til en daarlig »report«. Ikke desto mindre tror han at finde en Udvej i Tidsalderens Manuskripter, dette vil dog næsten kun sige *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*. Men dette maa dog siges at være en Skuffelse. Paagældende Haandskrift har kun summariske Vink af en banal Karakter. I Virkeligheden er Problemet, der har naget alle Forskerne, dog ikke uløseligt. Thi det er ret utænkeligt, at Shakespeare skulde have ulejlighet sig med at øve en udstrakt Textkritik over for de mange fejlskrevne og ametriske Vers der rummes i den under alle Omstændigheder havarerede Text til *the Contention's* 1. Del især, men ogsaa 2. Del. Ligesaa er det en udsøgt Høflighed af ham at fiske de mange smukke Vers op af Møddingen.

A. Feuillerat hæfter sig i sin Kritik især ved Paastanden om en rent mundtlig Rapport. Det er dog ikke Alle der har hældet til denne Opfattelse, tværtimod gætter man paa skjult Medvirkning af en eller flere af de mange lejede Skuespillere der var knyttet til Trupperne for en kort Tid. I Grunden er det ørkesløst at spekulere over Oprindelsen til Texten 1594—95. Det fører til Masser af Hypotheser — som allerede paa Grund af deres Masse fortjener Mistanke. Grublerier over »the M S for the Qq's« er en Ting der burde forbydes. I Virkeligheden er det en Urimelighed, som især skyldes Professor John Dover Wilson, at snakke for meget om disse Manuskripter som slet ikke existerer.

»When it has been determined what kind of manuscript served as copy for a given play, there still remains to be seen whether this text retains signs of having been modified.« (Anf. Skr. S. 53). Her tales som om Textkritiken ikke var opfundet før. A. Feuillerat leverer en Slags textkritisk Katekismus, som dog for det Meste stammer fra Wilsons *Hamlet-Kritik*:

1. Det mest evidente »sign that a play has been touched up is the presence of a double redaction of the same idea.« Dette er en Slags Selvbedrag. Hvor der er beviislig »redaction«, er der muligt Spor af Sammenflikning, men en Gentagelse af Tanken er ikke *index sui et falsi*.

2. »Very often in Shakespearean texts, especially in the quartos, verses are badly divided or not divided at all but printed as prose.« Intet er almindeligere til alle Tider. Men dette er ikke »an indication of a correction«, som disse Lærde paastaar. Det er det vel uhyre sjældent.

3. Prosastykker trykkes ofte i Linier af ulige Længde, som det var Vers. A. Feuillerat mener det kommer af at Forfatteren enten ikke udnyttede Pladsen ret, eller havde foretaget marginale Rettelser. — Mere naturligt er det, at her foreligger Vers som er mundtligt gengivne efter Indholdet.

4. Ufuldstændige Vers kan betegne Ændringer af anden Sort. — Hensigten kan være Pauser, eller en særlig Vægt paa Stedet, eller Ingenting. Det er næsten aldrig et Tegn paa afbrudt Overlevering.

5. *Prosastykker i Versescener*. Dette findes ofte. »This is fairly surprising, for it was the practice in the pre-Shakespearean drama to employ prose only in comic scenes.« — Men ingenlunde! Prosa var overvejende i Folkescenens Stykker; ogsaa i tragiske Scener. Digteren har vel haft en Hensigt dermed (endnu f. Ex. i Othello). Han havde ingen Forpligtelse til at skrive Vers eller Prosa. Det kan ikke tages for Tegn paa Flik-Flak, som A. Feuillerat er overbeviist om. Ligesaas:

6. *Blanding af Rim- og Blankvers*, som i *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Men dette er bestemt ikke Tegn paa daarlig Overlevering. Rettelser ud fra dette Synspunkt er sikkert dødsdømte paa Forhaand. Indtrykket af en vis Uorden paakalder altid dilettantiske Textkritikeres Korrektionslyst.

7. En Karakter omtales i en Scene-Regie men ses ikke i den følgende Dialog. I *Stort Besvær for Ingenting* nævnes to Gange Leonato med hans Hustru »Innogen«. Dette skal være Vidnesbyrd om Textændring, men er vel snarest det Modsatte, for en »remanieur« vilde have strøget Ledsagersken.

8. *Variationer i Navne*, d. v. s. Replikoverskrifter, er almindelige: Capuletti/Father, Dogberry/Constable, Holophernes/Pedant.

Dette skal efter A. Feuillerat gaa tilbage til Moraliteter o. lign. Stykker som undgaar Egennavne. — Det er snarest sikre Forfatter-Mærker.

9. *Modsigelser i Handling og Karakter* kan efter alle Textkritikere som efter A. Feuillerat være Tegn paa *flere* Forfattere. — Men de kendes ogsaa hos *den samme* Digter.

Alt i Alt er der intet Nyt i disse Grundsætninger, der trofast følges i Prouty's Værk.

For at grave Shakespeares Part ud af de havarerede Kvarter paastaar A. Feuillerat at have fundet en exakt Methode, der skal erstatte den subjektive Ligning i Attributionen. Han vil som Kendetegn paa den ægte Shakespeare kun anerkende objektive Træk, hentede fra de to fortællende Digte *Venus and Adonis* og *Lucrece*, samt mindre konsekvent, fra *Sonetterne*, hvis Authenti dog ikke er bedre bevidnet end *A Midsummer Night's Dream's*. Han var paa det Rene med, at det var kedeligt det drejede sig om Digte i Strofer og ikke Skuespil: »nondramatic, it is true, but where the author's dramatic sense shows forth at each instant«. Det sidste er visselig forkert. Men med hvad Ret taler han om Shakespeares dramatiske Kraft, naar han udelader hans Dramer af Sammenligningen? Methoden er iøvrigt velkendt og betænkelig. Det er en naturlig Fristelse kun at ville handle med guldrandede Obligationer. Men at ville bestemme en Forfatters mindre sikre Skrifter efter de formentlig bedre bevidnede fører, om Methoden udføres mekanisk og logisk, til Forkastelse af de inkriminerede Skrifters Ægthed. Specielt synes de meget kunstlede smaa Epopeer i italiensk (eller som Feuillerat siger, mindre rigtigt, i fransk) Stil uegnede til en saadan Operation. Det er *uselvstændige* Digte, Efterligninger af kultistiske og lignende Modedigte, af en usikker Smag. Sonetterne ligesaa.

For at være sikker paa at finde den rigtige Shakespeare forkaster han *en bloc* alle tidlige Skildringer af Shakespeare og hans Stil. Her vilde han muligt have haft Nutte af de uden- og indenlandske Karakteristiker som BERNHARD TEN BRINK's, HIPPOLYTE TAINÉ's og Sir WALTER RALEIGH's Billeder af Shakespeare. En egentlig stilistisk eller dramaturgisk Beskrivelse af Shakespeares dramatiske Værker existerer vist ikke, men Bøger som MOULTON's *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art* kunde have hjulpet ham, om han ikke af strengt principielle Grunde havde resig-

neret. Af samme Grund er CAROLINE SPURGEON's og Fleres Arbejder om Shakespeares Billedsprog ubenyttede. Albert Feuillerat baserer altsaa sin Iagttagelse paa de to fortællende Kunstdigte; mindre end lovet paa Sonetterne. Arbejdet har ikke været besværligt, thi han opsøger kun de fra Oldtiden vel bekendte stilistiske eller oratoriske »Figurer«, som man plejer at kalde dem. Disse er nu atter og atter fremhævede af tidligere Forskere. Det drejer sig mest om *Antithesen*, *Gentagelser* og andre Ordspils-Figurer. Stilen i disse Digte er som i deres latinske og romanske Forbilledes ofte noget *affekteret*. I de tidlige Stykker er denne Manierisme særlig iøjnefaldende, fordi den ledsages af en mere skematisk Versifikation end senere.

I Forbindelse med disse traditionelle Elementer sættes imidlertid »Shakespeare's originality«, der ses i »the extraordinary activity of his imagination« (dette minder dog om Taine). — Denne ses dog ikke at være overvættet i de to Digte. Shakespeares Billeder paastaas at være givne »med en fotografisk Plades Nøjagtighed« og hans Opfindsomhed er »inexhaustible«. Hvilket ikke kan bevises af Smaadigte ogaabenhært henviser til de banlyste Dramer. Man savner unægtelig Exakthed og Selvstændighed i denne Karakteristik.

Herefter (*anf. Skr.* S. 67 ff.) gaas over til *Versifikationen*. »Style can be imitated, but not the manner in which the composition of verse is conceived« — det forholder sig snarest omvendt. Dette Afsnit er særlig uheldigt, fordi Shakespeares Versifikation i disse Digte paaafaldende ligner Andres, og nødvendigvis afviger fra Skuespillenes. Imidlertid slaar A. Feuillerat sig paa ret uskyldigt Gods, som neppe har nogen Karakter. Han giver en Statistik for *Venus og Adonis* og *Lucrece* over *svagt accentede* Arsis-Stavelser i Rimverset, *Trokæer* (det vi kalder koriambisk Begyndelse), *Spondær* (altsaa tunge Thesisstavelser), *indre Pauser* (d. e. Cæsurer) og *Enjambementer* (af hvilke han finder 14 Procent i begge Digte (et for højt Tal). Lignende Forhold finder han i et Udvalg af Sonetterne. —

Disse Forhold genfinder han i Dele af *The Contention* og i *Romeo og Julie* ligeledes i nogle Afsnit. Men her er ingen Prøver gjort med andre Digttere, andre Stykker af Shakespeare.

Om selve Sagen kun nogle Ord. Den latinske Rhetorik, som efterlyses i de stilistiske Partier, er jo kun delvis trængt igennem

hos Shakespeare og hans Samtidige, der vel Alt i Alt forholder sig nogenlunde ens til gammel og ny rhetorisk Digtning. Dennes mest iøjnefaldende Kendemærker turde være: 1) Perifraser i Guds Velsignelse, 2) ethvert Substantiv næsten normalt ledsaget af et Adjektiv. Samme Recept gælder vore egne Skaaltaler!

Det metriske Materiale er for ubetydeligt. Dog anvender Shakespeare *indre »Trokæer«* i sine Blankvers, og i det Hele taget alle Digerne i deres Blankvers.

Rigtig nok er de Vers han ved Hjælp af denne Methode udpeger som Shakespeares, af Alle anerkendte som ægte; sagtens kan disse Typer ogsaa genfindes hos andre Forfattere.

Men megen Betydning har disse alt for almindelige Kendemærker ikke haft for Feuillerat. Hans Bestemmelse af Quartoen fra 1594, den første *Contention*, hviler paa andre Kriterier og fri Fantasi. Han finder som sagt to anonyme Forfattere, ingen af dem Shakespeare. Hvad der har været afgørende for hans Opstilling af en Forfatter A og en B, det er metriske Forhold af en ganske anden Karakter end dem han før talte om. A er en genial, men ametrisk Forfatter, B er tynd i Vers og Tanke, omend korrekt.

A, hedder det (*anf. Skr. S. 89 ff.*), »has a versification recognizable among others«. Han anerkendte det jambiske Femfodsvers, der siden *Gorboduc* (1561) blev betragtet som det bedste Middel for dramatisk Udryk; der findes ingen Beviser for denne populære Paastand; i Tiden 1579—87 var snarest *Prosaen* det anerkendte Vehikel. — Men A holder sig ikke til sit Valg. Man finder i Stykket Vers af næsten enhver Længde fra to Stavelser til sexten. — Disse Vers er nu slet ikke Vers. De gaar vel under tiden tilbage til Vers, somme Tider maaske til Prosa. — De skal efter A. Feuillerat skyldes en Tidsalder, da Blankverset endnu ikke var tilstrækkelig erkendt eller indøvet. Men en saadan Tidsalder kendes ikke. Disse femføddede Hexametres Forekomst er indskrænket til nogle faa slette Skuespiltexter (fire i Alt), hvoraf den første Kvarto af *Hamlet* er mest kendt; ingen af dem er ældre end *The Contention*.

Feuillerat giver som Prøve paa, hvad han kalder for »trisyllabic feet in four-stress-lines«:

Cosin Yorke, | the victories thou hast wonne (Sc. 1. 120).

There goes | our Protec|tor in a rage (Sc. 1. 93).

Is ouercome my Lord | all is lost. (Sc. 9. 31).

Disse og lignende Vers lader sig vist forklare paa forskellig Maade. Enkelte er vist rigtigt overleverede, de fleste forkerte.

Trisyllabiske Fødder i Vers med fem Hævninger:

Proud Protec|tor, enuy in thine eyes I see (Sc. 1. 85).

Then what | shouldst thou lacke | that might thy minde (Sc. 2. 7).

Og lignende. Versene er sikkert forkert skanderede.

Trisyllabiske Fødder i Vers med sex Arses:

Come sirrah, | Thy life shall be the ransome I will have (Sc. 12. 26).

Trisyllabiske Fødder i »seven-stress« lines: Oh Henry, | reuerse the doome of gentle Suffolks banishment (Sc. 10. 37).

Der er ganske bestemt ingen Forfattermærke i disse Vers.

Men dog endnu mindre i det Feuillerat kalder Pseudonymen A's Forkærighed for Trokær:

And that is the *migthie Duke of Suffolk* (Sc. 2. 75).

Gloster is no little man in England (Sc. 9. 13).

Yet let not that *make thee bloudie minded* (Sc. 9. 73).

Man kan roligt afvise Feuillerats Forklaring: The author adopted the fashionable instrument of dramatic expression. Han skulde endnu slæbe rundt paa Levninger af Versifikationen fra Chancers Tid (der dog var strengt korrekt, omend ikke efter det 16. Aarhundreds Principper).

Om Sprog og Stil siger han med nogen Ret, at de er »without distinction«, til Dels meget hverdagslige; men dette lader sig naturligt fastslaa ved den gamle Opfattelse af Bogen som en Rapport, et Referat. Det Samme er vel Grunden til, at Antallet af Metaforer er saa ringe og hverdage — mest hentet fra de jevneste Dyr og Planter. Mærkværdig nok finder han heri Tegn paa gammeldags Skrivemaade, hvilket strider mod Litteraturhistorien.

Underlig nok tilkender Feuillerat Forfatteren Textens talløse Fyldeord, der ogsaa kendes fra de andre formløse daarlige Kvarter, f. Ex. *Hamlet* fra 1603. Det er mest Udraabsord som *ay*, *ah*, *oh*, *tush*, *come* etc. Skuespillerernes eller Regentens Værk! Derimod hævder han med Rette, at Planen er god, og dette er jo Alles Mening. Ligeledes kan det være rigtigt, at 1594-Kvarten er »the

play of a man who knew very well the needs of dramatic diction». Men det modsiger ikke den fornuftigere Opfattelse af Bogen som en »stjaalen« Text.

Forfatteren B skal være af en anden Støbning. Denne Digter skal have skrevet korrekte Vers og en imaginativ Diktion, det er en Imitator af *Marlowe*. A. Feuillerat mener det er A som først har skrevet hele Bogen, af hans Redaktion er kun 600 Vers tilbage, Resten skyldes B, der er af en yngre Digterslægt. De komiske Scener (i Prosa) med Jack Cade og det Hele tilskrives snarest A. Forglemmende Falstaff og hans Bande tager Feuillerat det Parti at angive Prosaen som et Træk fra den ældre Dramaturgi, fra før Scenens Rekonstruktion.

Vi ser bort fra den megen Snak om Scene-Angivelserne, som A. Feuillerat ikke er ene om. Disse er snarest Dødsfælder for Ægthedskritikerne, der gerne ser en Bunke Visdom i disse oftest tilfældigt besluttede og ujævne Inserater. De er i vort Tilfælde snart enslydende i de to Texter, snart forskellige. Feuillerat mener at kunne se, at *The Contention* og 2. Del af *Henry VI* er skrevne for to forskellige Theatre. Det er de Flestes Mening, men det fremgaar neppe af hans Studium af Regien. Sagen synes ægtedskritisk at være uden Interesse.

Sammenligningen af Texten i *King Henry VI* og *Contention* giver naturligvis det Resultat, at Stykket har undergaet en ny Revision ved Shakespeares Haand. Det Problem, som har voldt andre Vanskeligheder, de utvivlsomme, facile Smaarettelser som peger mod senere Omarbejdser, og allerede begynder i de senere Kvarter, volder ikke Feuillerat Bekymringer; det er Alt-sammen Shakespeares.

Feuillerat (og Prouty) finder »Kontraster« i Karaktertegnningen. Dronningen i de to Textkilder er forskellig af Temperament. Men det er en Urimelighed at indskräne Karakterene til kun at gælde vore to Redaktioner. Dronningen bliver virkelig fra hun dukker op i 1. Del af *Henrik VI* til hun dukker op igen i *Richard III* og viser sig sidst i Stykket som Genganger mere og mere krasbørstig og til sidst en virkelig Furie. Men det maa jo Digteren om. Den magre Text i Q 1 tillader ikke at man taler om Karakterer uden som Roller. Ogsaa om Hertuginden af Gloster frem-

hæver Feuillerat at hun først i Folioens Text viser sin Stolthed og Pragt, »which was only suggested in *The Contention*.« — Det er dog rimeligere at antage, at disse Damer har haft deres Egenskaber fra først af, og siden blot udfolder dem.

I Stilen efterviser den stridbare Forfatter nogle kultistiske, altsaa kunstlet-rhetoriske Steder, ikke mange. Disse kan vel være udeladte i den væsentlig refererende Kvarto som overflødige og svære at skrive op. De er jo ikke hyppige i W. Shakespeares historiske Skuespil.

I Versifikationen (se *anf. Skr.* S. 111) genfinder A. Feuillerat Shakespeares, hvilket heller aldrig noget Menneske har betvivlet. Men da det er det eneste Felt hvor han anvender sine Statistik og Procenter hvori han som god Amerikaner finder Videnskabens Krone, skal her dog angives hans Resultat. Det er rigtignok et mærkeligt Et. Meget forunderligt er det allerede at han kun har analyseret *udvalgte Stykker* af de formentlig shakespeareiske Afsnit; thi sæt de store Partier der forsætligt er skudt til Side, viste et andet Resultat. Og hvorledes forholder det sig med den Hovedpart af *Contention*, som tilskrives Forfatteren B, hvis kendte Versifikation er meget lettere end A's?

Weakly accented feet.....	463 = 26.9 %
Trochees	54 = 3.1 %
Spondees	64 = 3.7 %
Internal pauses (lines).....	162 = 47.0 %
Enjambments (lines)	62 = 18 %

De tilsvarende Procenter var for de to fortællende Digtes Vedkommende 28.8, 2.2, 3.4, 51.4, 31.4. — Ikke desto mindre ligner de to Slags Værker *ikke* hinanden, fra disse metriske Synspunkter. Versifikationen er bundforskellig. Og det maatte den være, thi et Værk i saakaldt *rime royal* og et i frie Vers kan ikke give samme Statistik. Tallet paa »svagt accentuerede« Fødder er større end de 27 % som her angives; Versene er tungere i Digtene. Og Enjambementerne ser ogsaa upaalidelige ud. Antallet af »indre Pauser« er synligt og visseligt for højt angivet i begge Grupper. Da Enjambementerne giver ganske forskelligt Tal, maatte man tro Shakespeare ikke var Forfatteren af de Vers som dukker op i Folioen. — Disse Vers ligner paafaldende Poeten B's i Kvarto'en fra 1594. Og ingen af Digerne identificeres med nogle kendte Navne.

Enhver skanderer Vers paa sin egen Manér, og ikke to Gange ens. Men naar Talen er om et Fænomen som kvindelige Endelser, altsaa Ellevestavelsesvers, skulde der kunne opnaas Enighed. Men de Tal vi finder hos A. Feuillerat, savner Sandsynlighed. Han finder i de skahespeareske Partier, rigtigere i nogle af dem, et Gennemsnit af 8.4 % feminine endings. Tallet finder han lavt, men det var højt i ca. 1591. Tallet for *Love's Labour's Lost* er 4 %, for *Titus Andronicus* 5, for *King John* 6.

En ren Urimelighed er A. Feuillerats Fremhævelse af fire Afsnit, nemlig III. Akt 2. Sc. 136—52 med 29.4 % kvindelige Verseudgange, III. 2. 250—70 med 19 %, IV. 8. 36—50 med 20 %, og IV. 9. 23—49 med 25.9 %. Disse Tal regner A. Feuillerat sammen og opnaar et Tal af 19 feminine endings paa 80 Linier eller 23.7 %. Heraf skulde følge, at disse Partier var *senere Indskud*, »possible on the occasion of a performance at court«. (Anf. Skr. 120). Unødigt at sige, at dette er Fantasi.

V. TREDIE DEL

Bogen udkom 1595 i Oktav, men vi kalder den som alm. Q.

Tredie Del af *Kong Henrik den Sjette* er adskilligt bedre Opbevaret end anden. Den har ogsaa de fuldeste Toner og de mest gribende Scener. Den er især mærkelig ved sine marloweske Klange. Ældre Shakespearianere, der regnede med en meget tidlig Marlowe-Indflydelse, opfattede denne Digter som W. Shakespeare's Opvækkelses-Basun, saa heri et Tegn paa Stykkets tidlige Oprindelse. Det er dog vel ikke ældre end ca. 1591—2, men kunde naturligvis godt være marlowesk præget for det. I Grunden er det dog muligt, at den marloweske Paavirkning ikke har været meget dyb i den første Tid. Muligt er *The Comedy of Errors* og *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* hans første Stykker, som nogle mener. Det er tænkeligt, at Kyd og Greene har været hans ældste Forbilleder. Marlowes Indflydelse tager endnu til i *Richard III* og kan konstateres i *Richard II*, til Dels i *Henrik IV's to Dele*. Men derefter tager den af og bliver kun en Streng i hans store Instrument. De, der som J. M. ROBERTSON stiller sig helt uafhængige af Traditionen, henfører uden videre Marlowe-Vers til Marlowe selv og giver ham et uhyre Forfatterskab, efterladt og

apokrypt. En amerikansk Sekt mener at Kit Marlowe slet ikke er død men har skrevet alle Shakespeares Værker.

Miss JANE LEE henførte i sin her ofte nævnte Afhandling tredie Del til samme Forfatter-Firma og samme Arbejdsmaade som anden, men med en umaadelig stor Overvægt for Marlowe, og kun en Mundsmag af vor Shakespeare.

»The *Third Part of Henry VI*« skrev Miss Jane Lee, underwent a much less thorough revision than the second. Out of 3075 lines in Part II, there are 1715 new lines, some 840 altered lines (many but very slightly altered) and some 520 old lines. In Part III, out of 2902 lines, about 871 altered lines, and about 1010 old lines. Hence it is that in Part III there are fewer resemblances of thought and verbal expression to Shakspere's undoubtedly writings than in Part III.« Den sidste Bemærkning er maaske dog ikke rigtig. — Miss Lees Fordeling af 3. Del er følgende:

Akt 1, Sc. 1: S, M (altsaa Shakespeare som Bearbejder af Marlowe); Sc. 2: M, M (Marlowe bearbejdet af Marlowe, det skal der Trolddom til at se); Sc. 3: M (»unrevised«, det kan dog paa den anden Side ikke være helt sikkert); Sc. 4: S, M og (?) G. — Akt 2, Sc. 1: M og (?) S, M og (?) G; Sc. 2: (?) M, G og (?) Peele; Sc. 3: S og M, M; Sc. 4: M, G; Sc. 5: S og (?) M, G; Sc. 6: M, M og G. — Akt 3, Sc. 1: S, G; Sc. 2: S, G (og ?) M; Sc. 3: S, M og (?) Peele. — Akt 4, Sc. 1: S, G; Sc. 2: M, M; Sc. 3: S, M; Sc. 4: S, G; Sc. 5: S, (?) G; Sc. 6—7: S, G; Sc. 8: S, ? (ingen Kendetegn paa andre end Shakespeare). — Akt 5, Sc. 1: M, G og (?) Peele; Sc. 2: S, M og G; Sc. 3: M, G; Sc. 4: S, G og (?) Peele; Sc. 5—6: S, M; Sc. 7 urevideret, G.

Var det ikke naturligere med kun een Revisor?

De fire Digteres Arbejdsmaade er noget eventyrlig; Peele synes helt overflødig.

Med sine gennemgaaende Usandsynligheder er Skemaet dog et Indlæg for Marlowe. Eftertiden beholdt altsaa Usandsynligheden som Princip, men lod Marlowe fare som mulig Medforfatter.

H. C. HART har i den udførlige Indledning til 3die Del af sin Udgave af *Henrik VI* indtaget et lignende Parti som i de tidligere Dele. Men hans Tildeling af udtrykkelige Forfatter-Diplomer er meget mere sparsom i denne sidste Fortale. Til Gengæld er Total-Anskuelsen enklere: Peele og Shakespeare deler Værket, lige fra først af.

AKT I er nu helt og holdent Shakespeares, selv om nogle Linier i Q 1595 »suggest« Marlowe. Hart mener iøvrigt at den oprindelige »Komité« er opløst, og at fra nu af Shakespeare i det Hele er Hovedmanden, »with Peele to advise«.

AKT II er noget uklart fordelt.

Sc. 1 synes at være Peeles, men nogle Udtryk er Shakespare værdige.

Sc. 2 er næsten ens i Kvartoen og Folioen. Altsaa vel Peeles, med lidt Hjælp af Shakespeare.

Sc. 3 er Shakespeares med nogle Vink af Peele. Men Scenen er meget længere i F end i Q, hvor den vel var Peeles.

Sc. 4 synes at være noget *uvist*.

Sc. 5 »entirely by Shakespeare«.

Sc. 6 er omtrent som i Q og maa vel anses for Peeles Værk.

AKT III.

Sc. 1 afviger ikke meget fra Q og er ikke forbedret i F. Peele?

Sc. 2 bygger stærkt paa Q. Ikke attribueret til Nogen. — Det er Scenen mellem Edward og Lady Grey og Glosers Monolog. Om nogen Steder, saa er det her haandgribeligt at den sande Digter af Kvarto og Folio er W. Shakespeare selv.

