

Notes

The bolded numbers at the left refer to the pages of *The Fishermen* on which the annotated text appears.

1 *all their days*: Deuteronomy 6, 24.

1 *landed estates' rights*: in the medieval period, fishing rights on the coasts and in fjords were reserved to the king as a result of the general principle that the commons belonged to him. Kings used this dominion over the fjords both to promulgate rules for fishing and to confer monopoly fishing rights on ecclesiastic and aristocratic owners of land adjoining the shore. Fishing grounds in the Limfjord could be bought and sold like land. The Danish state maintained a registry recording the locations of all these proprietary fishing grounds. V. Kiørboe, "Om det gamle Limfjordssildefiskeri og dets Betydning," *Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift*, 3rd ser., 3:622-68 (1895); Hugo Matthiessen, *Limfjorden: Fortøninger og strejfflys* 169-72 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1936). Kirk later noted that fish were so plentiful in the fjord by the early middle ages that the manorial lords and rich monasteries around the fjord tried to acquire as much of the fjord's wealth as possible by means of privileged fishing rights. In addition to prizing the cash value, "the monks fasted themselves . . . fat" on the fish. Hans Kirk, "Rejse gennem Limfjorden," *Land og Folk*, Dec. 13, 1954, at 7, col. 3. By the twentieth century, some of these landed estates or large farms were also owned by nonaristocrats, as was the case, for example, in Kirk's mother's family. See F. Skrubbeltrang, *Agricultural Development and Rural Reform in Denmark* (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization, 1953); Hans Kirk, *Skyggespil* 24-25 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1998 [1953]); Werner Thierry, *Hans Kirk* 9 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1977).

1 *traps*: the Danish "ruser" are also known as "bow nets" or "trap nets." On traps and seine nets, see F. V. Mortensen and A. C. Strubberg, *Die dänische Seefischerei* 72-76 (Stuttgart:

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Schweizerbart'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931); *Dansk Sportsfisker leksikon* 1: 221-22 (Willy Sylvester Thomsen and Frithiof Hansen eds.; Copenhagen: Branner and Korch, 1976). In 1921, 740 eel-traps and 16 herring seine nets were located off Gjøl. *Fiskeri-Beretning for Aaret 1921*, tab. 3h at 70-71 (F. V. Mortensen ed.; Copenhagen: Gad, 1922).

3 *all the world's glory*: Matthew 4,8: "the devil taketh him [Jesus] up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them."

6 *Lord Jesus, in Thy name we now*: translation of "I Jesu navn går vi til bord" by Paul Christian Paulsen (1881-1948), in *Hymnal for Church and Home* 350 (Blair, Neb.: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1927).

7 *kicking against the pricks*: Acts 9,5; 26, 14. The phrase means "resisting the inevitable."

11 "May God bless your entry and your departure": see Psalms 121, 8: "The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in. . . ."

11 "Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay": Matthew 5, 37.

13 *Consumer cooperative*: consumer coops, like the extensive Danish system of agricultural producers and purchasing cooperatives, date back to the mid-nineteenth century (and began in the Limfjord district); they were designed to reduce prices for the working classes by eliminating the exploitation and shoddy goods associated with middlemen. See *The Danish Co-Operative Movement* (Clemens Pedersen ed.; Patricia Hansen tr.; Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab, 1977).

13 *vineyard*: Matthew 20, 1-16.

16 *Sunday trade*: the Inner Mission in many localities tried to force dairies to close Sundays. See Balle-Petersen, "The Holy Danes" at 89-92.

17 *you know there's a word in the Scripture about him who gives offense*: Matthew 18,6: "whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-

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stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.”

20 *whited sepulcher*: Matthew 23, 27: “Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men’s bones, and of all uncleanness.”

22 *eye-servants*: Ephesians 6,6: “Not with eyeservice, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart.”

23 *Pharisees*: Matthew 23,13-29.

23 *she had forsaken her savior the way Simon Peter had while the cock crowed*: Matthew 26, 34.

