Grundtvig's Use of the Exeter Book's *Billed-Sprog*: The Case of 'Rune-Bladet' and 'Rune-Kiævlet'

By S. A. J. Bradley

In *Rune-Bladet* (1844), Grundtvig employs the image of a leaf or sliver of beechwood used to deliver a runic message of hope from off the sea. In his transcription of the Exeter Book (1830 onwards), he gave to *Riddle 60* the title (and solution) "Rune-Kiævlet" [The rune-stick]. *Riddle 60* is associated with two other Exeter Book poems, *The Husband's Message* and *The Wife's Lament*. Taken together, these poems appear to tell the story of a woman cruelly separated from her spouse or lover, and forced to live in exiled humiliation and yearning until she is at last summoned by a sea-borne message on a rune-stick to rejoin her spouse and once more assume the dignity and status rightfully hers. The analogy between this Anglo-Saxon motif and the issue of the status of Danish and Danishness in Slesvig which is a focus of the 1844 Skamlingsbanke gathering from which Grundtvig was returning by sea when inspired to compose the poem, is striking; and since the Anglo-Saxon motif may arguably allude ultimately to the relationship between Christ and his Bride the Church, the possibility arises of Grundtvig having appropriated it to place the Slesvig cause (at least in his own mind) in a context of divine providence. Seen thus, it is another revealing example of Grundtvig's creative appropriation of metaphor and motif from this body of early medieval Northern Christian vernacular poetry.

Grundtvig's familiarity with the literary legacy of the Anglo-Saxons began in 1815 when he taught himself Old English in order to read the newly-published epic poem *Beowulf*. Using, among other works, the Royal Library's copies of George Hickes's *Thesaurus* (Hickes 1703-05), Franciscus Junius's edition of the manuscript now designated Oxford Bodleian Library MS Junius 11 (Junius 1655), and John Conybeare's papers published in *Archaeologia* (Conybeare 1813; also Conybeare 1826) he became acquainted with all three of the principal codices of Anglo-Saxon poetry then known – the *Beowulf* codex, the Junius codex and the Exeter Book. Later he acquired and used newly emerging editions of these codices and of the fourth codex, the Vercelli Book (Kemble 1843, 1846), and to the end of his life he received and read and remained competent to comment upon Anglo-Saxon texts published by the generation of academic Anglo-Saxonists which he had played his curious part in bringing into existence.

Grundtvig is counted in the lineage of 19th-century Anglo-Saxon scholars, but happily he did not in the end do what he came close to doing in 1831: he did not dedicate a large slab of his life to fulfilling his prospectus, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Saxonica* (Grundtvig 1830), with its huge programme of publishing Anglo-Saxon texts. The harvest from the reading represented by the substantial Anglo-Saxon-related section of his famous personal library in Store Tuborg,[1] and from the studying represented in the thick fascicles relating to *Beowulf*, the Exeter Book and Junius 11 in the Royal Library's Grundtvig Archive in Copenhagen, is not to be sought primarily in his published editions and not only in his translations or reworkings of Anglo-Saxon texts, but also among the ideas, models, images, formulations and phrasings which his remarkably eclectic habit of mind and his impressive poetic creativity drew from his interactive engagement with the earliest poets of Northern Christian antiquity.

There can be little doubt that much about Grundtvig's absorption and reapplication of matter drawn from the great Anglo-Saxon resource, and about his creativity and its processes with regard to this material, remains as yet uncovered. Though his response to *Beowulf* has been most discussed, it may well eventually prove to be the Exeter Book which most extensively and deeply engaged the thought and feelings of Grundtvig and had its outcroppings in Grundtvig's work over the span of his life. Meanwhile, to the casually growing list of possible instances of such revitalisation and reapplication of motifs and materials from the Exeter Book may be added the case of Grundtvig's poem *Rune-Bladet med "Kristian den Ottende" til Det unge Danmark* [The rune-sliver with *Christian the Eighth*; for young Denmark] (Begtrup 1909).

This poem was composed, according to the author's own account, in somewhat unusual circumstances: at sea, aboard the ship *Christian den Ottende*, in immediate response to a particular occasion, 5-6 July 1844. Grundtvig was returning to Copenhagen from the second great nationalist gathering at Skamlingsbanken near Kolding in Jylland, in support of the Danish cause in the Duchy of Slesvig. There he had been invited, along with Orla Lehmann and others, to address an audience gathered not only from Slesvig but from Copenhagen and other parts of the kingdom. The Scandinavian Society [Det Skandinaviske Selskab], founded in April 1839 for the promotion of fellowship between Denmark, Norway and Sweden with Grundtvig as chairman and Frederik Barfod as secretary-treasurer, had chartered *Christian den Ottende* to carry, among the rest, a large contingent of students and other young people from the capital to Kolding and home again.