Sc. 3 svarer til to forskellige Scener i Kvartoen, meget store Afgigelser mellem Q og F. »It is all very unworthy of Shakespeare.« Vel altsaa Peeles?

AKT IV, meget slet overleveret i Kvarto-Udgaven.

Sc. 1 er gaaet sproglig og metrisk itu i Q, der ellers stemmer godt Replik for Replik med F. »A needful but very dull scene.« — Uvis altsaa.

Sc. 2: »The addition made to Warwick's speech may be due to Peele.« Men efter Harts Anskuelser er vel den oprindelige Redaktion sammensat af Medlemmer, der alle kunde hedde Peele. Bearbejdelsen, som han regner med, er af uvis Oprindelse.

Sc. 3: Peele kan have »suggested« et lille Indskud.

Sc. 4: »The original may have been Peele's.« Bearbejdelsen er altsaa ikke Peele — og aabenbart ikke Shakespeare.

Sc. 5 staar foran *Sc. 4* i Kvartoen. *Shakespeare.* — Scenefølgen

i Folioen er rigtig. De to Scener blev forvexlet i Q 1595, fordi de har omrent ens Indhold.

Sc. 6: »The developed scene is entirely Shakespeare.«

Sc. 7 ombyttet med 6 i Kvartoen ved Sjuskeri. — Uvis.

Sc. 8 ikke bestemt af Hart.

AKT V.

Sc. 1: Shakespeare.

Sc. 2—3: Ubestemt.

Sc. 4: Ubestemt. »The Prince's speech is the most un-Shakespearean one in Q.«

Sc. 5: Shakespeare's work in both plays.

Sc. 6: Shakespeare.

Sidste Scene ubestemt.

Grundlaget synes at have forskudt sig for H. C. Hart. En enkelt Gang er det Shakespeare, oftest Peele, men i Grunden maa det efter Harts Tendens stadig være denne Forfatter. Ifølge hans egen Forsikring skal der være mest af Shakespeare i Stykket, men der maa da tænkes paa de nytilkommne Vers. Hvoraf veed Hart, at disse ikke allerede existerede før 1592? Og kunde de være skrevne *efter* 1595, som Hypothesen forudsætter? — Alt i Alt er Methoden spekulativ, bygger paa tilfældige *clues*, og gør ikke Rede for Shakespeares naturlige traditionelle Rettigheder til Stoffet. — Peele maa vel være tænkt som »plotter«, Opfinder af hele Intrigen.

Professor JOHN DOVER WILSON fortsætter i sin Redegørelse for tredie Del hvor han slap i anden Del, men dog med nogen Forskydning i Tanken. Hans Yndling *Nashe* er nu forsvunden fra Skuepladsen, uagtet Nashe og vor Shakespeare som de to største Sprogforbrugere i hele den Tids engelske Litteratur har en Masse Sproggods tilfælles. Peele nævnes som mulig Medforfatter til den hypothetiske »Basis« (ikke lig 1595-Udgaven) ved een eneste Scene, men neppe for Alvor. Ved nogle Scener tales der *ikke* om Greene, men kun om Basis. Dog, denne *maa være til Stede* overalt, som Wilson jo ogsaa et Sted forsikrer. Greene kendes paa nogle faa sproglige *clues*, som dog mangler i flere Scener. Shakespeare-Lexikonet er kun brugt til at konstatere manglende Ord.

Mærkelig nok at Greene skulde have forfattet hele Handlingen i dette Værk. Det ligner ham ikke ved sit »Plot«, ejheller ved Karakterer eller Stil. — Men vi vil følge Dover Wilsons Attributioner:

AKT I er ensartet bedømt af Wilson.

Sc. 1: »a basic text by Greene, drastically, though hastily rewritten by Sh.« Dog det er ikke ret muligt at se, om Shakespeare arbejder hastigt, navnlig da ikke naar Forlægget mangler. — Men Scenen skal indeholde Selvmodsigelser; er dette virkelig Tilfældet, da er det ikke enestaaende hos Digeren. Man husker maaske at Macbeth er barnlös, mens Lady Macbeth har Afkom, hvilket neppe kan forklares af at hun var gift før. — W. vil paa-vise *Regie* af Greene.

Sc. 2, 3, 4 alle som første Scene: Shakespeare oven paa Greene. — Hele Akten er altsaa af spekulative Grunde, nemlig de meget faa *clues*, tildelt Greenes oprindelige Forfatterskab. Men naar Shakespeares Haand overalt er kendelig, hvortil da Theorien om et Forlæg? Texten fra 1595 var altsaa kasseret som en daarlig Rapport, kun duelig til enkelte Textrettelser.

AKT II noget mere varieret i Karakteristiken.

Sc. 1: »re-written by Sh. the version seems to be less thorough than that in most of Act 1 . . . diction and phrases often remind me of Greene.«

Sc. 2: »Plenty of Greene clues, but the whole rewritten by Sh.« Kommer ud paa eet med Fremstillingen af Sc. 1. Da Scenen er opdigtet, har Greene en Smule Wilsonsk Prioritet. Imidlertid berettiger Intet til at tillægge G. denne Ære!

Sc. 3—5: »revised by Sh. pretty thoroughly.« — Men altsaa skrevet først af Greene.

Sc. 6. Vers 1—43 »reveal Sh.'s hand.« Resten uvis.

TREDIE AKT. Her er nogen Usikkerhed.

Sc. 1: »The verse is Sh.'s but the Greene original is clearly visible in places.« Normal Karakteristik has Dover Wilson.

Sc. 2: »Sh.'s revision is most evident in Gloucester's soliloquy . . . but even that seems based on a speech by Greene.« — Scenen synes tvært imod komponeret af Shakespeare.

Sc. 3: »The basic text seems evident for the most of this

scene . . . But who wrote the basic text it would be difficult to say: the evidence seems to point to Greene's hand in the first half, but Peele may be responsible for the second.« — De to Udsagn synes at stride mod hinanden. Greene er desuden bundforskellig fra den her helt overflødige Peele. Det er en dristig og væsentlig selvstændigt opfundet Scene. Den kan ikke efter frit Valg tildeles to ukendelige Forfattere og fraskrives den eneste som Traditionen udpeger.

AKT IV.

Sc. 1: »little evidence of Sh.'s hand.« — Versifikationen er ganske vist noget mat. Men Wilsons Attributioner gaar nu mere og mere ud paa at fraskrive Shakespeare alt hvad der ikke er umiddelbart stilistisk overraskende. Sc. er væsentlig opfundet.

Sc. 2—3: Enkelte Spor af Shakespeare. — Men ingen af Greene?

Sc. 4: »The only poss. Sh. touch is »bloodsucking sighs . . . The rest is far below his level.« Dette er dog ingen Grund til at tilskrive omhyggelige Stilister som Greene og Peele denne Scene, som næsten ingen Grund har i de gamle Kroniker. Opfindelse og Stil maa dog være Shakespeare's.

Sc. 5: »I see no sign of Sh. here.«

Sc. 6: »Here and there a line or two of Sh.«

Sc. 7: »Perhaps touched up by Sh.; but many clues to Greene.« Men disse Greenismer er en pur Illusion: »and the rest«, »abode-ments« (*abode* findes i *Troilus*, og *bodements* i *Macbeth*), »out of hand«, »horizon«. Der er intet Bevis for Greene.

Sc. 8: »The verse is mostly, if not all, Greene.« Scene-Anvisningen ved Vers 50 skal røbe en Sammenligning, Scenen bestaa af tre adskilte Brudstykker af Grundtexten.

AKT V.

Sc. 1: Versene er Shakespeares, Scenen bygger paa — en Tradition fra Shakespeares Fødegn. Men Originalen er Greenes.

Sc. 2—3: »Both scenes revised by Sh.; 5. 2 slightly, 5. 3 pretty thoroughly.« Originalen af Greene eller Peele. — Men Wilson kalder kun Peele til Hjælp, naar Greene er usynlig.

Sc. 4—5: »Both scenes rewritten by Sh., though clues of a basic text remain.« Intet begrunder den sidste Paastand.

Sc. 6: Shakespeares, men »as usual a basic text visible«.

Sc. 7: »Sh., I take it, revising Greene or Peele.« — Scenen er imidlertid opfundet af Digteren, og Opfindelsen bør saa lidt som Versene fratages deres Ophavsmand.

Den spekulative Methode dominerer, som det vil sees, overalt.

Sammenholder vi de tre Forsøg paa at oplose Texten, da er Resultaterne i Stand til at tale for sig selv. Forsøget med *Peele* er fuldstændig mislykket. *Greene* udmaerker sig her kun ved mindre gode Vers; hvorfor er just de bevarede. Mere Forslag var der i Miss Jane Lees Theori om *Marlowe*.

En gennemgaaende Partiskhed for Greene er synlig i de enkelte Sceners Behandling hos Wilson. Saaledes forekommer *princely* een Gang i Stykket, og paastaas at være almindeligt hos Greene og Peele. Men det er ellers saare almindeligt hos Shakespeare, forekommer saa hyppigt at det fylder en Spalte i Shakespeare-Konkordanserne. Ordets formentlige Sjældenhed i *Henry the Sixth* vilde være underlig, om det var Greenes og Peeles Yndlingsglose. I Virkeligheden er det saa almindeligt her som andensteds hos Digteren, og af det aller almindeligste Sprogstof i Engelsk.

Dover Wilsons mange Henvisninger til de tre »gamle« (i Virkeligheden ret nye) Kroniker her er benyttet, er vel noget overdrevne. Udviklingen i Stykket følger, med talrige Indskud og Ændringer, Grafton og Holinshed, den tredie Kronike er af ringere Betydning. Digteren ses ikke nogensinde at have haft mere end een Kronike ved Haanden. Mange Enkeltheder paastaas af Dover Wilson at være inspireret af een og anden Ytring af Kronikorerne. — En gennemgaaende Komposition, før Nedskrivningen, tilskrives af Wilson Greene, men er egentlig ikke meget sandsynlig; den maatte vel saa ogsaa omfatte 1. Del, hvad der vilde omstyrtede Wilsons Theori om 2. Del som ældre end 1. Del. Men existerede en saadan i Enkeltheder forud lagt Plan, fordelt paa en Komité, forudsættes et stadigt noje Samarbejde. Imidlertid har Wilson i sin Udgave praktisk talt ladet denne Opfattelse falde og dermed befriet os fra en gammel Overtro.

Den mekaniske Opfattelse af Værket som Stykværk maa allerede paa Forhaand anses for utenkelig, og har ikke kunnet haevdes i Wilsons egen Gennemarbejdelse af Texten.

Albert Feuillerat (*anf. Skr.* S. 121) behandler 3. Del af *Henrik den Sjette* efter samme Methode og med samme Resultat som 2. Del. Mærkværdig nok hævder han, at Kvartoen 1595 hviler paa et Manuskript, som »presented most of the peculiarities of the manuscript of *The Contention*.« Var de da ikke skrevne med den samme Haand, eller de samme Hænder? A. Feuillerat antager det nye Manuskript havde »en Skrift der var svær at dechiffre«. Men dets velkendte Trykfejl skyldes dog vel mest Sætterne. — Nogle er maaske *Hørefejl* som *Arcadia* for *Hyrcania*, *busci* for *buzz*; andre skyldes Fejllæsning som »godsforbot man« for *god forbid that*, eller *famous for foeman*.

Sceneanvisningerne er mere knappe, men A. Feuillerat genkender dog A's Haand. Det er »clearly an author's manuscript«, men revideret af Regissøren. — Det kan umuligt være Forfatterens Haandskrift. Englænderne, specielt J. Dover Wilson, anvender meget hyppigt disse Rekonstruktioner af Haandskrifterne. En ærlig Textkritiker er ofte, stillet foran Konjektur eller Valg af Læsemaade, henviist til at forestille sig Manuskriptets Ord og Skrift. Men de yndede engelske Total-Rekonstruktioner af det tabte Haandskrift, som J. Dover Wilsons af det formentlige til *Hamlet*, medfører i Hobetal af Gisninger og fantastiske Paafund. Læseren vildledes ofte af disse Produkter i Retning af at tage Methoden som mere exakt, uagtet det for det Meste drejer sig om Vilkaarigheder.

I dette Tilfælde maa det tænkte Haandskrift altsaa være skrevet med mindst to Hænder.

Ligesom ved Kvartoen af 1594 paavistes her saakaldte Vers: Vers af enhver Længde »from two to seven feet«. Trisyllabiske Fodder:

Proue it Henrie | and thou shalt | be king (Sc. 1, Vers 127).

And thine Clifford: | and you both | haue vou'd reuenge
(1. 150).

Disse Vers skanderes ret fantastisk. Det er jo Prosa.

Overdreven Anvendelse af trokæiske (d. e. koriambiske) Fodder, »ofte indtil mere end 10 %« — det forstaas ikke hvad Mening dette *ofte* har. Et Vers i Blankvers skal have fem Fodder? 10 % af det hele Stykkes Linier er ikke nogen høj Procent.

Chargde our maine battels front, and therewith him . . .
 Like men borne to renowne by life or death . . .

Og mange flere af disse hos alle Forfattere hyppige Vers.
 Endvidere Vers med første Fod »truncated«:

Come, | lets take our stands vpon this hill . . .
 Naie | I feare her not vnlesse she fall . . .

Og saa videre, i Massevis.

Disse Vers er dels uomtvistelig Prosa, dels ganske normale Vers, og dels Traditionens Vanskabninger.

Af stilistiske Særheder fremhæver A. Feuillerat saakaldt Hverdagssprog, d. v. s. Udraabsord som Fyldekalk: ay, nay, well, tush etc.; endvidere grammatiske Uregelmæssigheder (Ental for Flertal i Verberne, m. m.). Altsaa ganske som i den første *Contention*.

A. Feuillerat finder Digteren A's Vers og Stil i hver eneste Scene af *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (et Navn som Værket i Parenthes bemærket aldrig kan have fra sin Forfatter, hvem han nu er, da Stykkets Helt stadig er Henrik VI). Ikke desto mindre hævder han, at »the share of author B in *The True Tragedie* is *infinitely* more important« (anf. Skr. S. 126). Ser man hen til afdøde Professor Feuillerats erklærede Sværmeri for Statistik og jernhaarde Kendsgerninger er det rigtignok en Fejlregning; da Stykket i Alt har 26 Scener og nogle Tusinde Vers. Rigtigere havde det været at indrømme, at de formentlige to Forfattere ikke lader sig skille fra hinanden. At Medforfatteren virkelig er B, bevises kun af, at man genfinder hans »simple Billeder fra Dyre- og Planteverdenen.«

Folio-Udgaven fra 1623 frembyder efter Feuillerat den samme Karakter og gentager ofte Kvartoen fra 1595, der efter hans Formodning skyldes A. Ogsaa den metriske Tabel, der kun omfatter de længste Stykker i Sammenhæng, skal ligne *Lucrece's* (der tales ikke om *Venus og Adonis* og det foretagne Udvælg af Sonetterne). Der er dog et meget ringere Antal af formentlige Enjambementer.

Weakly accented feet.....	380	= 27.3 %
Trochees	37	= 2.6 %
Spondees	44	= 3.1 %
Internal pauses (lines).....	146	= 52.5 %
Enjambments (lines)	35	= 12.5 %

Ogsaa i dette Stykke hævdes der at være en Tilføjelse, et fjerde Lag, nemlig i fire Afsnit:

III. 1.	70	—	92	med 4 kvindelige Endelser paa 23 Linier	= 17.3%
IV. 6.	1	—	37	—	= 13.5%
	46	—	64	—	= 26.3%
	77	—	102	—	= 19.2%

Disse skulde ogsaa her stamme fra en senere Bearbejdelse. Men denne Benyttelse af et lidet og udtyndet Materiale, ved Udskilning af de stærkest belastede Vers, er illegal. — Den større Part af det samlede Stykke tilskrives ogsaa her Wm. Shakespeare.

Resultaterne er umulige paa Grund af Methodens Vilkaarlighed. Hvorfor har A. Feuillerat ikke udkilt de Partier, der har faerrest kvindelige Vers — eller hvorfor ikke hellere delt Stoffet efter mandlige og kvindelige Vers?

Noget Lignende har han netop forsøgt med *Romeo og Julie*, hvor han tilskriver sin Forfatter A Blankversene i den første Kvarto, og antager at disse er blevne indpodede paa et ældre Stykke i lutter rimede Vers; og senere revideret af Shakespeare »imperfectly«. Den første Opførelse af Stykket sætter han til 1591 (som flere Tidligere, men sikkert ikke med Rette) med Henvisning til Ammens kendte Replik: 'Tis since the Earth quake nowe eleuen years. Atter senere skal Shakespeare have revideret hele Historien grundigere.

Det gælder om alle disse Projekter, at de bunder i en Tyrke-Tro paa, at der af et Digterværk lader sig fremstille ældre Stadier ved en intern Kritik. Saadanne Forsøg er næsten altid forfejlede, og da navnlig naar der intet Vidnesbyrd og ingen Sandsynlighed findes for at Værket overhovedet er en Bearbejdelse. — Med denne Erkendelse er man naturligvis ikke naaet længere end til at føre Problemets, hvis der er noget, tilbage til sit Udgangspunkt.

Om de tre Spørgsmaal, hvorom Debatten i Løbet af halv-andethundred Aar eller mere har koncentreret og tilspidset sig, kunde man herefter sige:

1. Er *Henrik den Sjettes* første Del ældre eller yngre end anden Del, resp. 2.—3. Del?

Spørgsmaalet burde aldrig være rejst, fordi Adskillelsen af første og de to følgende Dele er et *Faktum*, og fordi første Del af alle anerkendes at være forfattet senest 1592. Den Støtte Stykkets

sene Trykning gav Hypothesen, var selvfølgelig en Illusion, naar det var trykt 30 Aar efter at det blev skrevet. Antager man med Traditionen, at det er af Shakespeare, kunde det snarest tænkes skrevet *flere Aar* før de andre. Men dette er ikke vel muligt. Det er *svagere* end anden Del, som anden Del er *svagere* end tredie. Digteren har simpelt hen skrevet sig op. Flere Forskeres Ansættelse af Stykket til 1590 eller 89 eller endnu tidligere er og bliver en Overdrivelse. Alting tyder paa, at Værket er skrevet i eet Træk med Begyndelsen af anden Del. Den grangivelige Overensstemmelse med anden Del forklares af J. Dover Wilson som en Følge af at Greene lagde Planen. Det er vanskeligt at tænke sig en saa detaljeret Plan, brugelig og fulgt af en Komité af Medarbejdere, som ikke saa hverandres Arbejde. Men da Dover Wilson gik over til at antage hele Værket i dets første Redaktion som Greenes Arbejde, bortfaldt alle disse Betænkeligheder.

2. Er de to Dele af *The Contention* en Rapport eller stjaalen Opskrift af et Stykke eller to, der har set ud omrent som de to sidste Dele i Folioen? Eller er de eet respektive to ældre Stykker, senere bearbejdede af Shakespeare?

En lille Gruppe Forandringer fra »Originalerne« 1594 og 95 gennem Optrykkene til Folioen er virkelige Ændringer som f. Ex. dette meget typiske:

- 1° I was not born *a liar*, thou proud Scot.
- 2° I was not born *to lie*, thou *proud* Scot.
- 3° I was not born *to lie*, thou haughty Scot.

Den første Ændring skyldes Reaktion mod den slemme Misbrug af Verbalsubstantiver i Litteraturen, især i den dramatiske, omkring Aar 1590. Den anden Ændring forbedrer den første, der var bleven ametrisk, en Stavelse for kort. — Men disse Ændringer er faa og ubetydelige og næppe af Shakespeare.

Den store Forskel mellem Folioen og de første Tryk ligger i at disse er en daarlig Opskrift, især for anden Dels Vedkomende. Der maa have været en Redaktør (en meget tolerant) til Fortrykkene, men la recherche de la paternité est interdite. Allerede de saakaldte Kvartoer har en Mængde søde eller karakterfulde Shakespeareske Vers. De senere er for det Meste gode, men undertiden dog ret ordinære. — En indgaaende Analyse er

givet af *Madeleine Doran* i *Humanistic Studies Vol. IV Nr. 4* (Iowa City 1928), som omtalt ovf. S. 8.

3. Er der een eller flere Forfattere? Og i sidste Fald, er der to Komiteer, een til at udkaste Stykket, og een til at revidere det?

Uenigheden mellem Kritikerne om de Forfattere, de havde Lyst til at tildele Trilogien, er i sig selv et Vidnesbyrd om det Uholdbare i deres spekulative Paastande.

Malone mente, at første Del var af Peele, anden og tredje Del af Peele og Greene. Hans Standpunkt indtages senere af *H. C. Hart*.

Chalmers tildelte hele *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* til Marlowe.

Dyce udvidede hans Paastand til at begge de sidste Dele var af Marlowe (ogsaa i Trykkene 1594 og 95).

Collier ansaa begge »Kvarterne« for Greenes.

Adolphus Ward ansaa Forfatterskabet til de to første Tryk, altsaa *The Whole Contention*, for ukendt. Men han mente, at Shakespeare alene havde omarbejdet dem.

Grant White holdt paa, at de to sidste Dele i deres Form fra 1594 og 1595 skyldtes et Samarbejde mellem Shakespeare, Greene, Marlowe og maaske Peele, »and that in taking passages and sometimes whole scenes from these plays for his *King Henry VI*, he did little more than reclaim his own«. Standpunktet er ikke klart.

Staunton regnede med at Kvarterne vel var Shakespeares eget Arbejde, men at han hertil havde benyttet en ældre Version af Greene, regnede altsaa med *tre* forskellige Stadier.

Clark og *Wright*, Udgiverne af den mange Gange oplagte Cambridge Edition i ni Bind, hævdede noget mere bestemt, at Kvarterne foruden Shakespeares Haand indeholdt *nogle* Bidrag fra en anden Kilde, uden at ville udlægge Nogen.

Halliwell(-Philipps) regnede som Staunton med tre Stadier. Kvarterne indeholdt Shakespeares »first additions« til et ældre, ukendt Arbejde.

Swinburne synes at have tænkt sig et ældre Arbejde af »Marlowe and others«.

Fleay var den mærkeligste af alle. Han forvexlede historisk og litterær Kritik, og inddelte den som Helhed forsømte *forste Del* i Grupper efter deres historiske Indhold. Denne virker næsten

som gammeltestamentlig Kritik. Det overses at Kilderne er Krøniker, ikke Tradition (dog har her Prof. Dover Wilson en Rem af Hudens). Fleay fandt fire Kilder, eller Grupper af Kilder, med hver sin Forfatter, som om det drejede sig om Traditioner fra det 15. Aarhundredes Midte, og som om vi iøvrigt var uvidende om det sande Forhold. Han støttede sine urimelige Analyser paa Stavemaader som Gloster, Reignier (hvori han følges af J. Dover Wilson), Burgondy, Joane og Puzel (= Pucelle), uden Hensyn til at disse Navne ustændelig skifter Orthografi i Folioens øvrige Partier, og uden for Folioen.

Om Jane Lees, H. C. Harts og John Dover Wilsons Arbejder er allerede talt udførligt. Imod de ældre Hypotheser, især Jane Lees, har Mange givet deres Besv, ogsaa foromtalte Madeleine Doran. Men de fleste Unitarer har dog afvist den oplosende Polemik med et Skuldertræk. Thi Forhaands-Formodningen er for Traditionen, og Sundhed smitter ikke.

Mange, baade i England og Tyskland, var ilde berørte over den forvovne Snak om andre og veklende og daarligt samarbejdende »virkelige« Forfattere til *Henrik den Sjette*. Vi har allerede nævnt flere Lærde, som bekæmpede Theorierne. De andre nøjedes med at knurre. Sagen er den, at i Ægtheds- og Integritets-Kritik har den angribende Part altid Forspringet. Over for den uhyre Mængde af Spækhuggere, der slaar ned paa Hvalen *Henrik den Sjette* og bortfører hver sit Stykke Kod til diverse Forfattere, er Pluraliteten af Forskere forstummet. Dertil hører ogsaa en Erfaring om Ægtheds-Kritiken, som ikke er almindelig udbredt.

De følgende Sider indeholder Facsimiler fra Original-Udgaven, som kun er bevaret i eet exemplar, nemlig Titelen og de fire første Sider. Linietællerne i den ydre Margin angiver Pladsen i Folio-Udgaven samt Forkortelser, Flytninger, Indskud. Stjerneerne betegner udeladte Vers.

T H E
First part of the Con-
tention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke
and Lancaster, with the death of the good
Duke Humphrey:

And the banishment and death of the Duke of
Suffolke, and the Tragical end of the proud Cardinall
of *Vvinchester*, vwith the notable Rebellion
of *Iacke Cade*:

*And the Duke of Yorkes first claime unto the
Crown.*



L O N D O N
Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Millington,
and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peters
Church in Cornwall.

1594.



THE FIRST PART OF THE CON-
TENTION OF THE TWO FAMOUS
Houses of *Yorke* & *Lancaster*, with the death of
the good Duke *Humphrey*.

2 Hen. VI.
I.i.

*Enter at one doore, King Henry the sixt, and Humphrey Duke of
Gloster, the Duke of Sommerset, the Duke of Buckingham, Car-
ainall Bewford, and others.*

Enter at the other doore, the Duke of Yorke, and the Marquesse of Suffolke, and Queene Margaret, and the Earle of Salisbury and Warwicke.

Suffolke.



AS by your high imperiall Maiesties command,
I had in charge at my depart for *France*,
As Procurator for your excellency,
To marry Princes *Margaret* for your grace,
So in the auncient famous Citie Towres,
In presence of the Kings of *France* & *Cyssile*,
The Dukes of *Orleance*, *Calabar*, *Brittaine*, and *Alanson*.
Seuen Earles, twelue Barons, and then the reuerend Bishops,
I did performe my taske and was espousde,
And now, most humbly on my bended knees,
In sight of England and her royll Peeres,
Deliuere vp my title in the *Queene*,
Vnto your gratiouse excellency, that are the substance
Of that great shadow I did represent :
The happiest gift that euer Marquesse gaue,

A 2

The

*The first part of the contention of the two famous
The fairest Queene that euer King possest.*

King. Suffolke arise.