24 *church movements*: Grundtvigianism and Inner Mission were two movements (or factions or directions) competing to dominate the Danish Lutheran church after the constitution of 1849 guaranteed religious freedom. P. G. Lindhardt, *Vækkelser og kirkelige retninger i Danmark* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Forlag, 1951).

24 *Grundtvigian farmers*: see “Introduction,” pp. ix-xii.

25 *wormwood*: Jeremiah 23, 15.

25 *motorboats*: in 1921, Gjøøl fishermen used five motorboats and eighteen sailboats, but they were still sufficiently expensive that when catches stagnated and prices fell from 1926 to 1938, fishermen had a hard time making a living. See *Fiskeri-Beretning for Aaret 1921*, tab. 3h at 70-71; Hans Jeppesen, “Fiskeri fra Gjøøl,” *Bygd*, 6 (2):6-15 at 8, 14 (1975).

26 *slaves*: Romans 6, 16-22.

27 *Jesus, who drove the evil spirits into two thousand swine at the lake of Gennesaret*: Mark 5, 13.

27 *vomited him out*: Jonah 2, 10.

29 *Capernaum*: town on Sea of Galilee in which Jesus lived: Matthew 4, 13.

29 *comfort*: Matthew 5,4.

30 *you know*: Mads Langer uses these English words.

31 *old Adam*: the unregenerate condition of the “old man” as

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used in Romans 6, 6 and Ephesians 4, 22.

35 *broad waters*: those parts of the Limfjord, such as Nibe Bredning near Gjøl, where the fjord broadens out. See H. Nørgaard Pedersen, *Limfjordssjægten* 5 (Esbjerg: Fiskeri- og Søfartsmuseet, 1976).

36 *And listen, Susanne, if thou wouldst marry me*: this song is sung to the tune of Stephen Foster's "Oh, Susanna."

36 *beer*: temperance inns were permitted to sell beer with a 2.25 percent alcohol content. Jens Warming, *Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv: En lærebog i Danmarks statistik* 646 (Copenhagen: Gads, 1930).

37 *Jeppe of the Hill: Jeppe of the Hill or the Transformation of a Peasant* (1722) is a famous satiric comedy by Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), the leading figure of the Danish enlightenment. Since Jeppe was a drunk, who was whipped by his wife and cuckolded by the parish deacon, the play would not have appealed to the Pious.

44 *If you people dissolved your obligation to use the services of your parish pastor here*: in 1855, a law (sognebåndsløsning) had been enacted abolishing enforced allegiance to an appointed clergyman and permitting church members to choose their own minister.

46 *the wedding in Canaan where he transformed water into wine*: John 2, 1-12.

46 *he got only a hyssop sponge to drink*: John 19, 29.

48 *Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you*: Matthew 6, 33.

48 *Gold and silver belong to the Lord*: compare Haggai 2,8: "The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts."

60 *He used the familiar form of address with the men*: like many languages, but unlike modern English (which has only "you"), Danish retains the distinction between the familiar and formal second person singular pronouns of direct address: "du" and "De." "Du" is used among friends, relatives, and students, and to children.

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64 movement: see note to page 24.

66 *the thief on the cross:* Luke 23, 39-43.

70 *Anton Knopper—it's foolish that you don't get married.*
Remember what Paul says about marriage: I Corinthians 7,9: "it is better to marry than to burn."

80 *If the world I would discover:* translation of "Vil mig verdens ånd udlokke" by Gracia Grindal.

81 *Mission house:* in fact, the Inner Mission house in Gjøel had already been built in 1897. J. P. Trap, *Kongeriget Danmark* 5: 163 (3rd ed.; Copenhagen: Gad, 1904).

92 *Tabor:* Mt. Tabor is the biblical site at which the transfiguration of Jesus is said to have occurred. Judges 4, 6; Matthew 17.

93 *He is strongest who stands alone:* Dr. Stockmann's final line in Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* (1882) was his "great discovery": "The thing is, you see, the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone." Henrik Ibsen, *En Folkefiende*, in *Ibsens samlede verker* 3:157-216 at 216 (13th ed.; Oslo: Gyldendal, 1962).

93 *people's high school:* on this Grundtvigian institution, see "Introduction," p. x.

93 *Ibsen's Catiline:* this tragedy, based on Roman history and in the Shakespearean mode, was Ibsen's first play (1850).

106 *the thief whom God forgave in his last hour and took along to paradise:* see the note to page 66.

107 *O God, my God, my heart is fearful:* translation by Gracia Grindal of "O Gud, min Gud, det bange hjerte," written by H. A. Timm, 1834.

108 *Not a festival or honor:* translation by Gracia Grindal of "Ingen højtid, ingen ære," written by Thomas Kingo in 1689.

112 *From dust you have come, to dust you shall return, and from dust you shall again arise!:* Genesis 3, 19 reads: "dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."

119 *Elf Hill ("Elvehøj"):* a medieval Danish ballad; Johan Ludvig Heiberg wrote a famous play in 1828, and Hans Christian

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Andersen a fairy tale with the slightly different title, “Hill of the Elves” (“Elverhøj”). Seductive elfin maidens play a part in the ballad and fairy tale.

120 *let him who standeth take heed lest he fall*: I Corinthians 10, 12.

130 *I never get to spend much time*: translation of “Jeg får ej altid gå i mag” by Gracia Grindal.

131 *Seems it in my anguish lone*: translation of “Synes det i kors og pine” by Catherine Winkworth (d. 1878), in *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* 471 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927); originally written in German as “Sollt’ es gleich bisweilen scheinen” by Kristofer Tiesse (Titius) in 1703 and translated into Danish by Hans Adolf Brorson in 1743.

131 *Who stands outside of Paradise?*: translation by Gracia Grindal of “Hvo står for Paradiset der,” written by Hans Adolf Brorson in 1734.

133 *Although you seem to suffer*: translation by Gracia Grindal of “Om end I ses at sørge.”

134 *Adventist*: in 1921, only 2,622 Adventists were counted in Denmark. Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Aarboeg 1924*, tab. 11 at 19 (Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1924).

138 *their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched*: Mark 9, 48.

141 *standard Danish*: in contrast, the West Coast fishermen and the people from the Limfjord speak northern Jutland dialects.

143 *I walk in danger all the way*: translation from 1909 by D. G. Ristad of “Jeg går i fare, hvor jeg går,” which was written by Brorson in 1734. The translation appeared in *The Lutheran Hymnary* 244 (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1913).

150 *God be praised for all his mercy*: translation by Gracia Grindal of “Gud ske lov for al hans nåde,” which was originally written in German by Johannes Olearius in 1671 and translated into Danish by Brorson in 1739.

154 *Martha and Mary*: Luke 10, 38-42.

154 *needful*: Luke 10, 42.

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154 town: the city in which Fabian's business is located is Aalborg. See Maren Kirk, *Fra Harboøre til Gjør: "Tabithas Barndomserindringer"* 33 (Herning: Thuesen, 1978). In 1921 it was Denmark's fourth largest city with a population of 41,613. Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Aarbog 1924*, tab. 6 at 8.

155 window-mirror (literally "street-mirror" in Danish): this device enables apartment or house dwellers to observe people walking down the street; the mirror, which is called a "spy" in German, is sometimes translated as "busybody."

156 *It would be better if I used the familiar form of address, Mrs. Fabian said. You're so young:* see the note to page 60.

160 Free Mission: in fact a Free Mission house had been built in Gjør in 1898, only one year after the Inner Mission house. Trap, *Kongeriget Danmark* 5:163.

160 retired farmers ("aftægtsfolk"): farmers who transferred their farms to an heir or successor were entitled to an annual allowance or pension.

163 the law: i.e., God's law.

165 I love the green groves ("Jeg elsker de grønne lunde") is an often-sung patriotic festive song written by Johannes Helms (1828-1895) in 1873 to celebrate Constitution Day.

166 Brorson: Hans Adolf Brorson (1694-1764), was one of Denmark's greatest hymn writers.

168 A Happy Boy (*En glad Gut*): a rustic love story published in 1860 by the Norwegian writer Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910), who received the Nobel prize for literature in 1903.