Welcome Queene Margaret to English Henries Court,
The greatest shew of kindnesse yet we can bestow,
Is this kinde kisse : Oh gracious God of heauen,
Lend me a heart replete with thankfulness,
For in this beautious face thou hast bestowde
A world of pleasures to my perplexed soule.

Queene. Th'excessive loue I beare vnto your grace,
Forbids me to be lauish of my tongue,
Least I should speake more then beseemes a woman:
Let this suffice, my blisse is in your liking,
And nothing can make poore Margaret miserable,
Vnlesse the frowne of mightie Englands King.

Kin. Her looks did wound, but now her speech doth pierce,
Louely Queene Margaret sit down by my side:
And vnkle Gloster, and you Lordly Peeres,
With one voice welcome my beloued Queene.

All. Long liue Queene Margaret, Englands happiness.

Queene. We thanke you all.

Sound Trumpets.

Suffolke. My Lord Protector, so it please your grace,
Here are the Articles confirme of peace,
Betweene our Soueraigne and the French King Charles,
Till terme of eighteene months be full expirde.

Humphrey. *Imprimis,* It is agreed betwene the French King Charles, and William de la Poule, Marquesse of Suffolke, Embassador for Henry King of England, that the said Henry shal wed and espouse the Ladie Margaret, daughter to Raynard King of Naples, Cyffels, and Jerusalem, and crowne her Queene of England, ere the 30 of the next month.

Item. It is further agreed betwene them, that the Dutches of Anjoy and of Maine, shall be released and deliuered ouer to the King her fa.

Duke Humphrey lets it fall.

Kin. How now vnkle, whats the matter that you stay so sodenly.

Humphrey.

Houses of Yorke and Lancaster.

Humph. Pardon my Lord, a sodain qualme came ouer my hart,
Which dimmes mine eyes that I can reade no more.

52 *Vnckle of Winchester,* I pray you reade on.

Cardinall. Item, It is further agreed betweene them , that the
Duches of *Anioy* and of *Mayne*, shall be released and deliu-
red ouer to the King her father, & she sent ouer of the King
of Englands owne proper cost and charges without dowry.

56 *King.* They please vs well, Lord Marquesse kneele downe, We
here create thee first Duke of *Suffolke* , & girt theewith the
sword. Cosin of Yorke, We here discharge your grace from
being Regent in the parts of *France*, till terme of 18. months
be full expirde.

60 Thankes vnckle *Winchester, Gloster, Yorke, and Buckingham, Somer-
erset, Salsbury and Warricke.*

64 We thanke you all for this great fauour done,
In entertainment to my Princely Queene,
Come let vs in, and with all speed prouide
To see her Coronation be performde.

*Exet King, Queene, and Suffolke , and Duke
Humphrey staies all the rest.*

68 *Humphrey.* Braue Peeres of England, Pillars of the state,
To you Duke *Humphrey* must vnfold his griefe,
What did my brother *Henry* toyle himselfe,
And waste his subiects for to conquerre *France*?
And did my brother *Bedford* spend his time
72 To keepe in awe that stout vnruly Realme?
And haue not I and mine vnckle *Bewfond* here,
Done all we could to keepe that land in peace?
And is all our labours then spent in vaine,
76 For Suffolke he, the new made Duke that rules the roast,
Hath giuen away for our King *Henries* Queene,
The Dutches of *Anioy* and *Mayne* vnto her father.
Ah Lords, fatall is this marriage canselling our states,
Reuersing Monuments of conquered *France*,
80 Vndoing all, as none had nere bene done.

Card. Why how now cosin *Gloster*, what needs this?

+ 53-4

+

+ 56

+

+ 60

64

+

+ 68

72

+

+

+

+ 76

+ 78

+ 82

+

+ 84

+ 88

+

+ 95

+ 109

+ 110

+ 110

+ 99

+ 102

+ 103

+

The first part of the contention of the two famous

As if our King were bound vnto your will,
And might not do his will without your leauue,
Proud Protector, enuy in thine eyes I see,
The big swolne venome of thy hatefull heart,
That dares presume gainst that thy Soueraigne likes.

84

Humphr. Nay my Lord tis not my words that troubles you,
But my presence, proud Prelate as thou art:
But ile begone, and give thee leauue to speake,
Farewell my Lords, and say when I am gone,
I prophesied France would be lost ere long.

88

Exet Duke Humphrey.

Card. There goes our Protector in a rage,
My Lords you know he is my great enemy,
And though he be Protector of the land,
And thereby couers his deceitfull thoughts,
For well you see, if he but walke the streets,
The common people swarne about him straight,
Crying Iesus blesse your royll excellence,
With God preserue the good Duke *Humphrey*.
And many things besides that are not knowne,
*Which time will bring to light in smooth Duke *Humphrey*.*
But I will after him, and if I can
Ile laie a plot to heave him from his seate.

96

Exet Cardinall.

Buck. But let vs watch this haughtie Cardinall,
Cosen of *Somerset* be rulde by me,
Weele watch Duke *Humphrey* and the Cardinall too,
And put them from the marke they faine would hit.

108

Somerset. Thanks cosin *Buckingham*, joynē thou with me,
And both of vs with the Duke of *Suffolke*,
Weele quickly heave Duke *Humphrey* from his seate.

112

Buck. Content, Come then let vs about it straight,
For either thou or I will be Protector.

Exet Buckingham and Somerset.

Salsb. Pride went before, Ambition follows after.
Whilst these do seekē their owne preferments thus,

115

My

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THE TONAL SYSTEM OF THE KONTAKARIUM

Studies in Byzantine Psalticon Style

BY

CHRISTIAN THODBERG



København 1960
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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In Byzantine music research has gradually reached the point where it will be possible to establish and define different species of music as is the case in Gregorian chant¹. The publication of a Psalticon, Codex Ashburnhamensis 64, reproduced in facsimile as the fourth volume of M.M.B.'s main series, means that now more than before we are able to deal with the remarkable style of the Kontakarium.² WELLESZ's book on the Akathistos Hymn with its transcriptions, its detailed preface and commentary, is the first step in this direction.³

At a first glance the Kontakarian style will not appear strange to a person familiar with the musical styles which we meet in the Sticherarium and the Hirmologium. On the face of it we are still dealing with the same tonal system. The distance, however, between the styles already known and that of the Kontakarium will soon be seen. The melismatic way of singing, the widely drawn-out melodic line, the stereotyped recurrence of melodic formulas and fixed neume-groups, of the fixed cadences (*g b g*) and the apparently common character of

¹ I should like to thank Professor H. J. W. TILLYARD for his kindness in helping me with the English text during my stay in Cambridge in November 1958, Professor OLIVER STRUNK for lending me his microfilm of *Vaticanus Graecus 345*, and my friend JØRGEN RAASTED for a very useful exchange of ideas during our daily work at the Medieval Institute in Copenhagen.—The present paper was originally read at the extended meeting of the Board of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* in Copenhagen in August 1958.

² A Psalticon can be defined as a collection of Kontakia, Alleluia-verses, Prokeimena-verses, Hypakoai, Koinonika, and some other small parts. The Psalticon is the manual of the solo-singer, the Psaltes. In the Italo-Sicilian region the Psalticon may be named an Asmaticon (at any rate Vat. gr. 1606 and the Grottaferrata MS Γ. γ. I.; it should not be disregarded that Asmaticon, too, seems to refer to a special musical form (e.g. the distinction between ὑπακοὴ τοῦ ψαλτικοῦ and ὑπακοὴ τοῦ ἀσματικοῦ in Vat. gr. 1606 and Messina 129)); In this paper I deal only with the special musical style within the Psalticon which characterizes the Kontakia, the main part of the collection; therefore, when I make use of the word Kontakarium here, I have in mind the collection of Kontakia melodies only.

³ *Mon. Mus. Byz., Transcripta* vol. IX: *The Akathistos Hymn*. Introduced and transcribed by EGON WELLESZ. Copenhagen 1957.

the melodies in spite of different modes force us to consider this music in a different way from the Sticherarium and the Hirmologium.

To this must be added that we almost immediately meet with some concrete difficulties: the marked preference in the Kontakarium for the second Authentic, the second Plagal, and the fourth Plagal mode—and the corresponding underrepresentation of the remaining modes—in the Alleluiarium the complete omission of the third Authentic mode and the Barys—brings up the question of the modal structure of the Kontakarium. Furthermore, in the Kontakarium we come up against a series of apparent mistakes especially in the two lowest tetrachords. These peculiarities are too frequent to be regarded simply as errors of the copyist, such as might have arisen when he was transcribing a passage from the Coislin to the Round notation.

WELLESZ discusses these difficulties in his above-mentioned book and arrives at the conclusion that the abnormality of certain medial signatures in the Akathistos Hymn is due to a local Italo-Sicilian tradition.⁴ In the present paper it will be attempted to deal with these problems without offering a final solution since I consider it impossible to reconstruct the original melodies of the Kontakarium.

My starting point is a small essay which I presented in manuscript to CARSTEN HØEG on the occasion of his 60th birthday.⁵ My article consisted of an analysis of the first Authentic mode of the Alleluiarium and the following conclusion was reached: the Alleluia-melodies of this mode are determined by a melodic formula, *g b c' (a) g* and by a fixed neume-group which was now consistent with the melodic formula, now in conflict with it:⁶

Ex. 1



⁴ *Op. cit.*, *Introduction*, p. LX–LXI, cf. p. XLVII–XLVIII and p. LXV.

⁵ This unpublished “Festschrift” consisted of my essay, a paper by JØRGEN RAASTED on “Signatures and Intonations in the Vienna Sticherarium Theol. Gr. 181”, and an unfinished paper by Mrs. NANNA SCHIØDT.

⁶ In the following examples I do not give the rhythmical and dynamic values in staff notation according to the rules laid down by the *Mon. Mus. Byz.*, as the main purpose of the present paper is to draw the reader's attention to the neume-picture alone. Those interested in modern transcriptions of Kontakia melodies may see them in WELLESZ's above-mentioned book.

Ex. 2



Ex. 3



In the Kontakarium we are faced with the same neume-group in one principal form—mainly in three positions:

Ex. 4



Ex. 5 (var. of ex. 4)



Ex. 6



Ex. 7



Ex. 7 has been put in brackets. It occurs only in the first Plagal mode, which is the only one having the low pitch. It partly depends on a necessary reconstruction of the melodic line; see below (p. 25).

The group is definitely—besides the cadences—the most pregnant one of the Kontakarian style. It contains many transitions and variations (Ex. 8–10):

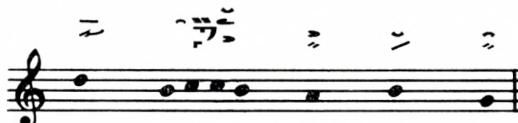
Ex. 8



Ex. 9



Ex. 10



For convenience this group is called the F-group. It is, maybe, a special form of Anastama.⁷ In what follows I intend to illustrate the fixed position and appearance of the F-group in all modes by a series of examples (Ex. 11–13; the F-group is marked by []).⁸

Ex. 11: IV Pl. Orthodoxy Sunday, Oikos, line 2 (Ashb. 64, 101v).

νο _____ μω προ-φη _____ ται

⁷ Cf. LORENZO TARDO: *L'antica melurgia bizantina*. Grottaferrata 1938, p. 182, first line (from Kukuzelis's Ison poem). RAASTED has kindly informed me that the same melody for Anastama appears in other didactic treatises.

⁸ The initial neume referring to the signature has been put in brackets (cf. CARSTEN HØEG in the Introduction to the facsimile-edition of Ashb. 64, p. 30–35).



Ex. 12: IV Pl.

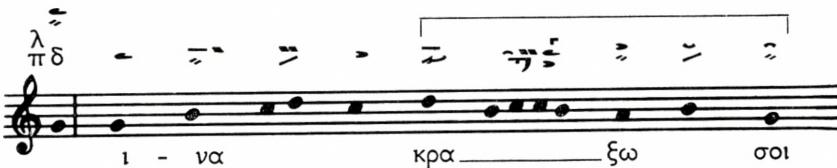
- a) Orthodoxy Sunday, Prooemium, line 5 (Ashb. 64, 100v–101r).
 b) IV Pl. Easter Sunday, Prooem., line 4 (Ashb. 64, 130r).¹⁰

a) εισ το α _____ β - χαι _____ ον

b) και α _____ νε _____ στησ

(a) α - να - μο - β - φω _____ σασ

(b) ωσ νι - κη _____ τη _____ σ

Ex. 13: IV Pl. Akathistos Hymn, Prooemium, line 6.¹¹

¹⁰ The example from Easter Sunday has the same neumation except that there is only one initiating Ison, because of the different number of syllables; besides, it has a medial signature (Δ) at the beginning.

¹¹ Cf. WELLESZ, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

The musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff has a treble clef and four horizontal lines. It contains a series of short vertical strokes and dots, with a bracket grouping the last five notes. Below the staff are the Greek words 'χαι - ρε' and 'να μ - φη'. The bottom staff also has a treble clef and four horizontal lines. It contains similar short strokes and dots, with a bracket above the first five notes labeled 'var.'. Below the staff are the Greek words 'α νυ μ - φε υ - τε'. A downward arrow is placed above the final note 'τε'.

Ex. 11–13 have all been taken from the 4th Plagal mode, which shows the greatest variation of the F-group. It is especially the “fourth-displaced”⁹ element which prevails. It does not only apply to the F-group, but also to the final notes of the cadences (here and in Ex. 14–17 indicated by an arrow).

In Ex. 11–13 the different occurrences of the F-group are very close together. Furthermore, Ex. 12 shows that the small phrase leading to the F-group is fourth-displaced, too. Ex. 13, the famous refrain of the Akathistos Hymn, represents an elegant use of the F-group.

Ex. 14–16 are taken from the second, the fourth and the first Authentic mode:

Ex. 14: II The Three Holy Men and Daniel, Oikos, line 3 (Ashb. 64, 74r–74v).

The musical notation consists of a single staff with a treble clef and four horizontal lines. It contains short vertical strokes and dots, with a bracket grouping the last five notes. Below the staff are the Greek words 'και ε - βραι οι'.

⁹ As a “transposition” presupposes that you have a fixed point from which you can make transpositions I think “fourth-displacement” may be the right word in dealing with the Kontakarian style because positions in which the formulas may occur are situated at a distance of one fourth from one another.

πτο - λε _____ μου _____

[ου] _____ με - νοι

Ex. 15: IV. Epiphany, Prooem., line 1 (Ashb. 64, 83r).

ε - πτε-φα _____ νησ

ση _____ με - ρο _____ ν

Ex. 16: I. Apokreas Sunday, Prooem., line 7 (Ashb. 64, 95r).

και α - ξι - ω - σον εκ δε - ξι - ων σον

με στη ναι κρι - τα

δι - και - ο τα - τε

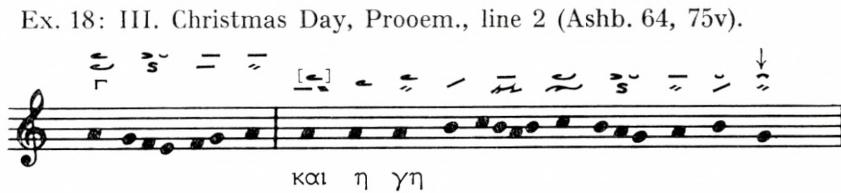
Here we do not so often come across an accumulation of the F-group, but the application of the group is similar: as a principal rule it may be regarded as an established fact that in its pure form the purpose of the F-group is to carry a strongly stressed syllable in the first part of a musical phrase. Once more we realize the prevalence of the fourth-displaced element both in the F-group and in the final notes of the melodic lines. I have not quoted any examples from the other great mode of the Kontakarium, the second Plagal, because the application of the F-group in this mode corresponds completely to the application in the second Authentic mode.

The last series of examples (Ex. 17–19) from the modes least often represented, the first Plagal mode, the third Authentic and Barys, corresponds closely to those mentioned above:

Ex. 17: I Pl. The Holy Great-Martyr Panteleemon, Oikos, last line (Ashb. 64, 165v–166r).

τον ρυ - ο - με - νον εκ πλα

τουσ βο - ω



Ex. 19: Barys. The Transfiguration, Oikos, last line (Ashb. 64, 170v).





In Ex. 18 we are faced with a very long form of the F-group on σπη- in σπήλαιον. Ex. 19 (from Barys) is remarkable for the fact that it corresponds exactly to the refrain of the Akathistos Hymn (Ex. 13), which proves the consistency of the F-group in all modes and the common character of the Kontakarian melodies.

One of the leading ideas in OLIVER STRUNK's article, "The Tonal System of Byzantine Music"¹² is "that certain ornaments and melismas recur always as from the same tetrachord-step." In this way he has been able to lay down that the scale from *d* to *d'*, consisting of two disjunct tetrachords, has been extended on either side by two conjunct tetrachords.

If we apply this idea to the F-group we come up against the problem connected with the great difficulty which we know from Byzantine Music on the whole: the accidentals. Is *f-sharp* or *b-flat* to be preferred? There can hardly be any doubt that the tone one step above *a* must be *b-natural* in the Kontakarium, as clearly appears from what follows.

The system of medial signatures shows at any rate that ♯, when referring to *b*, must indicate a major third above *g*, i.e. *b-natural*.¹³ It would be more reasonable if *f-sharp* was inserted instead of *f*, as it is felt to be necessary in the Akathistos Hymn to avoid the tritonus:

Ex. 20: IV Pl. Akathistos Hymn, Prooem., line 3.



¹² "The Tonal System of Byzantine Music", *The Musical Quarterly* 1942, (Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, p. 197.

¹³ It seems to me a necessary assumption that the interval relations in the intonations and the signatures are constant. This point is essential for my argument in the following, too.

If we presuppose that the half tone step *b-c'* in the highest appearance of the F-group is almost certain, we are for musical reasons forced to accept an analogous half tone step in the two lower forms, *f-sharp-g* and *c-sharp-d*, and this problem is extended when we ask whether this tonal alteration concerns the F-group alone or the entire Kontakarian style:

Ex. 21



Ex. 22



Ex. 23



It is evident that an argument like this is more a matter of feeling than a matter of proof. However, it appears to me an interesting task to study the tonal structure of the Kontakarium from this point of view. An investigation like this finds its natural starting point in the most representative mode, the second Plagal. The following example (Ex. 24) will make a survey of the initial and medial signatures in the Kontakia of this mode, indicating the frequency of appearance. For convenience we give only the usual signatures, though in the MSS. they are sometimes replaced by an intonation written in full.

Ex. 24:			
ÿ	2	17	
ÿ>	1	1	31
ÿ		2	
λ	35	27	
λ		8	2
λ ɔ		33	
λ ɔ	92		5
π ɔ>	4		
π ɔ		8	
π ɔ>	1	16	
π ɔ ε̄ ε̄		61	
α ε̄ ε̄		1	
ε̄ ε̄		1	
ε̄ ε̄		1	
λ ε̄		22	
λ δ ε̄ ε̄	1		
ε̄ ε̄		10	13

The first thing noticed is the peculiar intonation on *a*, ε̄ε̄, which in the entire Kontakarium occurs on *a* and *d'* only. The present examples (Ex. 25–26) show that it may have a certain connection with the F-group:

Ex. 25: II Pl. Palm Sunday, Prooem., line 3 (Ashb. 64, 114v).



Ex. 26: IV Pl. Orthodoxy Sunday, Oikos, line 8 (Ashb. 64, 102v).



Furthermore, this survey is remarkable by the fact that the fourth-

displacement reappears. Δ can be interpreted as *d* and *g*, Δ' as *a* and *d'*, $\Delta\Delta$ as *g* and *c'*, and $\ddot{\gamma}$ as *d* and *g*. In each case the last interpretation is the established one, whereas the first is new. All four signatures hitherto unknown seem to point in the same direction: I have interpreted the pentachord *d-a* as *d e f-sharp g a*, supposing that Δ on *d* must imply a major third upwards from this tone, $\Delta\Delta$ on *g* a half

tone step downwards from this tone, and $\ddot{\gamma}$ on *a* a minor third downwards from this tone.¹⁴

This leads us both formally and in fact back to the problem about the different positions of the F-group; for it appears that Δ and Δ' in

¹⁴ Cf. note 13; furthermore $\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \ddot{\gamma}$ on *a* (ex. 24) also seems to confirm the existence of *f-sharp*, as $\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \ddot{\gamma}$ in many places is interchangeable with Δ on *a* (and *d'*).

the sense of *d* and *a* seem to have a certain connection with this neume-group, even if on the whole it appears most often after the ordinary cadence on *d* (if the melody after the ordinary cadence on *d* continues on *g*, this tone is very often introduced by the medial signature $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$, involving the half tone step *f-sharp g*).

The first example quoted (Ex. 27) is from Ashb. 64, the next from Vaticanus graecus 345 (Ex. 28), which abounds in medial signatures:

Ex. 27: II Pl. The Ascension, Oikos, line 3–4 (Ashb. 64, 143r).

The musical notation consists of two staves of neumes on a treble clef staff. The first staff ends with a bracket under the text "δε _____ υ - τε". The second staff begins with a bracket under the text "α - να - νη _____ ψω - μεν και εισ υ _____ ψοσ".

Ex. 28: II Pl. The Ascension, Oikos, last line (Vat. gr. 345, 107v).

The musical notation consists of two staves of neumes on a treble clef staff. The first staff ends with a bracket under the text "και λε _____ ξασ προσ αυ-του". The second staff begins with a bracket under the text "[ου] _____ σ".

This case leads us to a further discussion of the position and the importance of the medial signatures. It has been maintained by HØEG and WELLESZ that the signatures play an important part when the next note is not the same as that on which the previous phrase ended. However, a medial signature can be found where the melody continues with an Ison, as shown above (Ex. 27), and here the medial signature seems to indicate a transposition or that a transposition has been completed in the previous part, where the F-group for musical reasons demands *f-sharp*, which is sanctioned by $\tilde{\alpha}$ placed after the group.

After this survey it will be reasonable to deal with the other two representative modes, the second Authentic and the fourth Plagal, in the same way. In the following surveys the material has not been registered by the exact numbers. The signatures in brackets, however, are seldom found.

Ex. 29:

The musical example consists of a single staff in G clef. Below the staff, various musical signatures are listed in brackets, indicating changes in mode or key signature. The signatures include:
 - A bracketed signature $[\tilde{\alpha}]$ above the first note.
 - Brackets below the staff containing $\lambda \ddot{y}$, \tilde{y} , $\tilde{\delta}$, $\lambda \tilde{\delta}$, $\lambda \tilde{\delta} \tilde{\tilde{\delta}}$, \tilde{y} , $\tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tau}$, and $\tilde{\alpha}$.
 - Brackets below the staff containing $[\lambda \pi \ddot{s}]$, $[\lambda \delta \tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tilde{\tau}}]$, \ddot{y} , \ddot{s} , $\tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tau}$, and $[\tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tau}]$.
 - Brackets below the staff containing $[\lambda \ddot{y}]$, $\tilde{\alpha}$, $\lambda \ddot{\delta}$, $\tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tilde{\tau}}$, and $[\tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tau}]$.
 - Brackets below the staff containing $\lambda \ddot{y} \tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tilde{\tau}}$.

In this survey (Ex. 29) the impression which we received from the second Plagal mode is somewhat weakened. The fourth-displacement by $\tilde{\alpha}$ and $\tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tau}$ reappears, though less frequent. Instead of this we meet with the fourth distance in $\lambda \ddot{s}$ between *a* and *e*, and compared to the previous survey the peculiar signature, $\tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tau}$ is placed a fourth higher (cf. Ex. 26).

It is characteristic of both surveys (Ex. 24 and 29) that the MS.

either defines *d* as λ or in the second Authentic mode and the fourth Plagal mode practically avoids defining it, even if opportunity is often offered by the many *d*-cadences. The fact that the MS. does not want to interpret *d* as $\check{\gamma}$ or $\pi \check{\gamma}$, seems to explain the apparent misunderstanding, $\pi \check{\gamma}$ equivalent to *e*.

If, however, we consider this problem from the basis which we took as starting point, that *f-sharp* for musical reasons seems to be required in the Kontakarium, it is a different matter, for in that case $\pi \check{\gamma}$ equivalent to *e* and $\pi \check{\gamma}$ equivalent to *f*, or, correctly speaking, *f-sharp*, seem to find a provisional explanation, as it is possible to understand the two signatures as transposed forms of the intonations of the first and the second Plagal mode, respectively *e g f-sharp e* and *f-sharp g a g f-sharp*. Provided the interval relation of the transposed intonations is the same, it seems to be a confirmation of the presence of *f-sharp* in some places in the melody. In most cases these "wrong" signatures do not disturb the melodic line, and no correction is necessary.

In this connection a passage must be pointed out because it is the only problem of that kind which has so far been discussed in print.

It concerns the Akathistos Hymn and the $\pi \check{\gamma}$ of which Wellesz gives a detailed examination in his book.¹⁵ WELLESZ is fully aware of the problem, and a great part of the tradition demands *e* in that place, but the melody only comes out in its present shape, in Oikos I, Line 3, if $\pi \check{\gamma}$ is equivalent to *d*.

If the *e*-version has to be accepted, WELLESZ suggests ~~=~~ corrected to \geq (Ex. 30, c¹, marked by *).

Ex. 30:

Line a = Proshomoion, Oikos, line 3.¹⁶

Line b = Akathistos Hymn, Oikos XII, line 3.¹⁷

Line c = Akathistos Hymn, Oikos I, line 3.¹⁸

¹⁵ WELLESZ, *op. cit.*, p. LX-LXI.