170 Lift Your Head, Brave Boy ("Løft dit hoved, du raske gut!"): this patriotic song appeared in Bjørnson's *A Happy Boy*. See Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, *A Happy Boy* 145 (W. Archer trans.; London: Heinemann, 1896).

171 we sailed with a corpse in the cargo hold!: the final line in Ibsen's last major poem, *A Letter in Rhyme*, an allegory about European culture written to Georg Brandes in 1875, was: "I think we're sailing with a corpse in the cargo!" Henrik Ibsen, "Et Rim-brev," in *Ibsens samlede verker* 1:397-400 at 400 (13th ed.; Oslo:

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Gyldendal, 1962).

171 *Dannebrog*: the Danish national flag. The order dates back to the seventeenth century.

171 *1864*: after the German-Danish war of 1864, Denmark ceded Slesvig and Holstein to Prussia and Austria. After North Slesvig was returned to Denmark in 1920 following a plebiscite conducted pursuant to the Treaty of Versailles, the cross of the order of Dannebrog was awarded to the survivors of the 1864 war.

174 *the rediscovered sister to the south*: North Slesvig.

175 *King Canute*: King Canute II (Canute the Holy) was killed in 1086 in an insurrection that began in northern Jutland. Kirk observed that the church had canonized the “tyrannical king” to honor not his “Christian piety,” but his efforts to impose on the peasants tithing for the benefit of the Jutland bishops. Kirk, “Rejse gennem Limfjorden” at 8, col. 1.

176 *make a god of their belly*: Philippians 3, 19.

179 *more joy in heaven over one sinner who repented than over ten just persons, which need no repentance*: according to Luke 15, 7, Christ said: “joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.”

180 *Jews*: one reason for Anton Knopper’s lack of familiarity with Jews was their virtual absence from rural Denmark. In 1921, Denmark’s 5,947 Jews accounted for 0.02 percent of the total population; with 92 percent of all Jews living in Copenhagen, the 465 residing in the provinces (including 297 in rural districts) accounted for 0.002 percent of the provincial population. Calculated according to Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Aarbog 1924*, tab. 11 at 19.

181 *A mighty fortress is our God*: original text by Luther and music by J. S. Bach (“Ein’ feste Burg ist unser Gott”).

190 *Arise all things that God has made*: translation by Anton Marius Andersen (1847-1941) of Brorson’s “Op al den ting, som Gud har gjort.” The translation appeared in *Hymnal for Church and Home* at 322.

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191 *Suffer the little children to come unto me:* Mark 10,14.

192 *And with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again:* Matthew 7, 2

193 *There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him:* Mark 7,15

203 *Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying:* Ephesians 4, 29.

207 *the date the interest payment fell due:* interest payments in Denmark were due in semiannual installments on June 11 and December 11 (in this instance June 11).

208 *Great Boyg:* in Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, Act II, Scene 7, this mythical figure tells Peer Gynt to "go around."

209 *metamorphor:* Kock's malapropian conflation of metamorphosis and metaphor.

212 *I thought I heard you say I differently than we do:* in chiding his daughter Tabita for adopting urban speech patterns, Jens Røn singles out her pronunciation of the Danish word for "I." Whereas the West Coasters say "æ," and the residents of the Limfjord district say "a," standard Danish is "jeg." Depending on their geographic and socioeconomic origins, various characters in the novel pronounce the word in one of these ways. Even non-northern Jutland Danes would have to use H. F. Feilberg, *Bidrag til en Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmaal* (4 vols.; Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1886-1914), to understand some words Kirk uses. A valuable discussion of Kirk's extensive use of Jutland dialect is Poul Lindegård Hjorth, "Brugen af dialektfarve i Hans Kirks *Fiskerne*," in *Danica: Studier i dansk sprog* 171-79 (Erik Dal ed.; Århus: Universitetsforlaget, 1964), reprinted in *Omkring Fiskerne* 233-47 (Bo Elbrønd-Bek and Ole Ravn eds.; Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1977).

215 *retirement:* see note to page 160.