¹⁶ WELLESZ, *op. cit.*, p. 100-101.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

a¹:

κραυ-γα — ζων ο σω-τη — ρ

b¹:

με-θι — στα — σθαι προσ του — σ

c¹:

*
ει - πει - ν τη θε - ο - το — κω

a²:

εξ - α — νε — [στη]

b²:

απ — αι - ω — [νοσ]

c²:

το χαι — [ρε]

However, we must not forget that the phrase in Oikos I occurs in several versions coming out with $\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \ddot{g}$, equivalent to *e*, among those the interesting Proshomoion in which Line 2 ends in *d* and demands *e* as the starting tone of Line 3. In Oikos VIII, IX, and XII we come up against forms which remind us more of Oikos I and which come out with $\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \ddot{g}$, equivalent to *e*. If we use Oikos XII as starting point, it gives the correction $\overline{\text{z}}$ into z in Oikos I (Ex. 30, c², marked by **).

I will not presume to attempt offering a definitive solution of this difficult problem, but only want to mention a few facts which can serve as an illustration of this great difficulty.

The starting point for corrections in the Kontakarium ought to be the fixed neume-groups which now and then indicate the absolute tonal level. In that respect we may mention one or two things which seem to speak in favour of $\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \ddot{g}$ being equivalent to *e*. Firstly, the group $\overline{\text{z}} \text{z}$, where the Duo Kentemata as a rule is placed on the half tone step, which will also be the case here if we accept $\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \ddot{g}$ as being equivalent to *d*. On the contrary: if we interpret $\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \ddot{g}$ as being equivalent to *e*, the half tone step will be situated between *g* and *f-sharp*, which we in this case are forced to accept. The group in *f g g f* or, if you like, *f-sharp g g f-sharp* prevails in the Kontakarium¹⁹ and finds its counterpart a fourth higher at the pitch *b c' c' b* in most modes²⁰—once more a fourth-displacement. We are faced by the same problem in connection with the first Authentic and first Plagal mode.

Secondly, the group $\text{z} \text{z}$ has almost always the pitch *b c' a* or a fourth higher on *e' f' d'*, so that if we transcribe backwards from $\text{z} \text{z}$ (Ex. 30, c¹) meaning *b c' a* we are faced again by $\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \ddot{g}$, equivalent to *e*.²¹

As mentioned above, it is very difficult to find a solution of these problems, but I think that the melodic line of Oikos XII in this case will give a provisional solution, based on the tonal relations of the Kontakarium as a whole. I shall return to this problem when drawing my conclusions.

¹⁹ Ex. 28, Line 2; Ex. 32; cf. Appendix 1, a¹, etc., a⁷, etc.; Appendix 3, a¹, etc.

²⁰ Ex. 10; Ex. 13, Line 1; Ex. 15, Line 2; Ex. 19, Line 1; Ex. 26, Line 1; Appendix 4, a²; Appendix 5, Line 1.

²¹ The starting point for the correction suggested by me is the fact that the mistake is to be found between the two fixed points, $\text{z} \text{z} = b c' a$ in c¹ and c².

After this survey of the tonal relations of the representative modes in the Kontakarium there are still three problems left: (1) The position

of the fourth Authentic mode, presupposing that $\ddot{\lambda}$ and $\ddot{\alpha}$ may be interpreted as respectively *d* and *a*, (2) The relations of the first Authentic and the first Plagal mode, presupposing that $\ddot{\gamma}$ and $\pi\ddot{\gamma}$ may be interpreted as *e*, and (3) The position of the third Authentic and Barys, presupposing that f-sharp exists.

The fourth Authentic mode.

This mode is in Ashb. 64 represented by Ἐπεφάνησ σήμερον and Ο ὑψωθεὶς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ together with their Proshomoia, nine Kontakia, all told. Furthermore, the Pooemium of September 8 (the birthday of the Virgin Mary). The problem is the pitch of the mode. In this survey (Ex. 31) of the initial and medial signatures I have indicated the pitch *g-g'* and put in brackets the pitch *d-d'* as we know it especially from the second Plagal mode (Ex. 24).

Ex. 31:

The musical example consists of two staves of music in G clef. The first staff has a single note followed by a sharp sign, then a dotted half note, a whole note, another dotted half note, and a final whole note. The second staff has a single note, a dotted half note, a whole note, another dotted half note, and a final whole note. Below the music, a series of Greek mode signatures are listed, corresponding to the notes above them. The signatures include $\ddot{\lambda}$, $\pi\ddot{\delta}$, $\pi\ddot{\gamma}$, $\pi\ddot{\psi}$, $\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}$, $\ddot{\lambda}$, $\ddot{\gamma}$, $\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}$, $\pi\ddot{\delta}$, $\ddot{\psi}$, $\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}$, $\ddot{\psi}$, $\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}$, and $\pi\ddot{\psi}\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}$. Some signatures are followed by question marks, indicating uncertainty or alternative interpretations.

According to STRUNK the pitch $g-g'$ is to be considered as the most reasonable.²² But it is worth mentioning that on the basis of the tonal relations in the second Plagal mode we might be prepared to admit the pitch $d-d'$, since $\overline{\lambda}$, equivalent to d , $\overline{\pi} \ddot{\gamma}$, equivalent to e , etc., correspond to the interpretations in the second Plagal mode (Ex. 24). In this connection it should be added that many of the melismas and neume-groups of the fourth Authentic mode appear one fourth lower in the representative modes (II, II Pl., and IV Pl.).

There are great difficulties in transcribing this mode, owing, maybe, to the curious *Nana*-intonations on a , indicated by notes of interrogation (Ex. 31).

The first Authentic mode.

This mode is in Ashb. 64 represented by three Kontakia, "Οταν ἔλθησ δ θεός and its Proshomoion—and 'Ο μήτρων παρθενικήν, the Oikos of which is Proshomoion to the first mentioned one.

The problems already mentioned come up at once in the first line of "Οταν ἔλθησ δ θεός, as can be seen from a comparative survey (Appendix I) of the tradition represented by the main version of Ashb. 64 (fol. 94v = a), the "Amanuensis"²³ of the same MS. (fol. 18or = b), Vaticanus graecus 345 (fol. 82v–83r = c), and the Grottaferrata MS. Γ. γ. III (fol. 15v = d).²⁴

Taking the main version of Ashb. 64 as a starting point the melody comes out without trouble with d as initial and g as final tone (a^1). The tone g as the final note corresponds to the medial signature $\ddot{\gamma}$ in the versions of the Amanuensis and Vat. gr. 345. These MSS. together with Γ. γ. III indicate c as the starting note, if we interpret the signatures in the ordinary way, but if we transcribe backwards from the medial signature we come to d as required by the main version of Ashb. 64. A closer inspection of the last-mentioned MS. makes it clear that the intonation and the first neume of the melody were originally the same as in the other versions, as a revising hand later on seems to

*²² *Op. cit.*, p. 200.]

²³ Cf. Introduction to Ashb. 64, p. 13.

²⁴ A horizontal line in the versions below—or, simply, the omission of the other versions (a^2 , a^3 , a^6)—indicates that there are no essential variants. In a^1 and c^1 we are faced with alternative versions.

have made insertions (put in brackets), obviously feeling the difficulty of the beginning on c).²⁵

Ex. 32:



Presupposing that *d* is the correct starting tone, the intonations and signatures in the four versions seem to indicate *e* in accordance with the interpretations already met with in other modes.

In the next phrase (a²–a³) the melody ends with the ordinary cadence on *d*. The second line (a⁴–a⁶) starts on *e* indicated in the three versions below by π̄ g; cf. the Akathistos Hymn above. After the F-group we

are faced with Δ (c⁵, d⁵) interpreted as *a* as is mostly the case in the second Plagal mode.

The third line (a⁷) is a repetition of the first; *d* as starting tone is required for the same reasons as just mentioned, but in this place the

Amanuensis and Vat. gr. 345 use π̄ δ, meaning *d*—corresponding to Δ in the second Plagal mode. On the contrary Γ. γ. III stands upon π̄ g applied in the ordinary way.²⁶ This example shows that we are forced by the fixed meaning of the medial signature γ and the *d*-cadence to accept two different meanings of π̄ g, either as *e* or the usual *d*, being equivalent to Δ and π̄ δ with the same application. Examples (Appendix 2: a = Ashb. 64, fol. 90r–90v, b = Vat. gr. 345, fol. 80r–80v, and c = Γ. γ. III, fol. 14r) are supplied by the Prooemium ‘Ο μήτραν παρθενικήν (from the second line) in which we are faced with the same curious equivalence.

²⁵ During a discussion of this interesting place RAASTED pointed out that we come across an analogous “revision” at the beginning of the phrase ποταμός δὲ τοῦ πυρός (a⁷ = Ashb. 64. Fol. 94v, Line 8) where the signature and the initiating

neume α π̄ x originally may have been α π̄ π̄ as the *Oxeia* and the *Hypsele* seem to have been written by a later hand which, maybe, has converted the last Apostrophus of the *Double Apostrophus* into a *Chamele*.

²⁶ Concerning the main version of Ashb. 64; see Note 25.

A full survey of the signatures in this mode (Ex. 33) based on Ashb. 64, Vat. gr. 345 and Γ. γ. III offers the same impression. It is remarkable that Barys can be situated on *g*, a fact which recurs in the mode Barys itself (p. 30).

Ex. 33:



The first Plagal mode.

This mode is in Ashb. 64 represented by three Kontakia, Μιμητήσ ὑπάρχων and its Proshomoion — and Ἡ τοῦ προδρόμου ἔνδοξος. The beginning part of Μιμητήσ ὑπάρχων illustrates the difficulties quite well (Appendix 3).

The most important representatives of the Kontakarian tradition are put down: The main version of Ashb. 64 (163v = a) together with its Proshomoion (ibid., 186v–187r = b), the earlier tradition by Vat. gr. 345 (116v = c) and Γ. γ. III and E. β. VII (resp. fol. 45v and p. 293 = d), and the comparatively late tradition by Messina 129 (159r = e).

In the main version of Ashb. 64 the first line (a¹–a³) offers no trouble in itself. If we interpret $\pi \ddot{\delta}$ as *d*, we get the starting tone *c* and the final tone *d* with the usual *d*-cadence. But in the following line which is an exact repetition of Line 1,²⁷ we are faced with difficulties: the melody begins on *d* and presupposes that the initial tone is identical with $\pi \ddot{\delta}$, whereas the initial tone in Line 1 was placed one step lower,

²⁷ Except in Messina 129; cf. Appendix 3, e⁸.

on *c*. In other words: in the second line the first phrase (parallel to a^1-a^2) will end on *B* and the next phrase (parallel to a^3) and the line as a whole on *e*.

In order to solve this problem we have to start by understanding the fixed points, the *d*-cadence on the words τοῦ ἐλεήμονος. This phrase (a^3) starts on *g* fixed by the medial signature, *Nana*,²⁸ in the versions below. We now have to accept the identity between the final tone of the *d*-cadence and the starting tone of Line 2. This gives rise to the question whether the starting tone of Line 1 ought to be *d*, too. This impression is maintained, partly by the version of Messina 129, which by the medial signature $\pi \ddot{\varsigma}$, equivalent to *a* (e^2), seems to presuppose the starting tone *d* and consequently the initial signature $\pi \ddot{\varsigma}$, equivalent to *e*, partly by the variants of Vat. gr. 345 (c^2), Γ. γ. III and E. β. VII (d^2), which lead the melody one step lower, to *A*.

On condition that *d* is the starting tone of the Ashb. version, the first phrase ends on *B* instead of *A* (a^2), as required by the following medial signature. Maybe the version of Γ. γ. III and E. β. VII gives the most reasonable solution. The two parts of the phrase Μιμητήσ ύπάρχων seem to be two varied forms of the F-group, situated in fourth-displaced position. The theory of the two F-groups is confirmed by the version of Messina 129. The fourth displacement demands *A* as its ending tone in accordance with the following medial signature. The 7th line of the Oikos (Ashb. 64, 165r = f^1-f^2) may serve as a “reconstruction” of the first line of the Prooemium.^{28a}

We are further forced to accept two different meanings of $\pi \ddot{\varsigma}$, as was the case with $\ddot{\varsigma}$ in the first Authentic mode. At the beginning of Line 2 (a^3) we have all the possibilities represented: $\pi \ddot{\varsigma}$ equivalent to *e* in Γ. γ. III and E. β. VII, to *d* in Ashb. 64 (both versions) and in Messina 129, and Δ , equivalent to *d*, in Vat. gr. 345.

The survey of the signatures is based on the MSS. already mentioned. There are great difficulties in the lower part of the scale as shown above. A satisfying understanding of the melody demands a detailed analysis lying beyond the scope of the present essay.

²⁸ Cf. Ex. 24 and 33–34.

^{28a} The neumes put in brackets in f^2 are due to a corrector. The correction would bring the melody into agreement with the version of Messina 129 (e^2).

Ex. 34:

The musical notation consists of two staves. The first staff has a treble clef and a common time signature. The second staff has a common time signature. Below the notation, there are several rows of Greek neume notation with accompanying numbers and symbols.

$[\lambda \ddot{\gamma}]$	$\lambda \ddot{\beta}$	$\lambda \ddot{\beta}$	$\lambda \ddot{\beta} \overline{\lambda} - \overline{\lambda}$	$\lambda \ddot{\beta}$	$\ddot{\gamma} \gg$
$[\lambda \ddot{\beta}]$	$\ddot{\beta}$	$\alpha\lambda-\lambda\sigma\nu$	$\overline{\lambda}\overline{\lambda}$	$\ddot{\beta}$	
\gg	$\ddot{\beta}$		$\overline{\lambda}\overline{\lambda}$	$\alpha\lambda\lambda$	
$\lambda \overline{\delta}$	$[\ddot{\beta}]$		$\ddot{\gamma} \lambda \ddot{\gamma} \overline{\lambda} - \overline{\lambda}$		
$\overline{\lambda}\overline{\lambda}$			$\ddot{\lambda}$		

The third Authentic mode.

This mode is in Ashb. 64 represented by Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον and its four Proshomoia. The melody is remarkable in that only the signatures and five cadences of the type *f a f* (against ten appearances of the ordinary *g*-cadence *g b g*) are reminders of the *f*-mode. The melody is characterized by the same melismas, neume-groups, and melodic formulas as the more representative Kontakia (II, II Pl., IV Pl.). To this it should be added that the *f*-cadence in all cases seem to be secondary and a simple imitation of the well-known *g*-cadence.

Ex. 35: III. Christmas Day, Prooem., first line (Ashb. 64, 75v).

The musical notation consists of two staves. The first staff has a treble clef and a common time signature. The second staff has a common time signature. Below the notation, there are two lines of Greek text with arrows pointing to specific notes.

η παρ-θε νοσ

ση με - ρο ν

Musical score for 'Tutti' and 'Kati'. The top staff shows a vocal line with lyrics 'TOV U - TTE p-OU- SI OV TI' on a treble clef staff. The bottom staff shows a vocal line with lyrics 'K - TI' on a treble clef staff. Both staves have downward arrows above them.

Ex. 36:

Line a = cadence on f in the 3d Authentic mode (cf. ex. 35).

Line b = cadence on *g* in other Kontakia (cf. ex. 20 and 19).

a:

A musical staff with a treble clef, showing a sequence of notes: a black eighth note, a black sixteenth note, a black eighth note, a black sixteenth note, a black eighth note, a black sixteenth note, and a black eighth note.

b:

A musical staff in G clef, with a tempo marking of 120 BPM. The staff shows measures 1 through 4 of the first system. Measure 1 starts with a quarter note followed by a eighth note tied to a sixteenth note. Measures 2 and 3 each begin with a half note. Measure 4 begins with a quarter note followed by a eighth note tied to a sixteenth note.

a (cont.):

A musical staff in G clef and common time. It contains a sequence of notes and rests. The notes are mostly quarter notes, with some eighth and sixteenth notes interspersed. The rests are primarily half and quarter rests.

b (cont.):

A musical staff in G clef shows a single melodic line. It begins on the fourth line (G4), moves up to the third line (A4), then down to the fourth line (G4), and finally up to the fifth line (B4). The notes are black dots with stems, and there are vertical bar lines dividing the measures.

Ex. 37: III. Christmas Day, Oikos, line 4 (Ashb. 64, 77r).

The musical score consists of two staves of music. The top staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a common time signature. It features a melodic line with various note heads and rests, some with horizontal stems and others with vertical stems. The lyrics "εν - δον του σπηλαι - λαι" are written below the notes. The bottom staff also begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. It contains a similar melodic line with note heads and rests. The lyrics "[αι] ου" are written below the notes. The music concludes with a final cadence on the last note of each staff.

In Ex. 35 we present the first line of the Prooemium. The ordinary melodic endings in *g* are indicated by an arrow. At the end the cadence suddenly leads the melody to *f* by the characteristic turning *f a f*.

The ending from Ex. 35 is in Ex. 36 compared with the ordinary *g*-cadence of the representative modes. Up to the vertical line the melodies are almost identical.

In Ex. 37 taken from the Oikos of Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον it is certain that the similarity is not due to accidental circumstances. The line ends in *g* with the same neume-picture (marked by ) as above (Ex. 36, Line a).

Ex. 38:

The survey of the signatures (Ex. 38) is based on Ashb. 64, Γ. γ. III, and Vat. gr. 345.

From an ordinary octoëchic point of view there is nothing remarkable in the fourth-displacement by $\pi \ddot{\gamma}$ and $\overline{\mu} \overline{\nu} \overline{\omega}$, being equivalent to a and d' , and $\ddot{\gamma}$, being equivalent to c' . From STRUNK's article concerning the tonal system we know that it is possible. I am unable, however, to avoid the opinion that the signatures except the *Gamma*-signature will apply here, if we move the pitch a fourth downwards, just as we suggested in connection with the fourth Authentic mode (Ex. 31).

The fourth-displacement is not only to be regarded in the octoechic way as influence from the upper conjunct tetrachord ($d' e' f' g'$) on the lower disjunct one ($a b c' d'$). The fourth displacement is radical, as appears by a comparison between the *g*-cadences and the ordinary *d*-cadences of the other modes (Appendix 4; a = Christmas Kontakion (third Authentic mode), Oikos, Line 5 (Ashb. 64, fol. 77r); b = Kontakion of the Great-Martyr Panteleemon (first Plagal mode), Oikos, last line (Ashb. 64, fol. 165v–166r)). This example is an excellent specimen of the fourth-displacement as a whole. The phrases are almost identical; the only real difference is that the F-group in the Christmas Kontakion has been extended as compared with the small form in the Kontakion of Panteleemon. From the vertical line the neumation is quite identical.

We thus conclude that the melody of the third Authentic mode only by its outward shape belongs to the *f*-mode, i.e. by its five *f*-cadences and its *Gamma*-signatures. From a Kontakarian point of view it represents a form in the upper register as is the case with the fourth Authentic mode.

Barys.

This mode is in Ashb. 64 represented by three Kontakia, Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρουσ with one Proshomoion, and Οὐκέτι φλογίνη ρομφαία. The problems are similar to those mentioned at the third Authentic mode. We come up against whole phrases which remind us of the fourth Plagal mode. The Oikos of Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρουσ ends with a phrase which, as mentioned above, is close to the refrain of the Akathistos Hymn (Ex. 19 and 13). In the same way we come across cadences which we remember from other modes, here only one step lower. Most of the lines, however,

are introduced by the ordinary *Barys*-signature, and the melodies seem to be situated in the corresponding pitch beside the aforesaid endings in *g*. Still it happens very often that the medial signatures necessitate another meaning of the *Barys*-signature, from *f g e g* into *g a f g* or rather *g a f-sharp g* (Appendix 5).

The example reproduces Lines 6–7 in the Oikos of Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρουσ based upon Ashb. 64 (170r–170v) and Γ. γ. III (48v). The fixed meaning of Δ at the beginning (Line 1 of Appendix 5) and of the whole phrase (1–2), which once again reminds us of the refrain of the Akathistos Hymn (Ex. 19; cf. Ex. 13), enforce the *Barys*-signature at the pitch *g a f-sharp g*. This meaning is sanctioned by the *Neanes*-signature = *b* at the end (4).

This example has many parallels in which the tonal relations vary considerably. So it will not be possible to give a reasoned survey of the signatures. We conclude that *Barys* is characterized partly by the ordinary *g*-endings of the representative modes, partly by a tonal confusion by virtue of which the ordinary *Barys*-signature became *g a f-sharp g*. As modes in the Kontakarium both the third Authentic mode and *Barys* seem to be fictions in order to maintain the illusion of a full Octoechos in the Kontakarium as distinct from another part of the Psalticon, the Alleluia-verse, which avoids the *f*-modes.

From an Alleluia-verse of the second Authentic mode, Ἐπὶ σοὶ κύριε ἡλπίσα,²⁹ and its heading, ἀμνημον· ψάλλεται δὲ καὶ εἰσ τρίτον ἥχον, we may see a preparation for a development of that kind in the Alleluia-verse. Maybe the typical initial notes³⁰ of the second Authentic mode (Ex. 39) have prepared the way for *Barys* in the Kontakarium (Ex. 40) and explain the tonal confusion that has arisen from an incomplete development.

Ex. 39 (Ashb. 64, 208v):

²⁹ Ashb. 64, Fol. 208v.

³⁰ Marked by [] in Ex. 39–40.

Ex. 40: Barys. Sunday of the Cross, Prooemium, first line (Ashb. 64, 105v).



Conclusion:

In the Kontakarium there occurs a series of signatures which cannot be understood in the normal way. These “wrong” signatures appear, however, with such persistence that they cannot be regarded as mistakes. They occur most frequently in the oldest traditions so that we are not allowed to regard them as founded upon a local Italo-Sicilian

Ex. 41 (The “wrong” signatures have been put in brackets):

The musical notation consists of ten measures of Barys chant. The first measure has a bracketed [ς] signature. The second measure has a bracketed [ς̄] signature. The third measure has a bracketed [λς] signature. The fourth measure has a bracketed [λς̄] signature. The fifth measure has a bracketed [πς] signature. The sixth measure has a bracketed [πς̄] signature. The seventh measure has a bracketed [λψ] signature. The eighth measure has a bracketed [πψ] signature. The ninth measure has a bracketed [ως] signature. The tenth measure has a bracketed [ως̄] signature.

tradition or depending on a late Turkish-Oriental influence which might have destroyed the original tonal character.

To this it must be added that if we accept the “wrong” signatures as indications of transposition they seem to prove the existence of the accidentals, *f-sharp* and *c-sharp*, which for musical reasons are required because of the different positions of the F-group. $\pi \ddot{\gamma}$ on *B* and on *e* implies a whole tone step upwards, and $\dot{\chi} \dot{\tau}$ on *d* and *g* implies a half tone step downwards, etc.³¹

$\pi \ddot{\gamma}$ on *d'*, $\ddot{\gamma}$ on *c'*, etc., are accepted as possible signatures according to STRUNK, who points out that the upper conjunct tetrachord, *d'-g'*, has influenced the disjunct tetrachord, placed below it, in the way of tonal re-interpretation.³² Seeing that the indications $\pi \ddot{\gamma}$, equivalent to *a* and *d'*, $\dot{\chi} \dot{\tau}$, equivalent to *g* and *c'*, etc., are continued downwards by analogy and involve a whole series of “wrong” signatures (Ex. 41), we are driven to the conclusion that the Kontakarium used a conjunct tetrachordal system differing from the recognised octoëchic scale.

If as starting points we take the usual finalis tones, *d*, *g* and *c'*, together with the ending tones of the F-group in its different positions, *A*, *d*, and *g*, the difference between the two series becomes adherent (Ex. 42–43):

Ex. 42 (The tonal system of the Sticherarium and the Hirmologium acc. to Strunk):



Ex. 43 (The tonal system of the Kontakarium):



³¹ Beside the “wrong” signatures the only evidence of a transposition seems to be the *Phthora* in Ashb. 64, Fol. 164v, Line 1, a confirmation of the existence of *f-sharp* (the last line in the Prooemium of Μιμητήσ ὑπάρχων).

³² STRUNK, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–204.

Hitherto we have met the fourth-displacement mainly as the result of a comparison between different melodies and different modes. In conclusion it would be interesting to see the fourth-displacement developed inside a single melody. It is found outside the real Kontakarian style, in the octoëchic collection of "Psaltic" Hypakoai, which have a certain connection with the Kontakia melodies.³³ The example is the Hypakoë in the second Authentic mode, Μετὰ τὸ πάθος, the seven first lines of which are an excellent illustration of the radical fourth-displacement (Appendix 6).³⁴

The formal scheme of the seven lines is quite clear: a, b, c, a¹, d, b¹, c¹; a¹, b¹, and c¹ have almost the same neumation as a, b, and c, only placed one fourth lower. The fourth-displacement may be seen from a survey of the different positions of the well-known cadence formula (Ex. 44):

Ex. 44:

d'	c' b	a b	g (line 1, 2)
a g f-sharp	e f-sharp	d	(line 3, 4, 5, 6)
e d c-sharp	B c-sharp	A	(line 7)

The melodic fourth-displacement has been followed up by the corresponding "wrong" signatures which sanction the accidentals *f-sharp* and *c-sharp*.³⁵

In the tonal system of the Kontakarium (Ex. 43) there is no room for the *f*-modes (the third Authentic mode and Barys), as the conjunct

³³ Cf. Note 2. Inside the Psalticon the "Psaltic" Hypakoai-melodies are the genre closest to the Kontakia-melodies (compare Line 3 in Appendix 6 with Ex. 14, Lines 2-3). The only formal difference is the length of the strophes.

³⁴ The example has been taken from Vat. gr. 345, fol. 41r-41v. The melody is found in Ashb. 64, Fol. 246r-246v; I have chosen the first version, partly because it has more medial signatures and thus more consistently explains the fourth-displacement, partly because the Ashb.-version is burdened by certain mistakes which are corrected in the Vat.-version.

³⁵ By = a, = g, = a and e; the interpretation of is not quite clear.

tetrachordal system has been developed from above with the consequence that the tones *f* and *c*, as known from the Sticheraric and Hirmological style, have disappeared for the benefit of *g* and *d*, which, however, on their part have taken over the qualities of the “disappeared” tones.³⁶ In the normal “theoretical” way there are three different tones, δ , α , and β , which return again and again. There are only three tones and accordingly only six modes by virtue of the omission of the *f*-modes in the Alleluiairum and the secondary application of the *f*-modes in the Kontakarium, as shown above.

The two systems (Ex. 42–43) are quite different, but this difference is practically only felt in the two lowest tetrachords. However, we only have the Kontakarium in a form which has been incorporated in the octoëchic system. A priori we can lay down that there are three possibilities of an incorporation like this, reflecting three stages of octoëchic influence.

It is generally held that the Kontakarium as a literary and musical species was borrowed by the Greek church from Syria, St. Romanus being a disciple of Ephraem. So it is quite likely that the original melodies of the Kontakarium, which must have been much shorter than the extant forms, were composed in a Syriac (or Syriac-inspired) modal system differing in some ways from the later octoëchic scheme in Byzantine music. The first stage would have been the simple *incorporation* of this Kontakarian style into the octoëchic system. The Kontakarium represented still a musical form, but it had lost its locus standi. From a musical point of view it was impossible to maintain the fourth-displaced formulas and cadences, if they do not correspond to a tonal similarity.

The second possibility would be an *adaptation* to the octoëchic system. It may be described as an attempt at saving as much as possible of the qualities of the non-octoëchic melodies. Of course, the two upper tetrachords give no trouble, and we do not come across any serious problem, e.g. in the Akathistos Hymn which is mostly situated in the two upper tetrachords; but when the melody goes to the lowest tetrachord but one, we come up against λ $\ddot{\gamma}$, equivalent to *e*, $\dot{\alpha}$, equivalent to *d*, etc.

³⁶ Cf. $\overline{\dot{\alpha}}\overline{\dot{\gamma}}$ on *g* (examples are legion) and on *d* (Ex. 34), and $\overline{\dot{\alpha}}\overline{\dot{\gamma}}$ on *g* (Ex. 33–34, Appendix 5, Line 3); cf. the secondary position of the *f*-modes in the Kontakarium.

The third possibility: a *re-interpretation* has taken place. By re-interpretation I mean that a medial signature suddenly indicates another pitch or another finalis than we are to expect from an octoëchic point of view. Beside the fourth-displaced neume-groups and cadences these “wrong” signatures are the only evidence of a tonal system different from that hitherto known.

The first possibility, *incorporation*, is the hitherto accepted opinion according to the manuscripts themselves which in their outward shape seem to divide the Kontakia into the eight modes, so that here there would be no difference between the Sticheraric and Hirmological style and the Kontakarian style. Research seems until the present day, too, to have accepted this view³⁷ and has tried to explain the apparent objections to the octoëchic modal system as growing “orientalisation”.³⁸

We are faced with the incorporation at an advanced stage in the “Asmatic” collections (Messina 120, Messina 129, Vat. gr. 1606), while the older tradition (Ashb. 64, Vat. gr. 345, Γ. γ. III, Ε. β. II)³⁹ still seems to represent a form which only with great difficulties can be reconciled to the octoëchic system.

The second possibility, *adaptation*, may explain many difficulties in the Kontakarium. It has in the two lowest tetrachords the consequence that the first Plagal mode (esp. in the Alleluiarium) and Barys try to interpret these tetrachords as respectively *G A B c* and *c d e f*, a very reasonable solution; but the difficulties arise when the two lowest tetrachords meet with the two highest ones.⁴⁰

³⁷ “In fact, in composing Kontakia the hymn-writers made use of the “formula”-technique exactly in the same way as the composers of Heirmoi and Stichera.” WELLESZ, *op. cit.*, p. LVI; cf. *ibid.*, p. LXV: “Since the richly ornamented Kontakia melodies are based on the same formulae, characterising the mode, as those from the Hirmologium and Sticherarium”

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. LXV; cf. p. XLVIII: “We come to the conclusion that already in the XII. century the singers of the Kontakia had lost the feeling for the strict modal character”

³⁹ At the present moment I have not yet received the microfilms of the Sinai MSS. 1280 and 1314, which according to STRUNK’s kind information belong to the same tradition as Vat. gr. 345, etc.

⁴⁰ In the Alleluiarium the *g*-cadences of the first Authentic and the *f*-cadences of the first Plagal mode have the same neumation. The different pitch is as far as I can see due to the different orientation of the two modes: the first Authentic mode is dependent on a conjunct tetrachordal system as shown in Ex. 43, while the first Plagal mode is determined by a conjunct tetrachordal system developed from the lower part of the scale, *G A B c, c d e f-natural, f g a b-flat*, etc., so that the two cadences are identical, as they have the same position in their respective systems.

The present paper has concentrated on the third possibility, *re-interpretation*, as met with in the “wrong” signatures.

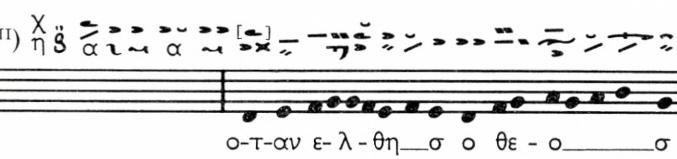
Although no complete demonstration is possible, yet when we remember the strong Oriental influence to which the culture of Byzantium was exposed, we may accept, as a probable explanation, the separate origin of the Kontakarian modal system.⁴¹

⁴¹ Cf. the suggestion made by HØEG in the introduction to the facsimile-edition of Ashb. 64: “Cet état de choses [the accuracy of the copyist and the unequal division into modes in the Kontakarium] peut suggérer l’idée que les melodies du recueil qui nous occupe appartiennent à une tradition pré-octoéchique” (p. 36). This phrase has been the inspiration of the present paper.

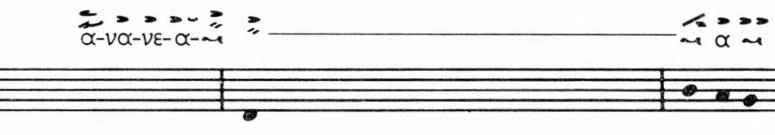
APPENDICES

Appendix 1

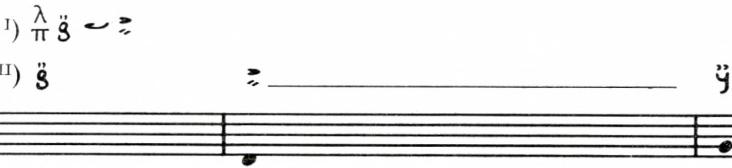
I) 

a¹ II) 

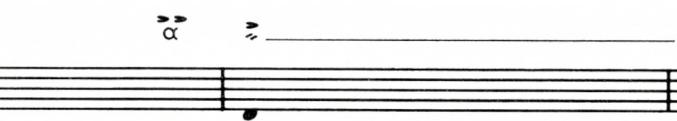
o-t-a-n e-l-h-e-s o h-e-o-s

b¹ 

alpha-v-alpha-v-e-alpha

c¹ II) 

z-z-y

d¹ 

alpha-z-z

a²

ε - πι γη σ με τα

a³

δο ξη σ

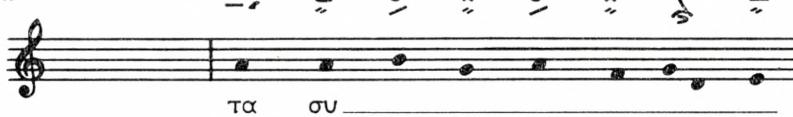
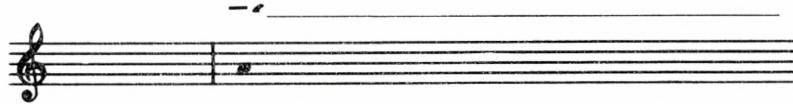
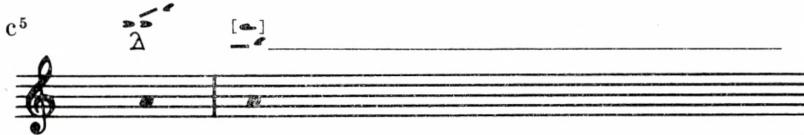
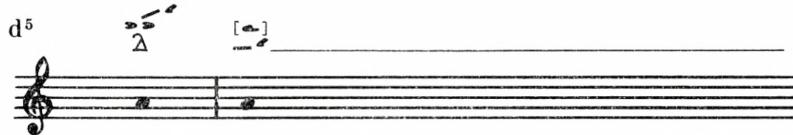
a⁴

και τρε μου σι

b⁴

c⁴

d⁴

a⁵b⁵c⁵d⁵a⁶

a⁷

πο-τα-μο-σ δε του πυ-ρο σ

b⁷

α ΓΙ ε — α νεσ

c⁷

λ π δ — ü

d⁷

λ π δ — ü

Appendix 2

a¹

α - γι - α σασ

b¹

41a

— [—] —

c¹

— [—] —

^{41a} Obviously a mistake for [—].

Musical notation for the lyrics "TWO TO KΩ σOU". The notation consists of a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a common time signature. The melody starts on a high note, descends, and then ascends again. The lyrics are written below the notes.

A musical score fragment on a treble clef staff. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The first measure shows a fermata over two eighth notes. The second measure shows a grace note before the first eighth note, followed by a regular eighth note.

A musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines. Above the staff, the text "c²" is positioned above the first line, and "[illegible]" is positioned above the second line. The staff begins with a treble clef.

A musical score fragment on a five-line staff. It begins with a bass clef, followed by a dynamic instruction "b3". A tempo marking "8" with a bracket and a small arrow pointing left is present. The first note is a dotted half note (B-flat) on the second line.

A musical staff with a treble clef and a 'c' dynamic marking at the beginning. A note on the second line has a vertical bar above it with a '3' and a bracket below it with a '—'. The note is sustained across the staff.

a⁴

TOU σU-μE-W v

b⁴

c⁴

a⁵, b⁵

εU - λo - γη σασ

c⁵

a⁶

ωσ ε πρε - πε

b⁶

c⁶

a⁷

προ-φθα σα σα σ

b⁷, c⁷

a⁸, b⁸

και νυν ε - σω - σα σ η μα σ

c⁸

a⁹, b⁹

χρι-στε

c⁹

a¹⁰, b¹⁰

c¹⁰

Appendix 3

a¹

b¹

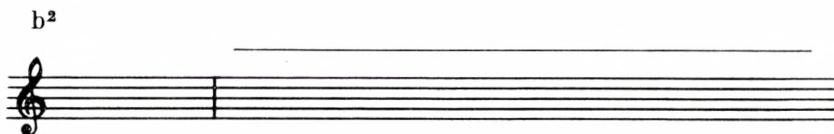
c¹

d¹

e¹

f¹

ωσ κα γω τουσ



a³

b³

c³

d³

e³

Appendix 4

a¹

a²

⁴² In the MS. ; corrected from the Proshomoion, *ibid.*, Fol. 184v.

b¹

τον ρυ - ο με - νον εκ πλα

a³

-νη ρι ζα α πο

b²

[α] νηστουσ βο - ω

a⁴

[ο] τι - στο σ

b³

[ω] ν τα σ

Appendix 5

1)

το θα - βω ρι ον ο ποσ

2)

προ-φθα σω με ν

3)

α α ζ ε ιν ιν δω - με ν

4)

συν αυ-τοι σ την

Appendix 6

1.

ηχο[σ] β με-τα το πτα θο σ

2.

τιο-ρευ-θει σαι

⁴³ This medial signature is missing in the Ashb. version and found only in Γ. γ. III.

3.

εν τῷ μνή

3 (cont.)

| η | μα - τι

4.

προσ τῷ μν ρι σαι

5.

τῷ σῷ μα σου

6.

αι γυ ναι κε σ

6 (cont.)

A musical staff in G clef. Above the staff, there is a symbol consisting of a vertical line with a horizontal bar above it, followed by a vertical line with a horizontal bar below it. This is followed by a series of vertical lines with horizontal bars above them, some with small arrows indicating direction. Below the staff, the text "XPI" is written under a horizontal line, and "OTE" is written further to the right.

7.

A musical staff in G clef. Above the staff, there is a symbol consisting of two vertical lines with horizontal bars above them. This is followed by a series of vertical lines with horizontal bars above them, some with small arrows indicating direction. Below the staff, the text "O" is written under a horizontal line, followed by "THET" under another horizontal line, then "O" under another horizontal line, and finally "O" under another horizontal line.

Indleveret til Selskabet den 10. december 1958.
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ON THE TABLES OF PLANETARY VISIBILITY IN THE ALMAGEST AND THE HANDY TABLES

BY

ASGER AABOE



København 1960
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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I.

Of Ptolemy's Handy Tables, the detailed astronomical tables which were the outcome of the theories developed in his Almagest,¹ the preface² alone has survived. The tables themselves, which played an important rôle in Islamic and early Western astronomy, have reached us only in the edition of Theon of Alexandria.³ We are thus faced with the problem of deciding how faithfully these Theonic tables do represent the Ptolemaic originals, and this problem is, indeed, a very real one, for it is obvious that the Handy Tables, as we have them, have not in their entirety been directly derived from the Almagest: there are, in places, discrepancies both in parameters and in methods.

The only manner in which we can resolve this problem with the textual material now at hand is either by demonstrating agreement between Ptolemy's preface and Theon's tables, particularly of course at points where the likelihood of such agreement a priori is slight, or alternatively by showing disagreement between the two texts. Except in unimportant matters, such as the arrangement of the tables, no such disagreement has turned up. Furthermore, there is perfect accord between Ptolemy's prefatory instructions and the Theonic tables in one of the instances where the latter deviate, and substantially so, from the Almagest's tables and theories, viz. on the question of planetary latitudes, as can be seen from a paper of VAN DER WAERDEN.⁴ And, as will appear, the follow-

¹ Text edited by J. L. HEIBERG, Leipzig, 1898, 1903; German translation by K. MANITIUS, Leipzig, 1912, 1913.

² *Ptol. Opera II*, ed. HEIBERG, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 159—185.

³ Theon flourished during the latter half of the fourth century A. D. (thus some 200 years after Ptolemy). The only printed edition of the Handy Tables is in HALMA, *Commentaires de Théon etc.*, Paris, 3 vols., 1822—25. The visibility tables discussed in this paper are in vol. 3, pp. 16—31. A new edition of the Handy Tables, by W. D. STAHLMAN, will appear soon.

⁴ B. L. VAN DER WAERDEN: *Bemerkungen zu den Handlichen Tafeln des Ptolemaios*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Math.-nat. Klasse, 1953, Nr. 23 (pp. 261—272).

ing analysis of the other major point of disagreement between the Almagest and the Handy Tables, viz. on the matter of planetary visibility, bears out in a most surprising fashion the corresponding remarks in Ptolemy's preface. Thus it seems beyond reasonable doubt that the Handy Tables, as they are known to us, are indeed the Ptolemaic originals, save for small editorial changes and unimportant additions such as special tables for Byzantium.

The primary aim of the following investigation¹ is, however, to lay bare the internal structure of a pair of corresponding sections of the Almagest and the Handy Tables. These sections are concerned, as hinted above, with the problem of first and last visibility of the planets or, to use the Greek terminology, their phases: when, say, an outer planet is near conjunction with the sun it is invisible; but as the sun leaves it farther and farther behind there will come a morning when the planet rises in sufficient darkness for it to be visible, if only for a short while, before sunrise. This is the moment of first visibility. The phenomenon of last visibility happens in a symmetrical fashion.

I shall, following NEUGEBAUER, use the following notations:

Γ : first appearance	} of an outer planet.
Ω : last appearance	
Γ : first appearance as a morning star	} of an inner planet.
Σ : last appearance as a morning star	
Ξ : first appearance as an evening star	
Ω : last appearance as an evening star	

II. The Almagest

These phenomena are treated by Ptolemy in Almagest XIII, 7—10. The criterion for first or last visibility is that a certain critical altitude difference between the planet and the sun has been reached at sunrise (Γ and Σ) or sunset (Ξ and Ω). Ptolemy's fundamental assumption is that this critical altitude difference—the *arcus visionis*—depends on nothing save the planet. He selects one phenomenon for each planet taking place at the beginning of Cancer, because of the favourable visibility conditions at mid-

¹ Part of the work was done while I was the recipient of a Tufts University Faculty Research Fellowship for which I wish to express my gratitude.

summer. As for terrestrial latitude Ptolemy chooses that of Phoenicia (longest daylight $14\frac{1}{4}^{\text{h}}$) because "most of the reliable observations have been made by the Chaldeans at this latitude, and in Greece and Egypt on either side thereof" (XIII, 7)—a reference to the central rôle which these phenomena played in Babylonian astronomy¹. Finding the elongation, E , and the latitude, β , of the planets, presumably from the dates (unfortunately he omitted

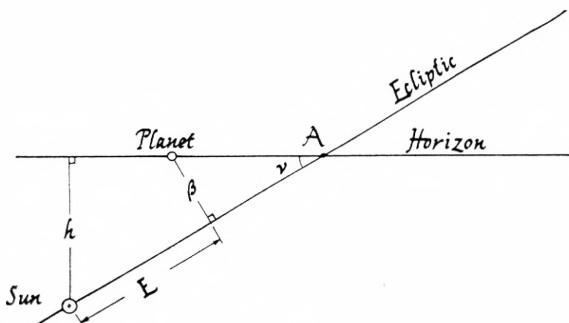


Fig. 1.

the selected observations themselves and most details of how E and β were derived), he computes the arcus visionis, h , for each, treating the problem as one in plane rather than spherical trigonometry (v. fig. 1) from his equivalent of

$$h = E \sin \nu + \beta \cos \nu \quad (1)$$

where ν is the angle between the ecliptic and the horizon, and where β is to be counted with sign in the usual fashion. He obtains the following values of h :

for Saturn:	11°	Venus:	5°
Jupiter:	10°	Mercury:	10°
Mars:	$11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$		

The variation in h reflects, of course, the difference in brightness between the planets: the brighter the planet, the smaller its arcus visionis.

Ptolemy now reverses this process, and finding β in a manner which will be discussed below, computes from (1) the necessary elongation of each planet for first and last appearance, for the

¹ v. O. NEUGEBAUER: *Astronomical Cuneiform Texts*, I—III, London, 1955.

beginning of each zodiacal sign, all for the terrestrial latitude of Phoenicia (Ptolemy's value appears to be slightly more than 33°). The results are gathered in a table in Almagest XIII, 10. From a day by day ephemeris giving the longitude of a certain planet and of the sun one can then, for the latitude of Phoenicia, determine when the planet's first or last appearance will occur, namely when the critical elongation corresponding to its longitude, and given in the table, is attained.

Ptolemy treats of this entire problem in a somewhat summary fashion which is quite different from his usual explicit, painstaking, and detailed manner of presentation. It is, however, clear from the examples in Almagest XIII that it is the point of intersection between the horizon and the ecliptic (A in fig. 1) which assumes the precise longitudes $0^\circ, 30^\circ, 60^\circ, \dots$, and therefore the determination of ν is a simple problem in spherical trigonometry of the type discussed in Almagest II, 11. Thus the main point which Ptolemy leaves unexplained is how β was determined. Three parameters have to be known if one is to find the latitude of a planet according to the Ptolemaic theory¹: (i) the longitude of the apogee of the deferent, (ii) the mean longitude of the planet which, with (i), yields the position of the centre of the epicycle on the deferent, and (iii) the anomaly, i.e. the position of the planet on the epicycle. The only change to which (i) is subject is the precession; Ptolemy's value is 1° per century, so its effect can be ignored for quite a long span of years. (ii) and (iii) could immediately be found from the proper tables in the Almagest if the date of the phenomenon were known. But here the situation is different. However, if the longitude of A , and so ν , is given, it is simple to determine (v. fig. 1) the longitude of the sun, and so of the mean sun, for h is fixed. This determines in essence one of the two remaining parameters since, for an inner planet, the mean longitude is that of the mean sun while, for an outer planet, the radius of the epicycle is parallel to the direction to the mean sun. It appears, again from his examples, that Ptolemy probably took this step in each case for the inner planets. It is, however, far from clear how he proceeded to find the other parameter, and so β . In

¹ For a summary of Ptolemy's planetary models, as far as motion in longitude is concerned, see O. NEUGEBAUER: *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 2nd ed., Providence, 1957, appendix I.

Celestial Latitude, β , of the Planets & Angle, ν , between Horizon & Ecliptic for Phoenicia, extracted from Almagest XIII, 10.

δ° of	β of γ			β of φ			β of 4	β of $\tilde{\alpha}$	ν		
	Ξ	Ω	Γ	Σ	Ξ	Ω	Γ	Σ	$\Gamma \& \Omega$	East	West
I	1; 0	2; 36	-3; 40	-3; 26	-0; 33	5; 40	4; 0	-0; 50	-1; 10	-2; 0	33; 0
II	0; 50	0; 4	-3; 10	-3; 10	0	3; 35	1; 46	-0; 34	-1; 0	-1; 45	34; 30
III	1; 22	-2; 4	-2; 30	-1; 23	0; 34	0; 44	-1; 29	-0; 1	-0; 35	-1; 0	41; 10
IV	1; 40	3; 30	-1; 37	0; 20	1; 0	-2; 30	-4; 20	0; 30	0	51; 30	51; 30
V	1; 15	-4; 13	-1; 14	1; 15	1; 9	-4; 49	-6; 0	0; 50	0; 35	1; 0	66; 30
VI	-0; 15	-3; 50	-0; 22	1; 14	1; 0	-6; 20	-6; 20	1; 0	1; 0	1; 45	77; 0
VII	-2; 54	-3; 10	1; 45	0; 48	0; 55	-5; 32	-3; 50	1; 2	1; 10	2; 0	80; 50
VIII	-3; 0	-3; 0	2; 20	-0; 12	0; 21	-3; 24	-1; 25	0; 58	1; 0	1; 45	77; 0
IX	-2; 40	-2; 0	3; 25	-1; 0	-0; 13	-0; 23	1; 50	0; 25	0; 35	1; 0	66; 30
X	-1; 25	0; 22	4; 0	-1; 38	-0; 37	2; 50	4; 36	-0; 15	0	0	51; 30
XI	-0; 40	2; 28	2; 22	-2; 20	-0; 56	5; 2	6; 13	-0; 52	-0; 35	-1; 0	41; 10
XII	0; 22	2; 27	-1; 6	-2; 50	1; 0	6; 30	6; 30	-1; 0	-1; 0	34; 30	66; 30
											77; 0

Table 1.

order to throw light on this problem I found the values of β which he actually employed when computing the tables. From the examples, and by the aid of certain regularities of the tables which give E , the values of ν used by Ptolemy were restored; it is to be noted that the tables in Almagest I, 13 are of no avail since they are concerned with the angles between the ecliptic and altitude circles for the seven climates only, and Phoenicia lies about half-way between the third and the fourth¹. These values of ν are given in the last two columns of Table 1². Formula (1) then yields the values of β which are listed in the first columns of Table 1, and which are represented graphically in figs. 2, 3, and 4. The values of β for Mars are omitted; all that I can say with safety is that they are small but not identical to 0.

We see that in the cases of both Jupiter and Saturn the following simple features appear: first, for a given zodiacal sign the β 's for Γ and Ω are equal; second, the β -curves are pure sine waves with amplitudes that are rounded-off values of the maximal lati-

¹ Ptolemy's seven climates are the parallels characterized by duration of longest daylight of 13^h, 13¹₂^h, 14^h, ..., 16^h; as mentioned, Phoenicia has longest daylight of 14¹₄^h.

² Following the accepted practice for transcribing Babylonian sexagesimal fractions, I write 80°;50 for 80⁵⁰₆₀° (or 80°50'), 80°;50,30 for 80°+⁵⁰₆₀°+³⁰₆₀° (or 80°50'30''), etc.

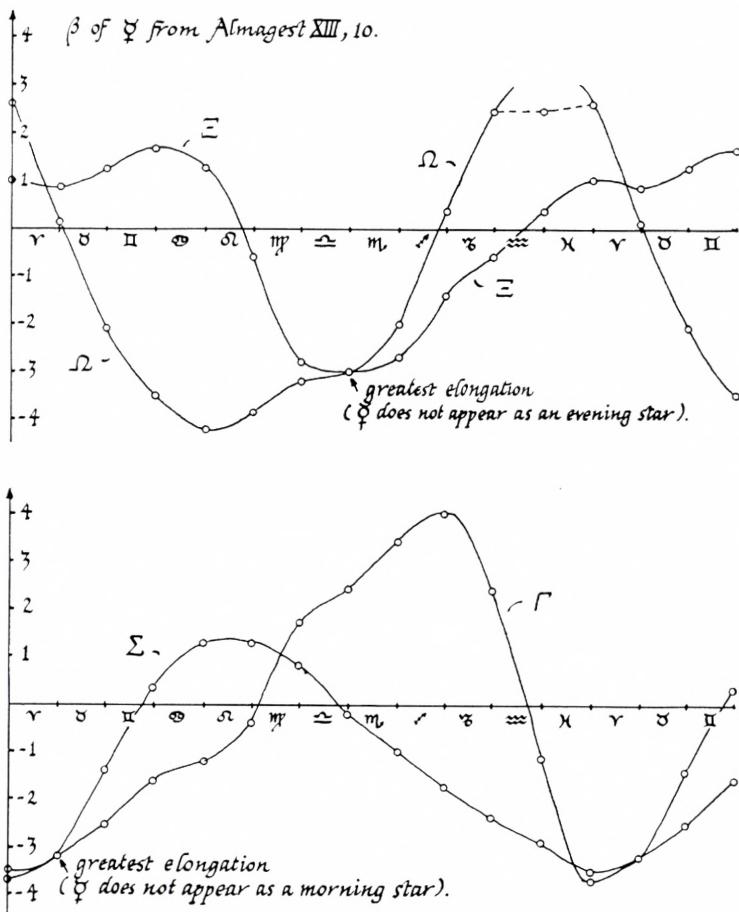


Fig. 2.

tude when the planet is in conjunction; and third, the ascending nodes of both planets are placed at $\odot 0^\circ$. Since the last point involves but a slight adjustment of the Almagest parameters, these simplifications mean that for the purpose of finding the latitude of Jupiter and Saturn, Γ and Ω are identified with conjunction, and that the effects (here slight) of the eccentricity of the deferent have been ignored. These labour-saving measures are quite justified by the smallness of the quantities involved.