217 *categorical imperative:* another example of Kock's ludicrous undigested learning. Not only does his use of the term have nothing to do with Kant's categorical imperative, but in encour-

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aging Anders Kjølmg to treat Katrine solely as a means, Kock contradicts the entire thrust of Kant's moral philosophy.

229 *They've marked off the fishing spots—but I took the markers away. I wonder whether that's lawful?*: according to the 1917 Danish Law on Salt Water Fishing, it was a criminal act intentionally to remove the traps or nets of someone else who had lawfully occupied a fishing spot and marked them off. Lov om Saltvandfiskeri, June 2, 1917, § 4, in *Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark for Aaret 1917*, at 825-50, at 826 (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1918).

239 *catherine wheel*: a fireworks device.

245 *And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other*: Luke 6, 29.

245 *worldly children*: the children of the world are those who, unlike God's children, have not been saved.

251 *Joint Governance*: "Samstyre" was a movement begun in 1907 by adherents of Henry George.

252 *it would be appropriate if you'd begin to say I instead of a*: see the note to page 212.

265 *I have not where to lay my head*: Matthew 8, 20: "And Jesus saith unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head."

266 *Baptist*: in 1921, only 6,989 Baptists were counted in Denmark, more than three-fifths of whom lived in the rural districts. Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Aarbog 1924*, tab. 11 at 19.

267 *Now sin, with reign unbroken*: translation by P. C. Paulsen of "Nu bør ej synden mere," originally written in German and translated into Danish by Thomas Kingo. Paulsen's translation appeared in *Hymnal for Church and Home* at 153.

269 *Joint Governance Magazine*: *Samstyrebladet* was published from 1912 to 1918 by the Joint Governance movement.

273 *With joy I lazily* ("Med fryd jeg sagtelig"): this folk ballad, which was much longer than the stanzas Kirk used and dates back to the end of the seventeenth century, was still well known

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at the time Kirk wrote. In the ballad the blue violet stands for a young woman for whom the singer longed. The translation here is by Gracia Grindal. For the full text, see *Dansk lyrik gennem tre aarhundreder* 51-55 (Hans Brix ed.; Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1928-1930); *Den danske lyrik*, Vol. 1: *Før 1800: Fra Folkeviserne til Jens Baggesen* 141-42 (F. J. Billeskov Jansen ed; 3rd ed.; Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1985 [1963]).

284 *It is written that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children:* according to Exodus 20, 5, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me."

290 *Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts:* Zechariah 4, 6.

290 *If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off:* Matthew 5, 30.

290 *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice; for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners:* Matthew 9, 13.





Hans Kirk's *The Fishermen* is the best-selling Danish novel of all time. Though published in 1928 and translated into twelve languages, it remains wholly unknown in the English-reading world. With great subtlety, sympathy, humor, and critical social and psychological insight, Kirk tells the story of a small group of pietistic Danish fishermen and their families who in the 1920s flee the dangers and impoverishment of North Sea fishing off the west coast of Jutland to settle inland along the Limfjord to the east. But the more prosperous life there brings to the surface many-layered and intersecting sexual, social, economic, class, religious, moral, gender, generational, legal, and property conflicts within the group and between the newcomers and the decidedly non-puritanical resident Lutheran population. In 1977, Danish state television broadcast an acclaimed six-hour film adaptation of *The Fishermen*.

Kirk, who was born in 1898 and died in 1962, wrote eight other novels in addition to hundreds of novellas and short stories, children's books, political tracts, memoirs, travelogues, radio plays, translations, literary and political essays, reviews, and thousands of journalistic pieces, none of which has appeared in English. After copies of *The Fishermen* were publicly burned in 1941, Kirk was interned by the Danish government at the demand of the Gestapo on the same day that Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union; he escaped in 1943 and joined the underground resistance movement.

Translator **Marc Linder's** expanded Introduction to the **Second Edition** places the book and its author in context. The Notes explain literary and historical references.

"This...arresting novel...is...a fascinating work that deserves to be read outside Denmark." **Sir Geoffrey Palmer, former New Zealand Prime Minister.**

"I am profoundly impressed by the quality of the translation." **Elias Bredsdorff, Professor emeritus of Danish, Cambridge University.**

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