But where Venus and Mercury are concerned the situation is different. Each phenomenon has its distinct β -curve. As far as I can

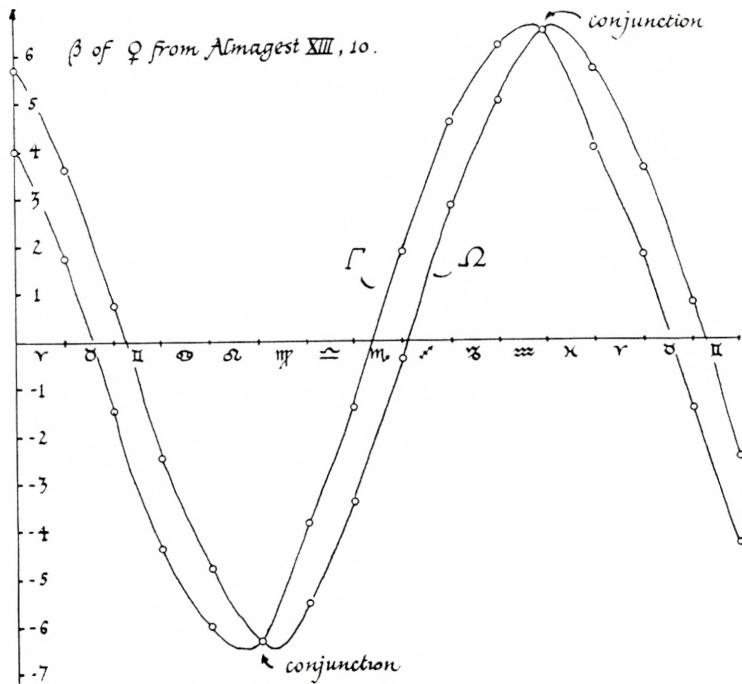


Fig. 3.

see, Ptolemy did not, when computing these latitudes, use any simple unifying hypothesis such as, what might have been natural in view of later texts¹, the assumption of a fixed position of the planet on the epicycle corresponding to each phenomenon. This assumption, in particular, can be discounted because, as is exhibited on the respective figures, there are special instances where Venus, at Γ and Ω , is supposed to be at the perigee of its epicycle, and where Mercury, at Σ and Γ , and at Ξ and Ω , is assumed to be

¹ From Professor NEUGEBAUER I have the following parameters which he extracted from *Catalogus Codicium Astrologorum Graecum* (Bruxelles, 1898—1953),

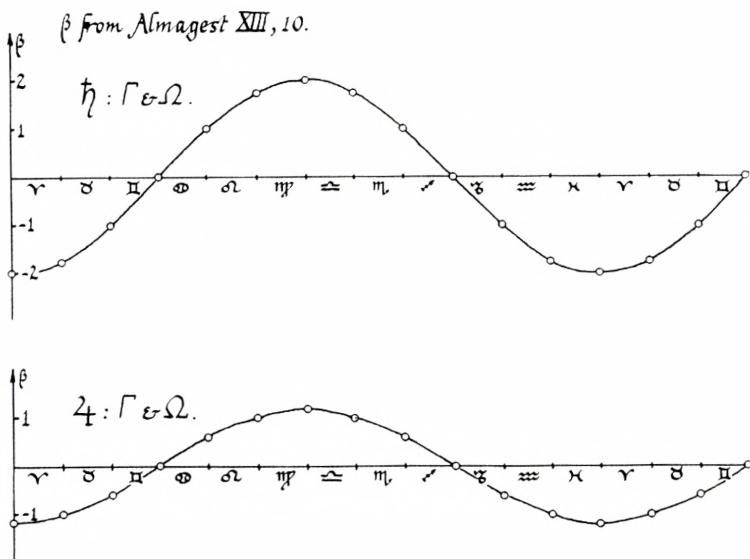


Fig. 4.

at its maximal elongation from the sun. These special cases are found in the examples in Almagest XIII, 8, where Ptolemy shows that his theory is capable of explaining that Venus changes from an evening to a morning star in at most two days when at the beginning of Pisces, while it uses 16 days at the beginning of Virgo, and that Mercury does not appear at all as an evening star at the beginning of Scorpio, nor as a morning star at the beginning of Taurus, because its elongation is insufficient when these phenomena are due in the sequence of synodic events.

A safe reconstruction of the various anomalies which were assigned to Venus and Mercury is, I fear, a hopeless task in view of the complexity of the latitude theory in the Almagest and the relatively small variation of the latitude with the anomaly. My belief is, nonetheless, that a fresh decision was made in each

vol. 7, p. 119 ff., and from Vat. Gr. 208, fol. 131 r. α denotes the position on the epicycle (counted from its apogee) of the various planets at first and last appearance:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{Saturn: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Gamma: \alpha = 17^\circ \\ \Omega: \alpha = 343^\circ \end{array} \right. & \text{Venus: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Xi: \alpha = 12^\circ; 24 \\ \Sigma: \alpha = 347^\circ; 36 \end{array} \right. \\ \text{Jupiter: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Gamma: \alpha = 16^\circ \\ \Omega: \alpha = 344^\circ \end{array} \right. & \text{Mercury: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Xi: \alpha = 38^\circ \\ \Sigma: \alpha = 322^\circ \end{array} \right. \\ \text{Mars: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Gamma: \alpha = 42^\circ \\ \Omega: \alpha = 318^\circ \end{array} \right. & \end{array}$$

instance, perhaps as the result of an iterative process; and this view seems to be corroborated by the al-Khāzinī tables which I shall discuss below in section V.

III. The Handy Tables

The section of the Handy Tables concerning planetary visibility consists of a table for each phenomenon for the several planets. These list the critical elongations for the beginning of each zodiacal sign and for each of the seven climates in the fashion shown in Table 2. If they were simply extensions of the visibility

Signs	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	13 ^h	13½ ^h	14 ^h	14½ ^h	15 ^h	15½ ^h	16 ^h
Aries	13, 21	13, 0	13, 31	13, 46	14, 10	14, 42	15, 15
Taurus	13, 50	13, 6	13, 33	14, 7	14, 40	15, 3	15, 54
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:

Table 2.

table in the Almagest, then the entries in the latter should fit between the corresponding columns for the third (Lower Egypt) and the fourth climate (Rhodes); for these climates are characterised by durations of longest daylight of 14^h and 14½^h, respectively, and Phoenicia's longest daylight is, as noted, 14¼^h. This, however, is far from being the case. Furthermore one can see immediately that if the Handy Tables also use the assumption of a constant arcus visionis for each planet, then these arcs differ considerably from those in the Almagest. Indeed, the following values can be directly read off from the tables, as VAN DER WAERDEN¹ has remarked:

for Saturn:	13°	Venus (Γ and Ω):	5°
Jupiter:	9°	Venus (Σ and Ξ):	7°
Mars:	14½°	Mercury:	12°

for in the second climate (Syene) the angle ν between the horizon and the ecliptic is 90° at Libra 0° in the East, and at Aries 0° in

¹ I.c. in note 4, p. 3

the West, and hence, from (1), $E = h$ regardless of what value β may have (see again Table 2).

We shall now proceed to analyse the visibility tables in detail:

1°. The two tables for Mars are conspicuous for two reasons: first, that each table is symmetrical in the sense that it holds for any climate that

$$E(\lambda) = E(360^\circ - \lambda)$$

so that, e.g., we find the same entries for Taurus as for Pisces; second, that the table for Γ is identical with the table for Ω rotated

Angle, v , between Horizon & Ecliptic, computed from Alm. I, 13.

Climate :	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	
Terr. Lat. :	16;27	23;51	30;22	36;0	40;56	45;1	48;32	
δ^o of Υ	49;42	42;18	35;47	30;9	25;13	21;8	17;37	\cong
δ χ	52;9	44;41	37;55	32;7	26;59	22;43	19;22	η η
Π π	59;51	51;53	44;49	38;36	33;6	28;25	24;20	σ σ
Φ γ	71;57	63;16	56;28	50;1	44;16	39;21	34;58	τ Φ
Ω ϕ	84;57	76;53	69;19	63;36	58;6	53;25	49;20	π δ
η η	94;9	86;41	79;35	74;7	68;59	64;43	61;22	\times δ
\cong \cong	97;24	90;0	83;29	77;51	72;55	68;50	65;19	γ
East								West

Table 3.

180° so that, e.g., the entries for Γ in Taurus are the same as those for Ω in Scorpio. It is therefore a reasonable assumption that if the tables are computed on the basis of (1), β of Mars must be identical to 0° , or that the entries simply are

$$E = \frac{h}{\sin v}$$

where $h = 14\frac{1}{2}^\circ$.

Values of v can thus be computed, sign by sign and climate by climate, and it appears that they agree, within the error of computation, with those derived from the tables in Almagest I, 13 (v. Table 3).

2°. We can now, using these values of v and the above values of h , find β corresponding to each E in the remaining tables, assuming once more that they are computed according to (1).

This assumption is amply confirmed, for the β 's found in this fashion remain constant throughout each zodiacal sign, i.e. β is independent of climate.

Furthermore the following regularities appear:

3°. For a given planet, a zodiacal sign yields the same β for Γ and Ω , and for Σ and Ξ . That this is so is corroborated by the

*Celestial Latitude, β , of the Planets, extracted
from the Visibility Tables in the Handy Tables.*

	\hbar	γ		σ		φ		\wp	
		$\Gamma\alpha$	$\Gamma\Omega$	$\Gamma\alpha$	$\Gamma\Omega$	$\Sigma\Xi$	$\Gamma\alpha$	$\Gamma\Omega$	$\Sigma\Xi$
γ	-2; 0 -1; 50	-1; 0 -0; 50	0	7; 10 3; 45	-1; 10 -0; 30	0; 45 -1; 10	~ 0 0; 50		
σ	-1; 20 -0; 20	-0; 30 0	0	-0; 40 -5; 0	0; 20 1; 0	-2; 45 -3; 45	1; 30 1; 45		
φ	0; 30 1; 30	0; 30 0; 50	0	-8; 0 -8; 40	1; 30 1; 30	-3; 40 -2; 40	1; 40 1; 15		
\wp	2; 0 1; 50	1; 0 0; 50	0	-7; 10 -3; 45	1; 10 0; 30	-0; 45 1; 10	~ 0 -0; 50		
γ	1; 20 0; 20	0; 30 0	0	0; 40 5; 0	-0; 20 -1; 0	2; 45 3; 45	-1; 30 -1; 45		
σ	-0; 30 -1; 30	-0; 30 -0; 50	0	8; 0 8; 40	-1; 30 -1; 30	3; 40 2; 40	-1; 40 -1; 15		

Table 4.

following fact which is independent of my computations: for a given planet, the lines corresponding to Cancer are identical in the tables for Γ and for Ω , and also in those for Σ and for Ξ . Since ν is the same for Cancer 0° in East and West this means that β is the same for the pairs of phenomena. The situation is the same for Capricorn.

4°. In each table β corresponding to a certain zodiacal sign has the opposite sign but the same numerical value as the β corresponding to the line six signs later, i.e.

$$\beta(\lambda) = -\beta(\lambda + 180^\circ).$$

Table 4 lists the values of β extracted from the tables, and they are graphically represented in figs. 5 and 6.

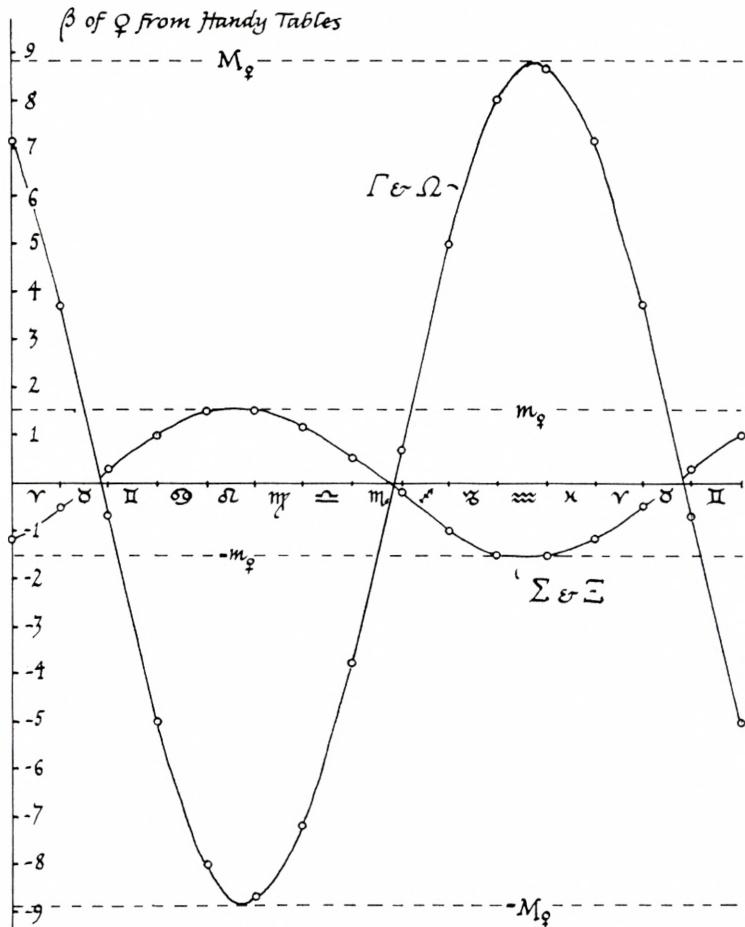


Fig. 5.

The horizontal dotted lines ($\beta = \pm M$ or $\pm m$) in these graphs represent the following values:

Mercury: $M = 3^\circ; 52$

$m = 1^\circ; 46$

Venus: $M = 8^\circ; 51$

$m = 1^\circ; 28$

Jupiter: $M = 2^\circ; 03$

Saturn: $M = 1^\circ; 05.$

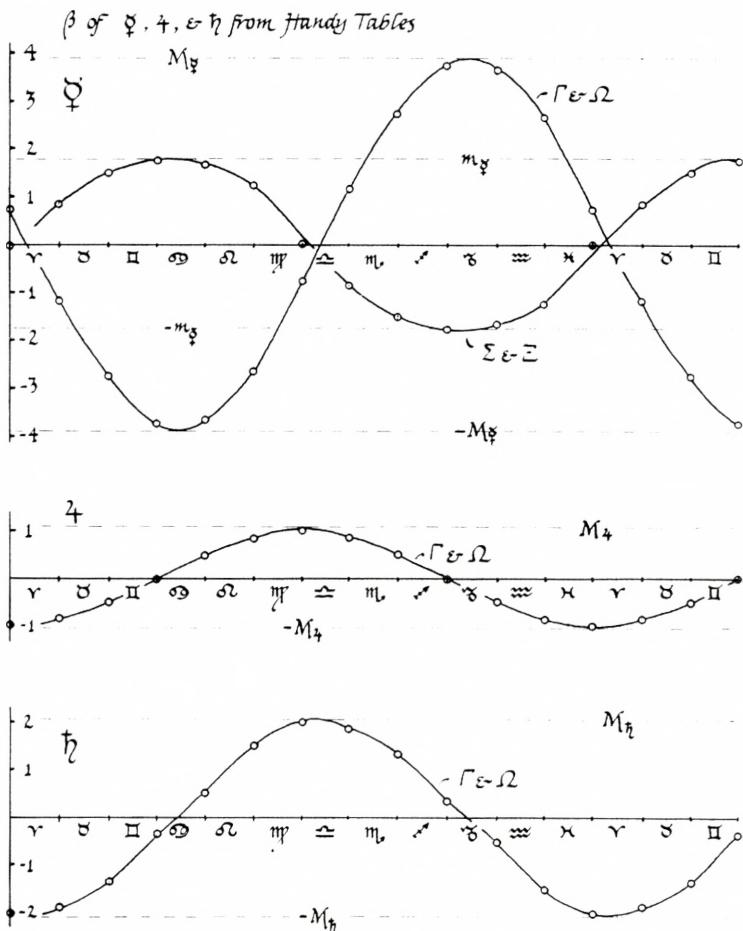


Fig. 6.

These parameters come from the Handy Tables. For an inner planet M and m are the maximum and minimum values, respectively, of the column C (Γ in mss.) of the latitude tables, and so they represent the maximal latitude of the planet at inferior and superior conjunction, respectively, (i.e. anomaly = 180° and 0°) when the centre of the epicycle is at mean distance from the Earth. For an outer planet M is the maximal latitude of the planet at conjunction (anomaly = 0°) when the centre of the epicycle is at mean distance, for M is found as the difference between i and the

minimum value in column C (Γ in mss.) in the respective latitude tables where for

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Jupiter: } i &= 1\frac{1}{2}^\circ \\ \text{Saturn: } i &= 2\frac{1}{2}^\circ, \end{aligned}$$

denoting the inclination of the deferent against the ecliptic. For Mars the latitude table yields:

$$M = 1^\circ - 0^\circ; 54 = 0^\circ; 6.$$

The β curves in the figures are pure sine waves with these M and m as amplitudes.

To summarize:

The tables of planetary visibility in the Handy Tables are computed from

$$E = \frac{h}{\sin \nu} - \beta \cot \nu$$

where h is fixed for each planet save Venus, to which is assigned one value for Γ and Ω and another for Σ and Ξ ; and where the ν are identical with those found from Almagest I, 13. For the purpose of finding the latitude, β , from the proper tables in the Handy Tables, the phenomena are identified with the nearest conjunction (anomaly 0° or 180°), these conjunctions are assigned the longitudes 0° , 30° , ..., and the eccentricity of the deferent is ignored. For Mars the latitude is, however, set equal to 0° throughout, a natural consequence of M being but $0^\circ; 6$.

The visibility tables are thus completely explained.

IV.

It is now evident that the Handy Tables, while maintaining the basic assumption of a constant arcus visionis for each planet (with the exception of Venus), depart from the Almagest in two directions, viz. as to the values of these arcs, and in the manner in which the latitudes of the planets are computed.

The new arcus visionis values are generally more conservative, and probably better, than their Almagest counterparts, and the distinction between Venus near superior and near inferior conjunction is a much needed amendment to the Almagest which, in this connection, ignores the extreme variation in brightness of Venus.

The other departure from the Almagest's techniques is, however, surely motivated by a desire for expediency rather than for greater exactitude, for here the simplifying measures of identifying first and last appearance with conjunction and of ignoring eccentricity, which in the Almagest were taken, justifiably, in the cases of Saturn and Jupiter, are applied also to Venus and Mercury where no such justification exists. It is a quite complicated matter to ascertain the final influence of these simplifications on the dates of first and last appearance which, of course, are the ultimate aims of the entire theory. Suffice it to say here that the daily change in elongation of Venus near inferior conjunction is of the order of $1\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$, the size of which tends to counteract somewhat the quite large errors in latitude induced by the simplifications; on the other hand, the daily change in elongation of Mercury during its visibility is quite small, Mercury being near its greatest elongation, and this will have as a result that an inaccuracy in the latitude will appear greatly magnified in its effect on the date.

One would not expect Ptolemy to abandon his refined latitude theory for cruder methods in one of the few problems where the latitude is of decisive importance. It was therefore greatly surprising to find that precisely this point furnishes the evidence for Ptolemy's authorship of the tables; for in the section on the phases of the planets in his preserved preface to the Handy Tables Ptolemy says:

For the correction due to latitude we assumed the one which arises in the apogee and the perigee of the epicycles¹

which is exactly what we found.

This strong, if not, indeed, conclusive evidence is corroborated by a fact which by itself would not carry much weight, viz. that the ascending nodes of the planets, which are subject to precession, have longitudes (see figs 5 and 6) which, with the Handy Table parameters, fit Ptolemy's time well.

Thus, as stated in the introductory remarks, Ptolemy's authorship of the Handy Tables appears to be beyond reasonable doubt.

The reason for Ptolemy's crude latitude computations in the visibility section of the Handy Tables, as well as for his summary

¹ ἡ πεποιήμεθα τοῦ πλάτους διορθώσει τῇ περὶ τὰ ἀπόγεια καὶ τὰ περίγεια τῶν ἐπικύκλων συνισταμένῃ (HEIBERG, *Ptol. Opera II*, p. 174, No. 15).

treatment of this question in the Almagest, may be that this topic no longer was of great interest to him and that he included it at all only out of deference for the central position which it used to hold in mathematical astronomy.

V. Visibility Tables in the Islamic Zījes

With the visibility tables in the Handy Tables are explained several corresponding sections in Muslim zījes. Thus the *zīj* of al-Battānī contains a table for planetary visibility which is identical with what the Handy Tables give for the fourth climate (Rhodes), and so the question which NALLINO¹ left open in his edition has been completely answered.

While the present paper was in preparation I learnt of a paper by E. S. KENNEDY and MUHAMMAD AGHA², of the American University of Beirut, dealing with planetary visibility tables in the known zījes (seven contain such tables), and a manuscript of this paper was placed at my disposal. It appears from this that the Sanjārī Zīj of ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Khāzīnī³ (c. 1120) contains a set of visibility tables for all seven climates, as those in the Handy Tables, but using the Almagest arcus visionis values. Professor KENNEDY sent me transcriptions of some of these, and I investigated in particular the tables for Venus at Γ and Ω (i.e. near inferior conjunction) for latitude, these cases being most likely to show clear trends. I shall refrain from giving any of the voluminous numerical material but content myself by citing the following results which I consider secure:

1°. The latitude of Venus at Γ or at Ω does not remain constant for a given zodiacal sign but varies with the elongation through

¹ On the problem concerning the latitudes used in the computation of these tables NALLINO says: *Quanam ratione latitudines planetarum in tabulis his conficiendis supputaverint, nec Ptolemaeus nec al-Battānī docent; frustra ego permultum temporis et laboris in tabularum constructionem enucleandam impendi. Nec rem attentaverunt (aut fortasse attentalam dereliquerunt) Purbachius, Regiomontanus, Maginus, Riccioli aliique ab XV at XVII saec. astronomi, et Delambre atque recentiores qui historiam astronomiae narraverunt. Impossibile igitur fuit, numeros codicis certissime emendare.* (NALLINO, *Al-Battāni sive Albatenii Opus Astronomicum*, 3 vols., Milan, 1899—1907, vol. II, p. 258).

² E. S. KENNEDY and MUHAMMAD AGHA, *Planetary Visibility Tables in Islamic Astronomy*, to appear in *Centaurus*. My thanks are due to Professor KENNEDY for giving me free hands with the manuscript, as well as for sending me transcriptions of sections of the Sanjārī Zīj.

³ No. 27 in E. S. KENNEDY, *A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables*, Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., 1956, Vol. 46, Part 2, pp. 123—177.

the seven climates in a fashion consistent with the latitude theory (Mercury seems to behave in a similar manner). Thus it is perfectly clear that a new value of the anomaly was chosen for each individual situation, which bears out my feeling about the procedure behind the Almagest tables.

2° . The latitudes of Venus which were used for Γ and Ω in the Almagest (see Table 1) do not consistently fit between the corresponding latitudes for the third and the fourth climate used in the al-Khāzinī tables. To be sure, the deviations are only rarely as much as 2° , yet they are large enough to make it clear that the tables were not computed simultaneously.

Thus we see that despite the differences mentioned in 2° , the al-Khāzinī tables are indeed in the Almagest tradition not only because they employ the same values for arcus visionis, but also in the sense of drawing full advantage of the refinements of the latitude theory.

All that can be said about the date of the computation of the al-Khāzinī visibility tables is, according to KENNEDY and AGHA, that it belongs to the interval bounded by Ptolemy and al-Khāzinī (the endpoints included), which is not very satisfactory, but one can still hope that a closer investigation of these important tables may yield a clew to their author.

The planetary visibility tables in the other six zījes belong to one or two of the three types discussed above; for details the reader should consult the forthcoming paper by KENNEDY and AGHA as well as KENNEDY's Survey (note 3 on p. 18).

VI.

In the course of carrying out the computations for sections *II* and *III* above, several facts came to my attention, some of which I shall list below. I shall, however, refrain from giving corrections to the Halma edition of the visibility tables in the Handy Tables, for they are far too numerous. Even the ms Vat. Gr. 208 which I had occasion to consult, and which is better than Halma's text, is full of errors; this is, of course, only to be expected in tables as frequently copied as these. But with the parameters given in *III* any entry can readily be checked.

1°. In the Handy Tables the tables for Venus and Mercury have the wrong headings¹. They should be as follows (pages refer to Halma's edition):

p. 22: Venus Σ	p. 26: Mercury Σ
p. 23: Venus Ξ .	p. 27: Mercury Γ .
p. 24: Venus Γ .	p. 28: Mercury Ξ .
p. 25: Venus Ω .	p. 29: Mercury Ω .

The tables on pp. 30 and 31 which appear under the headings of "elongation of phases" and "greatest elongation of phases" are nothing but a copy of the visibility tables in Almagest XIII, 10, for the parallel of Phoenicia. These are also found in Vat. Gr. 208 (fol. 98 v). The zij of Habash which has visibility tables for the seven climates taken from the Handy Tables also contains these Almagest tables.

2°. Venus can have so large a latitude that its projection on the ecliptic at first or last appearance is actually farther from the horizon than the sun, or so that its elongation has the opposite sign of what is normal. This abnormal situation is denoted in the manuscripts by ϵ (apparently used when Venus has greater longitude than the sun) or π (apparently used when Venus has smaller longitude than the sun) in agreement with that ϵ and π are standard abbreviations of $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{o}\mu\acute{e}r\alpha$ ($\pi\acute{o}\mu\acute{e}r\alpha$) $\zeta\acute{\phi}\delta\iota\alpha$: towards the *following (preceding)* signs.

Halma (p. 24) cites a gloss with the words $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{o}\mu\acute{e}r\alpha$ and $\pi\acute{o}\mu\acute{e}r\alpha$ but does not seem to have realised their significance.

In the Almagest Venus at Γ in Pisces is in this abnormal situation, but there seems to be no indication of it in the texts.

3°. The following values were preferred to those given by Manitius in the table in Almagest XIII, 10, all for Mercury:

Ξ in Pisces: $11\frac{1}{2}$ ° (Alm. XIII, 7 B) for Manitius: 12;22

Ξ in Virgo: 18;31 (Halma p. 31) for Manitius: 18;1

Ξ in Sagit.: 22;1 (HEIBERG's mss H and K) for Manitius: 20;1

The value 2;24 for β of Mercury at Ω in Pisces must be an error (see fig. 2), yet all manuscripts agree. Doubtless the computer used the β -value of the previous line.

¹ V. VAN DER WAERDEN, I. c. in note 4, p. 3.

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KING JOHN

AF

PAUL V. RUBOW



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KING JOHN

A F

PAUL V. RUBOW



København 1960
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

INDHOLD

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*Nihil sapientiae odiosius
acumine nimio.*
SENECA.

I. DET GAMLE OG DET NYE STYKKE

Den engelske Konge, som vi kalder *Johan uden Land*, har haft en ganske bevæget Omtale i den vidtløftige historiske Litteratur, ogsaa i den skønlitterære. For ældre, solide Læsere kendes han især som den helt onde og lave, falske Kongesøn i Modsætning til sin lyse og ridderlige Broder, selve Kong Richard Løvehjerte, Richard Cordelion, som Englænderne kalder ham; det er *Walter Scotts* uhyre berømte Roman »*Ivanhoe*« som har faestnet dette sagnagtige Billed til det historiske Tapet. Walter Scott har overdrevet Legenden. Historiebøgerne i Danmark og paa Fastlandet genlyder af hans talrige Fejl. Han tabte Normandiet, han gav sit Kongerige til Len af Paven, maatte give England en fri Forfatning i *Magna Charta*. Hertil føjes i engelske Skolebøger gerne nogle Skumlerier om hans Planer mod sin ældre Broder og hans Skyld i Brodersønnens Død, rigtignok en slem Mundfuld.

Englænderne kaldte ham i Regelen blot for *King John*. Tilmavnet *Lackland* stammer vistnok fra en meget senere Tid. Det sagdes i vore Lærebøger at stamme fra at han gav sit Land til Paven. — Men ifølge de engelske Krøniker skal han have faaet det Navn af sin Fader Kong Henrik den Anden, fordi denne ikke gav ham Forlehnninger som hans to ældre Brødre (Kong Henrik kunde dog ikke tale Engelsk, og det engelske Folk brød sig ikke om Kongehuset). Og *Magna Charta* spiller ikke samme Rolle i de engelske Krøniker som i en senere Tids Konstitutionshistorie. Det var en Haandfæstning som de tidligere, kun aftvunget Kongen sent, og til Gengæld paatvunget, uhørt, hans Søn Henrik III som umyndig. I de to dramatiske Stykker vi her skal omtale, nævnes det berømte Dokument slet ikke. Publikum interesserede sig ikke for Diplomatik.

Nutidens Historikere har pillet slemt ved de to kongelige Brødres Rygte. De har svækket Richard Løvehjertes Anseelse som Politiker og fremhævet Kong Johans Dygtighed, og det baade som Kriger og Forhandler. Videstgaard *Hilaire Belloc*, en udpræget katholsk Forfatter, for hvem John er Englands egentlige Skaber og næsten en katholsk Helgen.

I Shakespeares Aarhundrede var King John nærmest en protestantisk Helgen. Erindringen om hans Kamp mod selve Paven har for den ubekymrede Eftertid gjort ham til en Forløber for de Reformerte i England. En gammel Skolekomedie som vore egne fra Reformationstiden, *Kynge Johan* af en Biskop *Bale* har anbragt den fordum mosgroede Konge midt imellem *Moralitetens* stive Allegorier, og gjort ham til en »Moses«, der fører sit Folk til det forjættede Land, og som dør før han betræder dette. Stykket er fra 1539; Forfatteren levede og skrev endnu 1560. Det er meget fanatisk og noget ubehjælpsomt; det har vel givet Ideen til det meget senere Drama fra et af den restaurerede Scenes tidligste Aar. Ganske kan man ikke fraskrive det ældgamle Stykke et vist digterisk Pust. Der er endog noget Ærværdigt ved det, og som en Pioner for "the chronicle plays" er det mærkværdigt.

Af langt større litteraturhistorisk Betydning er dog *The Troublesome Raigne of John King of England, with the discouerie of King Richard Cordelions Base sonne (vulgarly named, The Bastard Fawconbridge): also the death of King John at Swinstead Abbey.* Stykket oplyses at være spillet "sundry times" af "the Queenes Maiesties Players" og at være trykt hos Sampson Clarke 1591, ogsaa solgt fra hans Butik. Det ses ikke at have været laugs-protokolleret. Den lille Bog bærer *Thomas Orwins*, en kendt Bogtrykkers, Devise; den naar ikke til Kongens Død. — 2. Del er udtrykkelig betegnet som saadan og har saa en noget afvigende Titel: »... containing the death of Arthur Plantaginet, the Landing of Lewes, and the poysning of King John at Swinstead Abbey. Samme Bogforlægger, Devise, og Aarstal. Det har ca. 2800 Linier Vers og lidt Prosa. Det indeholder nærmere bestemt en Del Replikker paa jevn Prosa, sammenlagt vel neppe 5—6 Sider i *Furnivalls* og *Munro's* lille brede, tynde Udgave fra 1913, som her citeres. — Saavel 1. som 2. Del har en Slags Prolog *To the Gentleman* (2. Del: *Gentlemen*) i blandede Blank- og Rimvers. Af det første, lille Digt kunde man slutte, at Skuespillet var blevet

opført og spillet umiddelbart efter *Tamburlaine*, muligt efter Ur-Opførelsen i Vinteren (?) 1587—88. Professor John Dover Wilson, den lærde, mener der snarere sigtes figurligt til *Udgaven af Kit Marlowes Stykke 1590*, og at denne *Tamburlaines Trykning* i to Bind er Forbilledet for Trykningen af *King John*. — Men af den versificerede Fortale til dette Dramas 2. Del synes snarest at fremgaa, at *King John* blev spillet paa to Dage efter hinanden. Stykket blev fremdraget af *Al. Pope* i hans Shakespeare-Udg. 4. Del, fra 1723, berømmelig Ihukommelse. Popes Fortjenester af Shakespeare-Forskningen synes uden Grænser.

Af *The Troublesome Reign* findes Udgaver fra 1611 og 1622, tilskrevne Shakespeare, paa Titelbladet. Stykket har tjent til »Grundlag«, som man siger, for W. Shakespeares Drama, der blev trykt i Folio'en 1623 paa dets fædrelandshistoriske Plads Forrest i den midterste af de tre Grupper, den med "the histories" S. 1—22 (tospaltet). Dette fik nu Titelen *The Life and Death of King John*. — Det ene eller det andet Stykke ses at nævnes i Meres' *Palladis Tamia* 1598 blandt Shakespeares sex Tragedier. Værket er delt i Akter og Scener, og selve denne Inddeling tildeler Prof. J. Dover Wilson Digteren W. Shakespeare. — Det er dog ikke sandsynligt eller knap nok vel muligt, at W. Shakespeare nogensinde delte sine Stykker i fem Akter. Ingen af dem deles af sig selv i de fem Handlinger; *Hamlet* har f. Ex. *sex*; paa Scenen uden Tæppe spillede man uafbrudt. — Prof. D. Wilson begrunder sine Paastande med at Inddelingen falder *naturligt*; dette vilde jo ikke være noget ret Bevis. Opdelingen i Scener rimer sig meget pænt med dens Forlæg, altsaa *The Troublesome Reign*; men det er for Enhver en let Sag. Derimod er Akt-Delingen helt kunstig og uoprindelig; en af Akterne faar da kun 74 Vers. Det er ikke sikkert, at selve Shakespeares Haandskrift er Tryk-Textens Grundlag. Det kan være en »prompt-book«. Udgiverne, Heminge og Condell, udtales sig vel i deres kendte Fortale noget i Retning af at Værkerne (*alle*, vel at mærke, *Værkerne*) er trykte efter Manuskript, men det kan godt altsammen være temmelig overdrivet. Og Texten er vel trykt og ret umistænklig. J. Dover Wilson mener, at Shakespeares Bearbejdelse hviler paa en haandskrevnen Text, nemlig Regissør-Bogen. Saadanne Dubleringer er mere Regelen end Undtagelsen i Prof. J. Dover Wilsons talrige Konstruktioner af aeldre Text-Overleveringer. Han vilde have opfundet Dobbeltstjernerne før

Kikkertens Tid, om han havde levet — dengang. Han har da heller ikke brugt den til Noget, men det *kunde* han have gjort, thi den danner, om man vil, en svag Støtte til hans anden, ganske umulige Hypothese, efter det binære System. Hans Tanke er, at Shakespeares *King John* er bleven til i tvende Etaper. Der er kun eet Argument som der er noget Hold i, blandt flere irrelevante; vi vover at anføre:

Den udmærkede Text-Udgiver fra det 18. Aarhundrede, *Steevens*, lagde Mærke til at et Sted i *King John* (II. 1. 137—38) ligner et i Kyds navnkundigste Drama *The Spanish Tragedy* (I. 2. 170—72). Bastarden opträder i Richard Løvehjertes Skind og siger henvendt til »Østrig«: You are the hare of whom the proverb goes, Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard. — Dette Sted findes ikke i den tilsvarende Scene i *The Troublesome Reign*. Men i Kyds *Spanske Tragedie* staar der altsaa: He hunted well that was a lion's death; / Not he that in a garment wore his skin, / So hares may pull dead lions by the beard. — Det kunde nok se ud som om Th. Kyd havde benyttet Shakespeare snarere end omvendt. — Kyds Stykke anses imidlertid for at have været spillet 1588 eller 89. D. Wilson vil nu for bare denne Bagatels Skyld flytte *Den spanske Tragedie* til 1590 eller 91, og lade Shakespeares Revision af *K. J.* være foregaaet ca. 1591. Dette er jo helt umuligt — to nye, friske Hypotheser, en mindre og en større, for en Kuriositets Skyld. Og i Tilgift en Theori om to Stadier i, antagelig, Udarbejdelsen af Shakespeares Stykke, der indeholder flere, faste Allusioner til samtidige Forhold (om vi tør tro Dover Wilson!) og synes skrevet i eet langt Træk, — med en hel Del Sjuskefejl, sikkert stammede fra Hastværket. Professor Wilson kunde her have brugt sin egen Theori om et haandskrevet, givet Forlæg, hvorfra Shakespeare kunde have taget Verset. Men andre Forklaringer turde vel vise sig, især hvis selve *The Troublesome Reign*, som jeg mener, var at samme gode Forfatter som *Spanish Tragedy*, altsaa Thomas Kyd. Hertil ville vi nu senere vende tilbage. — Ideen om de *to* Bearbejdeler fra Shakespeares Haand er og bliver ret taabelig: Hvad skulde den første bruges til, da *T. R.* var splinternyt og tilmed en Succes? Og *King John* stammer fra en senere Tid, da Kravene om en dramatisk Stil havdeændret sig, mens Skuespillerne Ensemble for en Stund manglede »Damer« d.e. talentfulde unge Drenge. Stykket er kun for Mandfolk!

Professor D. Wilson fremhæver, at *K. John* er det eneste Stykke af Shakespeare, hvor vi har Forlaget bevaret. Dette skyldes hans farlige Trang til indviklede Hypotheser, thi ellers maatte han have indrømmet, at akkurat det samme Tilfælde foreligger i *Trold kan tæmmes* (se mit Skrift om dette Emne). I begge de »gamle« Stykker har vi vel samme Forfatter, og den samme Opgave for Revisoren, nemlig at ændre alt i Stil og Versifikation radikalt, og at give Stykket en nogenlunde normal Længde. Ved *T. R.* forkortede han kækt Originalen med 2—300 Vers, ved *A Shrew* øgede atter han den med 800. — Furnivall-Monros Udgave Side xxxvi finder en forskellig Methode anvendt i de to Stykker og »far more verbal borrowings from its original« i *T. Shr.*: der er nøjagtig lige faa, d.v.s. *ingen*.

Vi vil nu først betragte William Shakespeares eget, af Ingen bestridte Stykke, og dets Forhold til det efter vore Begreber kun lidet ældre Arbejde, *The Troublesome Reign (»Raigne«) of K. J.* — Dramaet, eller Tragedien om Kong Johan uden Land, af den store Digter, er ham ingenlunde uværdigt. Det er fra Ende til anden *gennemskrevet*, d.v.s. kun ligegyldige Smaating er blevne til overs. Kun nogle Linier eller Smaaord, alle banale eller tilfældige eller uundværlige, er saa at sige blevne ham i Pennen. Men ganske anderledes forholder det sig, naar vi søger Stykkets Indhold. Thi W. Shakespeare plejer at laane sine Dramaers »historiske« Forløb fra *Holinsheds*, til Dels andre Krønikers prosaiske Fremstilling, hvorfra eventuelt ogsaa selve Ordlyden har efterladt Finger-Aftryk. Men en nærmere Examens viser ved dette historiske Drama, at Rub og Stub er forbrugt af Forgængerens, som efter vor Opfattelse er *Thomas Kyd*. Ikke een Linie røber at W. Shakespeare har konsulteret sin kære Englands-Historiker. Omarbejdelsen er sket alene paa Grundlag af det vel ikke mange Aar ældre, foreliggende Stykke, *The Troublesome Raigne* etc. Den metriske og stilistiske Omarbejdelse er ført til Bunds. Det ældre Drama indeholdt i 1. Del 13 Scener, i 2. Del kun 9, alt efter den solide Inddeling i J. Furnivall—J. Munro's Udgave fra 1913. Af disse Scener har W. Shakespeare udeladt Sc. 6, 8, 11 i første Del; og i anden Del Sc. 2 (hvis Indhold væsentlig er bevaret i Akt 4, Sc. 2), en større Del af Sc. 8, endvidere Sc. 9, der foregaar kort efter Kong Johan uden Lands Død. Endvidere har den store Digter tilføjet: Indholdet af en Del af Part II Sc. 2, samt lidt af Part II

Sc. 4 i 4. Akts 2. Scene. — Ingenting her tyder paa, at han har konsulteret andre Kilder. Han har genoptaget Tilnavnet Faulconbridge til Bastarden. Det var uhistorisk, og vistnok laant fra et senere Sted hos Holinshed. — Denne har han som oftest gjort til en naturlig Søn af Prins Gotfred, der var en Broder til Kong Richard Cordelion, og Fader til den ulykkeligt, dræbte Prins Arthur. Denne historiske Fejl skyldes en Misforståelse af et Sted i *The Troublesome Raigne*, saaledes at det lades uvist, om Bastarden er Søn af den ene eller den anden Prins. — Forvirringen beviser, at vi staar over for et Rutine-Arbejde, udført i en betydelig Hast. De tildigte Stykker af Smaa-Dialog er hentede fra de forkastede Partier af Originalen. Men derfor kan det naturligvis godt være udført med en lignende Begejstring for Opgaven som *Trold kan tæmmes*. — Mere end tvivlsomt er det, om William Shakespeare har tænkt sig, at Skuespillets Karakterer skulle omdannes fra Grundens af. Bastarden, med Tilnavnet »Faulconbridge« er forbleven den samme. Dog, da hans vilde Rasen i Klosterne og en vis mystisk Religiøsitet er udeladt, har han faaet en fastere Holdning, en mere kæk Humor end i det vel kun fem-sex Aar ældre Drama. Faa, men sikre Rettelser har gjort en sikkere dramatisk Figur ud af ham. Kong Johan derimod har *tabt*. Han var allerede et næsten tve-spaltet Produkt i Thomas Kyds Drama: stor og tapper over for Paven, men lumsk og uædel over for sin Nevø, Prins Arthur, der allerede hos Thomas Kyd er gjort yngre end han virkelig var. Prinsen er hos W. Shakespeare et rent uskyldigt Offerlam. De to Scener, hvor han i det gamle Drama som i det nye skal have brændt Øjnene ud, og derefter bliver dræbt ved at springe over Muren, er væsentlig ens hos W. Shakespeare. Men de er forskønnede hos den sidste. Hans Afskedsord er konventionelle hos Kyd, gribende hos Shakespeare, trods enkelte kunstlede Tirader à la *Romeo og Julie*.

Israel Gollancz, i den kendte smukke *Temple-Udgave* af Shakespeare, mener at det gamle som det nye Stykke lider af den samme Fejl, *at mangle en Helt*. Det gælder vel nok Shakespeares, men ikke Kyds Stykke. Dette hænger faktisk nogenlunde sammen, uagtet en vis Modsigelse mellem Nevøen Arthurs grusomme Behandling, og Kongens stolte Holdning over for Frankrig og Paven. Arthur er i det gamle Stykke en trodsig Modstander af Lens-Herren, Kongen; men i W. Shakespeares Tragedie er han nærmest

bleven til en Martyr. I Virkeligheden var Prinsen ældre end hos de to Dramatikere, og Arvefølgen et i det Uendelige omstridt Spørsgsmaal. Kongen af Frankrig — og de engelske og normanniske Baroner — anerkendte slet ingen Arvefølge. — Men Kongen er gaaet midt over hos Shakespeare. Han er en Usurpator og Folkekonge paa een Gang. Han er maaske Stykkets Helt; men hans to Halvdeler hører ikke sammen. — Bastarden Philip Faulconbridge har aflagt sin Mysticisme, men iøvrigt bevaret sin brave, humorfyldte Karakter. Det er vel især ham, der tænkes paa, naar Stykket staar venligt for Shakespeare-Læsernes Erindring. Men Skikkelsen er og bliver dog den ældre Forfatters, ikke Shakespeares. Desværre har den store Digter udeladt den komiske Scene i Originalen, hvori Bastarden finder en Nonne gemt i Prinsens Skab »to hide her from lay men«. — Den vide Verden og det brede Liv i Originalen er rigtignok uhjælpelig gaaet tabt i Bearbejdelsen. Derfor foretrækker Folk, der som den store tyske Digter *Ludwig Tieck* har en Romantikers Uvilje mod den slebne, allerede næsten fransk-klassiske Kunstmanér, det ældre Krønike-Skuespil. Dette mente han var Shakespeares eget Arbejde. Han oversatte det fint til Tysk i sin *Alt-Englisches Theater. Oder Supplemente zum Shakspeare*, første Del, 1811, hvor Stykket er placeret Forrest. L. Tieck bevarede de gamle doggerel verses og Prosaen. Alt i Alt er Stykket en elegant Løsning af en bunden Opgave, men dog ligesom et »God Dag Mand-Øxeskaft«. Ved Opførelsen lader det Tilskuerne kolde. Stykket virker næsten mislykket, fordi Digteren mangler en »Hecuba«. Det Billede af en Tidsalder, som det gamle Historiespil gav, er forsvundet. Mest shakespeareisk er 3. Akts 3. Scene, hvor Kongen som en Theaterskurt frister lønligt Hubert de Burgh til at myrde den lille Prins Arthur.

Da Stykket er offentliggjort saa sent, og ingen Allusion foreligger før *Meres'* i 1598 (dersom denne er til det nye Stykke) maa vi henholde os til indre Kriterier. Mange Kritikere anser Stykket for et Led imellem Shakespeares »ældre« og »yngre« Kongedramer, men dertil er det ikke selvstaendigt nok; det hører snarest til den ældre Gruppe. Snarest ligner det tredje Del af *Henry VI* med sin Fattigdom paa Prosa (nul mod tre Linier) og Rim (132 mod 128). Der er megen Lighed med dette, ulige bedre Stykke. Men Antallet af kvindelige Linier er ret forskellige (151 mod 366). Muligt har Shakespeare i Tiden omkring 1593—94 stærkt efter-

lignet Marlowes Forkærighed for Ellevestavelsesvers; senere gaar denne Smag hos ham tilbage, og vinder atter Overhaand efter 1600. *K. John* paastaas at have 46 Enjambementer, tredje Del af *Henry VI* ingen. Ligeledes siges *King John* at have 7 light endings, halvt tryksvage Arsis-Stavelser i sidste Fod, men det er vel ikke noget. De som sætter Stykket til 1595 har nogen Rimelighed for sig. Stykket bliver da lidt yngre end *Richard II*, som det ellers har en Del fælles Træk med. Nogle, som Georg Brandes og Edmund Chambers, vil sætte Stykket saa sent som 1596—97, beraabende sig paa at det skulde genklinge af Shakespeares Søns Død i August 1596. Dette er jo ret umuligt. *King John* skulde da være senere end *Merchant of Venice*.

II. DET GAMLE STYKKE

Er Uenigheden om det nye Stykke, og om dets Forhold til det gamle, i Grunden ringe, saa er Trætten om det gode gamle Stykke meget stor. I Almindelighed synes man dog at mene det er af en og samme Forfatter. Men dette er det sædvanlige ved de gamle Stykker; man *gider* vel ikke oplose dem, mens man aldrig kan lade den stakkels shakespeareiske Kanon ret længe i Fred. Kandidaterne til Forfatterskabet er: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Peele, og for egen Regning tilføjer jeg, Kyd.

1° SHAKESPEARE SOM FORFATTEREN

Theorien har tre Tilhængere: Alexander Pope, Ludwig Tieck, og William John Courthope, den sidste Englands vistnok ypperste Litteraturhistoriker i det 19. Aarhundrede, Popes Udgiver.

Vi har allerede antydet L. Tiecks Bevæggrund. For ham var Apokryferne den sande Shakespeare. Hvad han søgte hos Shakespeare, men sjældent fandt, var det gammeldags Trohjertige, det barnligt Store. Han kunde i Grunden ikke lide Renæssancen, stræbte tilbage mod Middelalderens djærve, usammensatte Væsen.

Men Pope og hans Biografi havde en anden Motivering. Pope og Courthope (i 4. Del af dennes betydelige *History of English Poetry*) havde to Argumenter.

Det ydre Argument var i Orden. Det første: Titelbladene Udgaven fra 1611 tillægger W. Sh. Dramaet, Udgaven 1622 skriver

Navnet fuldt ud. At Originalen fra 1591 intet Forfatternavn bærer, beviser Ingenting. Paa den Tid tryktes dramatisk Litteratur (hvoraf dog meget Lidet forelaa) aldrig med Navn. — Det er meget sandt. Men Shakespeares Navn, helt udskrevet eller med Forbogstaver, forekommer allerede i Slutningen af det 16. Aarhundrede, paa alt for mange Titelblade, til at man bør godkende dem uden videre. Det gælder ikke mindst *Dubletterne*, Arbejder med samme Titel som nogle af Shakespeares. Disse er stundom, som *King Leir*, udgivne og stundom, som vel vort Stykke, genudgivne, fordi W. Shakespeares eget Stykke blev spillet paa den Tid. — Den pudserlige *Rowley* gav Pope gerne Shakespeare til Medarbejder og Prygledreng. Herpaa ligger der ringe Vægt.

Det andet Argument: Stil og Fremstillingsmaade i dette og flere andre Skuespil er saadan som vi gerne kunde tænke os Shakespeare i hans allerførste Periode. — Ja rigtigt! Stilen er som hos Marlowe, Peele, Lodge, Kyd, — der dog indbyrdes kan kendes fra hinanden. En Mængde af de karakterløse Vers kunde sagtens være af Shakespeare. Men læg de to King John'er ved Siden af hinanden: de kan ikke have samme Autor. Og der er ingen *clues* fra Stykket til Shakespeares andre Dramer. Vi ser endda bort fra Fejltagelsen med Bastarden og vist flere andre Misforstaaelser. Kun Kanevas'en er det samme. W. Shakespeare har behandlet *Tr. R.*, som havde han ikke set det før. Vi vil lade denne aandrige Hypothese falde, skønt den selvfolgelig stadig kan genopstaa og vinde Proselyter.

2° MARLOWE SOM FORFATTEREN

Theorien er først fremsat af MALONE, det attende Aarhundredes største Shakespeare-Forsker, i nogle *addenda* til hans tidligere Udgave, trykt i 18. Bind af Boswells Malone, S. 591 (1821). I sin Udgave 1803, X, 340, tilskrev Malone Greene eller Peele det; saaledes allerede i Steevens og Malones Udgave 1798, ottende Bind S. 2. Nogen Vaklen har da været til Stede. Malone havde tidligere antaget 2.—3. Del af *Henrik den Sjette* i de to første ufuldkomne Tryk som et Samarbejde mellem disse Digttere og Shakespeare. Men i sin sidste Tid blev han Unitar. Marlowe var ellers ikke hans Helt.

Derimod var han J. M. ROBERTSONS. I dennes bekendte Bog *An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon* (1924, ikke

at forvexle med to andre af hans Bøger med næsten samme Titel) — vindicerer han Marlowe som Forfatter til *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*. Dog med nogen Forsigtighed: Marlowe var i det mindste »»the plotter«. Men han giver flere gode *clues* til Marlowe, ogsaa et Par til Peele, Greene og Lodge. Afsnittet er især skrevet mod Dugdale Sykes' Paastand om Peele som Forfatter. — Men Marlowe var ikke »»plotter«; hans Talent laa i store Scener, store Repliker. Og ligner Stilen hans høje Sving og Billedrigdom? Er der nogen finere Lighed med hans glimrende og sikre Versifikation? Af Marlowes tidlige »double endings« er der kun faa Spor. Nogle Citater i Robertsons Bog (fra *Tr. R.* 1. Del, V. 2) er godt valgt; de mange double endings er kun paa Ordet *heaven*, der almindelig læses i een Stavelse. (*Anf. Skr.* S. 284).

3° ER PEELE FORFATTEREN?

Dette Forfatterskab er alene blevet vindiceret med klare og udførlige, omend forkerte Bevisgrunde. Det er *H. Dugdale Sykes*, der i sin Bog *Sidelights on Shakespeare*, 1919, S. 99ff. har taget Sagen op til Behandling, — og som fulgte det Spor Malone havde slaaet ind paa og fortalt. H. Dugdale Sykes' Argumenter har vundet J. Dover Wilson og Edmund Chambers for Paastanden. Denne havde indtil da ringe Lykke, og kunde siges at ligge i Svøbet, Forhaandsformodningen gik den sikkert imod. Thi Peele er ordrig, slikket, har mange Billeder og megen Mythologi; hans Stykker er nærmest Læsedramer. H. Dugdale Sykes kalder Sproget »flat and pedestrian«, plat og slæbende, men det passer hverken paa *Tr. R.* eller paa Peeles Stykker. Der er meget falsk Glimmer hos Peele, og ængstelig Korrekthed, men ikke her. Stilen, *Tr. R.* farveløst, men ikke uden Fynd, tort men af megen Slagkraft. Frem for Alt er *Tr. R.* fuldt af Energi, man kan ogsaa sige Primitivitet i Udtrykket.

Mr. Dugdale Sykes fremhæver, at Stykkets Forfatter er meget antikatholsk og patriotisk, hvilket han som de Fleste sætter i Forbindelse med at det blev skrevet 1588, og tillige paralleliserer med *Edward I* af Peele, hvori findes nogle antikatholske Scener og Udbrud. Men de to Stykker peger ikke mod samme Forfatter. Ganske sikkert er det nu rigtig nok heller ikke, at det er saa tidligt som fra Aar 1588; de mange Enjambementer taler derimod. Endvidere hævder han med visse Exemplarer Forfatterens Inferioritet

overfor Shakespeare. Saaledes finder man hos ham som hos de Fleste Skildringen af Drengen Arthurs Død; i det gamle Stykke dør han med et Sprikvort paa Læben efter en lille opbyggelig Tale, hos Shakespeare er Ordene noget mere uventede. Dette er jo det Sædvanlige, og peger ikke særlig mod Peele.

Hovedargumentet er sprogligt. En Gruppe Ord og nogle Figurer er udtaget fra *Tr. R.* og genfindes hos Peele. Kriteriet synes at være en vis Sjældenhed, sammenlignet med modern standard English af paagældende Ord og Former:

Counterpoise findes i Peeles *Battle of Alcazar*. Se de middelengelske Glossarer og den store Oxford-Ordbog. Ordet er saare almindeligt.

doom er saare gængse i gammelt og nyt, ogsaa moderne engelsk.

empery for *empire*, den alm. Form i 16. Aarhundrede.

fere »companion, mate, spouse«, alm. hos Chaucer, Spenser; hos Shakespeare i *Titus Andronicus* V. 1. 89.

flatly findes hos Kyd ved Siden af flat (*Span. Trag.* III. 14 22), *A Shrew* p. 31 = III. 3. 45 (vist Kyds Arbejde), hos Marlowe: Edw. II Vers 1415 og 1430.

hitherword anses af D. Sykes for udelukkende Peeles Ejen-dom, »though it appears subsequently in several of Shakespeare's plays« (en væsentlig Begränsning). Ogsaa i *Edward III* III. 3. 37, *Richard Duke of York* 179. Er meget almindeligt. Forbindelsen *marching hitherwords* synes naturlig, ogsaa to Gange hos Shakespeare.

hugy alm. hos Kyd.

lubber ikke særlig Peele'sk, = lubbard.

massacre alm. hos Marlowe, Shakespeare o.s.v.

policy ligesaa. 9 Gange hos Kyd.

remunerate ligesaa.

sacrifice allerede i Kyds eneste signerede Arbejde, en Over-sættelse af en Tragedie af den franske Digter Garnier.

triumph spec. med Tryk paa anden Stavelse, som er den ældre Udtale. Begge Udtaler findes i *Tr. R.* Ordet findes overalt. Hos Kyd i *Cornelia* III. 3. 139.

Nogle »mannerisms« af Peele er kun dilettantisk opfattede. Saaledes *dare* = I dare (se Ordbl.), *trust me* (alm.), *it resteth* (= tilbage bliver; *Massacre*, 559 (Marlowe), vist ret alm.), *I mean*

(*Arden of Feversham* (af Kyd) og det grinagtige Folkestykke *Wily Beguiled* 190, Lodge, *Civil War* 1529, vel alm.), *This mounting mind* ogsaa i det gamle Stykke *The Misfortunes of Arthur* II. 4. Chorus. *Fusion* eller *effusion of blood*, ogsaa hos Shakespeare *Henry VI* første Del V Akt 1. 9; dette anses af Dugdale Sykes for at være af Peele; ogsaa i Marlowes *Edw. II* Vers 1468. — Brugen *Proud!* i selvstændig Anvendelse om Person = Du Hovmodige er i det mindste saare almindelig i Middelengelsk. *Thrice happy* (endnu twice happy) er ligeledes Hvermands Gods *A beast of many heads* maa være af Peele, skønt en Masse Digtere taler om *the many headed beast*, eller *the many-headed multitude* (se *Lusts Dominion* p. 100, 148; Marstons *The Malcontent* III. 1. 216, *Gulls Hornbook* p. 55). *I, poor I* anses for særlig Peele'sk, men genfindes i Whetstones gamle *Promos and Cassandra*, I. 5. 6, Forbillede for Shakespeares *Measure for Measure*. — Udtrykket »Philip, some drink! O for the frozen Alps, To tumble on and cool this inward heat« genfindes i *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany* IV pp. 257—58, dog meget vagt; Stykket er vel ikke af Peele, men af Chapman; Scenen minder om Marlowes *Faustus*, og Stilen med.

Afhandlingen slutter med nogle Betragtninger, hvori Peele — i Begyndelsen stærkt nedsat — hæves til Skyerne som »the progenitor of Marlowe's *Edward II*« i Kraft af sit paastaaede Ophav til det gamle Stykke om K. John.

Vi vil endnu knytte nogle kommenterende Bemærkninger til det interessante Stykke. De følgende Glosor afgør naturligvis ikke Attributionen, men de peger dog til Dels i en anden Retning end den hidtil fulgte. — Sceneinddelinger er fra den fornævnte Udgave af Furnivall og Munro, ligeledes Versetallene.

FØRSTE DEL. SCENE I

Vers 4: *dismal hue*, ogsaa i Peeles *Arraignment of Paris* III. 1. 75. Udtrykket er banalt.

14: *cares that hang upon the crown*, det gl. Spil om *Richard den Tredje* 61 (Stykket er muligt af Kyd).

51: *Grándmothér*, Skansionsmaaden ikke ukendt hos Peele, almindelig hos Kyd.

60: *And he shall want for nothing at our hands*, en almindelig Traver i elizabethansk Litteratur.

61: *This shall I do*, ligesaa.

107: *Two thousand marks révénue every year*, alm. elizabethansk Accentuering.

117: *Please it your grace with patience for to hear, for to i St. f.*
to er alm. i ældre Skrifter og ogsaa nyere Talesprog.

119: *in such sort*, »saaledes at forstaa«, er almindeligt.

162: *But forward with thy proof*, ogsaa i *A looking glass for London and England* af R. Greene og T. Lodge, Vers 1813.

190: *are you so cunning grown*, almindelig Frase.

192: *Spit in your hand*, ligesaa, i al mulig Renæssance-Litteratur.

209: *thus to jest it out*, at slaa den hen i Spøg; meget alm.

216: *Irrévocable*, vist endnu brugelig Accent (Pope).

218: *end this strife*, se *Wily Beguiled* 2115, Kyds *Spanish Tragedy* I. 2. 178.

245: *And so an end to this contention*, almindelig Frase.

252: *Qui me rapit tempestas*, saadanne, latinske Citater eller frit opfundne Vendinger er hyppige i dramatisk Litteratur før 1592.

255: *Methinks I hear a hollow echo sound*, jfr. *Wily Beguiled* 1282—86, *Titus Andronicus* II. 3. 17.

257: *The whistling leaves upon the trembling trees*, ogsaa i den temmelig sikkert Marloweske Tragedie *Dido*, Akt II Slutn.

258: *Whistle in concert I am Richard's son*, minder om Kyd, som den hele Replik.

259: *The bubbling murmur of the water's fall*, minder efter om *Titus Andronicus*, se ovf. ad Versus 255. *Titus Andronicus*, skønt mere kunstfærdigt end Thomas Kyds (øvrige?) Stykker bringes os ofte i Erindring her. Muligt er T. A. et Arbejde af Kyd og Shakespeare. — Den lange Replik (S. 13 i Furnivall-Monro's Udgave) er superb, og jeg havde nær sagt, et typisk Stykke Kyd'sk Kunst. Jeg fremhæver 263 ff.:

Birds in their flight make music with their wings,
Filling the air with glory of my birth,
Birds, bubbles, leaves and mountains, echo, all
Ring in mine ears, that I am Richard's son.
Fond man, ah, *whither art thou carried?*

Det er ikke Shakespeares, for han har stroget det i K. J.

Ligeledes det før omtalte:

270 ff: *for why this mounting mind Doth sour too high to stoop to*

Faulconbridge . . . Wilt thou, upon a frantic maddering vein Go loose thy land, and say thyself base-born . . . Let land and living go! 'tis Honows fire That makes me swear King Richard was my sire.

384f: *Let son's entreaty sway the mother now. Or else she dies: I'll not infringe my vow.* Lignende Udtryk genfindes i samme Stykke II. 8. 83, II. 3. 242 samt i *Arden of Feversham* III. 171, og i *Richard Duke of York* p. 187, altsaa fra Kyd og Shakespeare.

431: *Away good mother! There the comfort goes.* Minder om Kyds *Spanish Tragedy*.

ANDEN SCENE, udeladt i Shakespeares Stykke, meget Kydsk.

130: *Good words, Sir Sauce!* Kyds *Spanish Tragedy* IV. 4. 168.

Det gl. Stykke om *Richard III* p. 50. *Alphonsus Emperor* (uvist Forfatter) V. 1. 126. Marlowes *Jew of Malta* 1256. 164—65 *valour rimer paa favour*, ikke Peele'sk.

TREDIE SCENE

3: *Morpheus, leave here thy silent ebon cave,* jfr. *Wily Beguiled* 1300.

5: *pale threatening Mors,* sml. *Arden* III. 82: *death threatening face.*

FJERDE SCENE

77: *a lasting bond of love,* *Shrew* III. 4. 64. Wily 1353.

88: *join'd in league of perfect love,* ligesaa.

115f: *Some dismal planet at thy birthday reign'd; For now I see the fall of all thy hopes,* Kyd'sk?

146: *with my nails pull forth her hateful eyes,* jfr. det gamle Spil om *King Leir* V. 2. 27 (verbatim, Stykket er vel af Kyd, se min *Shakespeare og hans Samtidige*). *Comedy of Errors* IV. 4. 107

FEMTE SCENE

56: *I'll find a time to match you for this gear,* Udtr. *this gear* ogsaa i Kyds *Span. Tragedy* III. 6. 32.

62: *In masques and triumphs, letting quarrels cease, triumph har her Tryk paa 1. Stavelse,* mod Dugdale Sykes' Paastand.

123: *What should I say* ° Se *Arden* V. 5. 7, *Jew of Malta* 2106.

134: *I'll rouse the lazy bubbers from their cells*, ligeledes *Leir* 1161, *Tamburlaine* 923, *Jew of Malta* 1034, *Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (muligt af Kyd) 189, 191.

138: *Confusion light upon their damned souls*, ret Kyd'sk.

142 ff: Kong Philips Replik er meget Shakespearisk, à la *Romeo og Julie*.

SJETTE SCENE, som er udeladt af Shakespeare.

Scenen er meget Kyd'sk.

9: *Lie there a prey to every ravening fowl*, jfr. *Soliman and Perseda* 362.

13: *And leave thy body for the fowls to food*, den homeriske Vending genfindes i *Selimus* 713.

SYVENDE SCENE, som er ret Shakespeare'sk.

3: *Proud, and disturber of thy country's peace*, Dugdale Sykes finder dette *proud* (uden Substantiv) specielt Peele'sk, men det findes hos Alle i Samtiden og i ældre Engelsk. Udtrykket *country's peace* ligesaa.

14—15. Constance:

'Tis not thy words, proud Queen, shall carry it.

Queen Elinor:

Nor yet thy threats, proud dame, shall daunt my mind.

Disse Vers minder rigtignok om Wm. Shakespeare.

18—19: *My time is now to triumph in thy fall; And thou shall know that Constance will triumph*. — Her findes i to følgende Vers modsatte Skansioner af *triumph* (jfr. ovenfor om Dugdale Sykes' Paastand).

28: 'tis time to look about, alm. Vending i 16. Aarhundrede.

OTTENDE SCENE er stum, og udeladt hos Shakespeare.

NIENDE SCENE minder i Stil om *Titus Andronicus*.

TIENDE SCENE

24: *to story forth at bringe videre*, ogsaa Sc. 12, Vers 287.

ELLEVTE SCENE, udeladt hos Sh., minder mest om Greene.

45: *I'll hang you both for company*, jfr. *Jew of Malta* Vers 1691 og ff.

48: *Myself will warrant full so much*, d.v.s. helt ud (ikke: nok saa meget).

49: *the overplus*, ogsaa i *Kyds Arden* III. 6. 16 og i W. Rowleys *Knack to know a Knave* 516 (trykt 1594).

TOLVTE SCENE

26: *What may this outrage mean*, jfr. *Spanish Tragedy* III. 9. 1.

40—41: *Death's dish were dainty at so fell a feast; Be deaf, hear not! it's hell to tell the rest*. L. 41 genfindes i *Spanish Tragedy* II. 2. 19. Rimet feast: rest var plausibelt ved 1590.

63: *makes he thee his instrument*, samme Udtryk i 2. Del 2 Sc., Vers 6. Udtrykket findes allerede i *Spanish Tragedy* III. 10. 65, og parodieres i *Wily Beguiled* 2076.

142: *to prevent the worst*, ogsaa i *Spanish Tragedy* III. 2. 78 og 80, *A Warning* etc. II. 836.

TRETTENDE SCENE, meget Kyd'sk.

59: *orisons As thick as hailstones*, Udtrykket ogsaa i *Wily Beguiled* 1841.

91: *To stain the beauty of our garden-plot*, ogsaa *Spanish Tragedy* IV. 4. 103.

196: *Cut off the cause, and then the effect will die*, ogsaa i *Soliman and Perseda* IV. 1. 192.

256: *Curst be the crown, chief author of my care!* Jfr. *Spanish Tragedy* III. 7. 63ff.

276ff: *He lives, my lord, the sweetest youth alive*, lignende i *Spanish Tragedy* III. 1. 63ff.

ANDEN DEL, FØRSTE SCENE, Kyd'sk.

41: *a sea of tears*, jfr. *a sea of troubles* i *Hamlet*.

82: *shall we with speed dispatch . . . a packet into France*, næsten ligesaa *Hamlet* III. 3. 3.

93: *I will accord to further you in this*, lignende i *Soliman and Perseda* III. 1. 119, *Arden* II. 2. 148.

102: *Mean while, let us . . . = Spanish Tragedy* 491. ogsaa i *T. R.* II. 9. 38. *Massacre at Paris* 1258.

103: *as befits his state*, samme Udtryk i Kyds *Cornelia* 1480 (ikke i den franske Original), Wily 1281.

ANDEN SCENE, ikke hos Shakespeare, meget Kyd'sk.

1: *Disturbed thoughts, foreloomers of mine ill*, ligesaa i (Kyds) *Arden* III. 5. 1ff., jfr. smst. III. 1. 59.

3: *Strange prophecies of imminent mishaps*, ligesaa *Gorboduc* (Ant.).

4: *Confound my wits, and dull my senses so*, se Kyds *Cornelia* V, 335.

5: *That every object these mine eyes behold*, se (Kyds) *Arden* I. 11—12.

6: *Seem instruments to bring me to an end*, se *Spanish Tragedy* III. 10. 65, Wily 2046, *Arden* IV. 4. 153.

23: *To make these great, and greatest of thy kin*, ligesaa Kyds *Soliman and Perseda* I. 4. 74, *Arden* III. 6. 18, smst. III. 1. 95.

Sprogbrugen følger i det Hele *Arden*, og parodieres i *Wily Beguiled*.

152: *He will amend, and right the people's wrongs*, lignende i (Kyds) *Arden* III. 1. 22.

196: *For priests and women must be flattered*, jfr. *Tamburl.* I, Vers 303. — Her som saa ofte taler Kong Johan som en sand Richard III.

TREDIE SCENE, udeladt i *King John*.

30: *brave branch of kingly stock!* Jfr. *Leir* I. 3. 26 og smst. IV. 4. 14—16.

77: *Short tale to make*, kort sagt; sjeldent men Kydsk Udtryk, ogsaa her i 2. Del 6 Sc., Vers 40. Endvidere i *Richard Duke of York* 140, *Alphonsus Emperor* (er vel af Kyd) V. 455. *Sir John Oldcastle* IV. 1; det gl. Spil *Promos and Cassandra* p. 158 (Cassell's national Library), i *Hamlet* vel efter Kyd.

244: *they that infringe their oaths*, i *T. R.* ogsaa I 385. II 8. 83.

FJERDE SCENE

12: *marching hitherwards* er tidligere omtalt; det forekommer tre Gange i Stykket og ligesaa hos Peele og Shakespeare.

FEMTE SCENE

Sprogbrugen er noget Hamlet'sk; Vers 24 ff *Two causes, lords,*
make me display this drift etc. Vers 10—11 *fearful thoughts,*
forerunners of my end Bid me *give physick to a sickly soul*, jfr.
Hamlet IV. 7. 56. — Udtrykket *leave this mansion free from guilt*
minder om Edward III.

SJETTE SCENE, sikkert af Kyd, minder ikke lidet om Richard III, meget Shakespearesk.

4: *The world hath wearied me, and I have wearied it*, ligesaa
Leir (muligt af Kyd) I. 1. 24.

6: *Who pities me? To whom have I been kind?* Sml. *Spanish Tragedy* I. 3. 26—27.

7—8: *Why live (die) I not*, jfr. smst. I. 3. 31.

10—11: *I sue to both* (ø: Liv og Død) . . . *But both are death*,
= *Spanish Tragedy* I. 3. 24.

17: *attaint my heart*, jfr. *attaint me in my life*, smst. II 8. 91.

40: jfr. ad II. 3. 78.

57: *The right idea (of a curred man)*, se *Alphonsus Emperor* I. 2. 243, *Arraignment of Paris* III. 1.

58: *I, poor I*, ogsaa i *Whetstones* tidligere nævnte Læsedrama *Promos and Cassandra* (1578) I. 5. 3.

95: *And be canonized for a holy saint*, jfr. *Wily Beguiled* 1823.

141: *The deed is meritorious*, ligesaa *Massacre at Paris* (Marlowe) 1147.

OTTENDE SCENE

83: *Infringed mine oath*, jfr. ad II. 1. 385 ovf.

91: *attaint me in my life*, jfr. ad II. 6. 17 ovf.

96: *Scorned by my foer*, jfr. 1. Quarto of *Hamlet* 825.

111: *the strumpet's pride*, jfr. *Alphonsus Emperor* II. 2. 238.

152: *Lift up thy hand*, se *Contention* 189.

SIDSTE SCENE

38: *Mean while . . . let us*, jfr. ad II. 1. 102.

45: *Let England live but true within itself*, sml. Polonius til Laertes »tro mod dig selv«.

Imellem ovenstaaende Parallelle er der en Del vistnok nye Peele-clues og andre Henvisninger, men især mange Udtryk fra

Thomas Kyd. Han tør vel være den der har forfattet Stykket. Det er i saa Fald ligestillet med *Trold kan tæmmes* og bearbejdet paa samme Maade, med Bibeholdelse af Indhold og Scenefølge og med helt ny Sprog og Stil. Et tredie Stykke, der temmelig sikkert er udarbejdet over en Original af Kyd, er *Hamlet*. Dette er da muligt blevet til paa samme Maade. I saa Fald kunde de mange Urime-ligheder i *Hamlet* forklares af en ret uskaansom Beklipning, som navnlig synes mig følelig og stødende i dette Stykkes sidste Akter. Planen til *Hamlet* forekommer mindre forvirret, dersom vi antager lignende Forkortelser som i *King John*. — Endnu skal antydes, at jeg i mit Skrift *Shakespeare og hans samtidige* har argumenteret for, at det gamle Spil om Kong Leir mere minder om Kyd end om Peele — Jfr. ovenfor S. 16.

Troublesome Raigne

of *John King of England*, with the dis-
couerie of *King Richard Cordelions*

Base sonne (vulgarly named, *The Ba-*
stard Fawconbridge) : also the
death of *King John at Swinstead*
Abbey.

*As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the
Queenes Maiesties Players, in the ho-
nourable Citie of
London.*



Imprinted at London for *Sampson Clarke*,
and are to be sold at his shop, on the backe-
side of the *Royall Exchange*.

1591.



To the Gentlemen Readers.

YOU that with friendly grace of smoothed brow
Hauentertaind the Scythian Tamburlaine,
And giuen applause unto an Infidel :
Wouchsafe to welcome (with like curtesie)
A warlike Christian and your Countreyman.
For Christ's true faith indur'd he many a storne,
And set himselfe against the Man of Rome,
Untill base treason (by a damned wight)
Did all his former triumphs put to flight,
Accept of it (sweete Gentles) in good sort,
And thinke it was preparede for your disport.

A 2



K. John.
I.i.

The troublesome Raigne of King John.

Enter K. John, Queene Elinor his mother, William Marshal,
Earle of Pembroke, the Earles of Essex, and of Salisbury

Sc.

Queene Elianor.

Barons of England, and my noble Lords;
Though God and Fortune haue bereft from vs
Victorous Richard scourge of Infidels,
And clad this Land in stole of dismal hieu:
Yet giue me leaue to ioy, and ioy you all,
That from this wombe hath sprung a second hopt
A King that may iurie and vertue both
Succede his brother in his Emperte.

K. John My gracious mother Queene, and Barons all;
Though farre vnworthe of so high a place,
As is the Throne of mighty Englands King:
Yet John your Lord, contented vcontent,
Will (as he may) sustaine the heauie yoke
Of pressing cares, that hang vpon a Crowne.
My Lord of Pembroke and Lord Salsbury,
Admit the Lord Shattihonto to our presence;
That we may know what Philip King of Fraunce
(By his Ambassadores) requires of vs.

Q. Elinor Dare lay my hand that Elinor can gesse
Whereto this weightie Embassade doth tend:
If of my Nephew Arthur and his claime,
Then say my Sonne I haue not mist my amc.

6.

Sc. i.

24

Enter *Chattilion* and the two Earles.

John My Lord *Chattilion*, welcome into England :
How fares our Brother Philip King of Fraunce ?

Chatt. His Highnes at my comming was in health,
And wild me to salute your Majestie,
And say the message he hath givuen in charge.

28

John And spare not man, we are yeparde to heare.

Chattilion. Philip by the grace of God most Christian R.
of France, having taken into his guardain and protection Ar-
thur Duke of Brittaine, son & heire to Ieffrey thine elder bro-
ther, requireth in the behalle of the said Arthur, the Kingdom
of England, with the Lordship of Ireland, Poiters, Aniou,
Torain, Main : and I attend thine aunswere.

32

John A small request : belike he makes account
That England, Ireland, Poiters, Aniou, Torain, Main,
Are nothing for a King to give at once :
I wonder what he meanes to leave for me.

40

Tell Philip, he may keepe his Lords at home,
With greater honour than to send them thus
On Embassades that not concerne himselfe,
Or if they did, would yeeld but small retурne.

44

Chatilion Is this thine answe're :

John It is, and too good an answer for so proud a message.

48

Chattilion Then King of England, in my Masters name,
And in Prince Artur Duke of Britaines name,
I doo desse thee as an Enemie,
And wish thee to prepare for bloodie warres.

52

Q. Elinor My Lord (that stands upon defiance thus)
Commend me to my Nephew, tell the boy,
That I Queene Elinor (his Grandmother)
Upon my blessing charge him leaue his Armes,
Whereto his head-strong Mother pricketh him so:
Her pride we know, and know her for a Dame
That will not sticke to bring him to his ende,
So he may bring her selfe to rule a Realme.
Next wish him to forslake the King of Fraunce,

And

K. John.
I. i.

Second part of the

troublesome Raigne of King

John, conteining the death

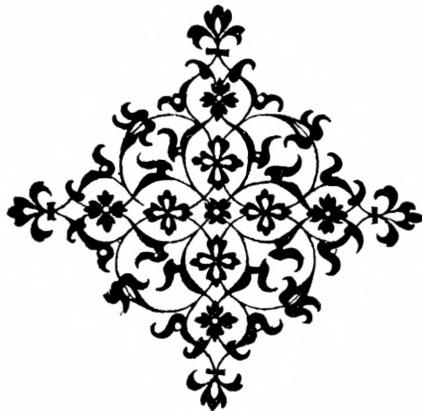
of Arthur Plantaginet,

the landing of Lewes, and

the poynting of King
John at Swinstead

Abbey.

*As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the
Queenes Maiesties Players, in the ho-
nourable Cittie of
London.*



Imprinted at London for Sampson Clarke.
and are to be sold at his shop, on the backe-
side of the Royall Exchange.

1591.



To the Gentlemen Readers.

THe changeles purpose of determinide Fate
Gives period to our care, or harts content,
When heauens fixt time for this or that hath end :

*Nor can earths pomp or pollicie preuent
The doome ordained in their secret will.*

Gentles we left King Iohn replete with blisse
That Arthur liude whom he supposed slaine ;
And Hubert posting to returne those Lords,
Who deemd him dead, and parted discontent :
Arthur himself begins our latter Act,
Our Act of outrage, despreate furie, death ;
Wherein fond rashnes murdretb first a Prince,
And Monkishe falsoes poysneth last a King.
First Scene shews Arthurs death in infancie,
And last concludes Iohns fatall tragedie.

9

13

15

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