In despite (in defiance, even) of the fact that Christian VIII had only recently (29 March 1844) moved to mollify pro-German resentment of pro-Danish activism in Slesvig, by curtailing the right to speak Danish in regional assemblies there, the second gathering at Skamlingsbanken attracted a crowd twice as big as the previous year's, a crowd said to have been many thousands strong. Grundtvig's address to "de opmærksomme Tilhørere, og af dem har jeg aldrig havt saa mange" [the attentive listeners, and of those have I never had so many], a version of which he published the same year under the rousing title *Skov-Hornets Klang mellem Skamlings-Bankerne betegnet af Nik. Fred. Sev. Grundtvig* [The waldhorn's clarion among the Skamling hills characterised by NFSG], had as a theme the full restoration of the mother-tongue to its ancient status, to the north of Dannevirke. The Danish tongue in Slesvig was a dispossessed serving-maid, a peasant-girl who had suffered humiliation too long. Now the time was at hand when she should be seated upon the queen's throne which was her rightful heritage. Soon the Danish flag would flutter over the first folk-highschool – "men ingen Latinsk Høiskole, hvor man kun lærer at fordrive Fæderne-Aanden og at radbrække Moders-Maalet, nei en 'Dansk Høiskole' hvor Nordens Aand, paa Moders-Maalet, og med det, hersker uindskrænket" [But not a Latin highschool where one learns only to expel the spirit of our fathers and mangle the mother-tongue; no, a Danish highschool where the spirit of the North, in the mother-tongue and together with it, shall reign unrestricted]; it was opened a few months later at Rødding in North Slesvig.

Already deeply stirred by his Skamlingsbanke audience's reception of this vision of the Danish mother-tongue, symbol and medium of ancient Denmark's nordic spirit, at last enthroned, Grundtvig was moved to tears when, as *Christian den Ottende* passed by Sjællands Odde, where in 1808 the young Peter Willemoes (1783-1808) had died heroically confronting ships of the English fleet, the students aboard raised up the song in commemoration of Willemoes which Grundtvig himself had written for his friend. *Kommer hid, I Piger smaa!* [Gather round, you lassies small] had already gained iconic status among the patriotically-minded young people of Copenhagen, when it was sung at the end of one of Grundtvig's lectures (1838; the series later published as *Mands Minde* [Within living memory]) in Borchs Kollegium: "Sangen om Willemoës var jo blevet født som folkesang hin Oktober-aften på Borchs Kollegium; nu, der ude over 'den åbne grav', blev den holdt over dåben" [The song about Willemoes had been born as a folksong that October evening in

Borchs Kollegium; now out there above 'the open grave' it was sung at the baptism] (Rønning 1913, 74).
And indeed this sequence of events seemed to Grundtvig to affirm that he had witnessed in the days of his grey hairs an unforeseen rebirth of Danish national solidarity.

> ...as I, still with something of the tears in my eyes which the Villemoes song had coaxed forth, looked out across the ruffled sea with the slight white froth of foam which followed us like a flock of young swans on both sides, I took a sincere desire to let the young folk know how sincerely well I felt in their midst and for that reason I was improvising to myself the first verses of *Rune-Bladet*, which would accompany the Skamling-speech, and at the same moment the thoughts of the young folk were with me and with old Denmark, as I delightfully came to realise when a young man came up to me and asked whether I would not drink a cup with the young folk. "With the greatest pleasure" was naturally my answer, "as long as the drink is not too strong for me!" and although I straight away found that all I could cope with was to sip at the cup of youth, yet it already gave me the youthful courage and agility to jump up on to the bench and tell the young folk what I had just been improvising to myself, because I now felt that I had much too prematurely grieved that I would doubtless end up taking the larger part of old Denmark's inheritance and freehold, movables and immovables, with me to the grave, now I observed that in the younger generation there were contenders and competitors enough for everything that is beautiful and noble, lofty and deep, of the mind and of the heart, and in the end bright and lucid - and I would have had to be stone-deaf not to hear them all declare "Yes!" (Grundtvig 1844, my translation, omitting Grundtvig's typographic emphases)

Grundtvig felt he was returning to Copenhagen bearing a newly uttered message, a clarion call to the faint hearts, the appeasers, the greybeards in government who had lost the vision and the vigour of youth.

Snekken under klaret Sky,	Neath the cloudless sky, the ship
Paa den blanke Vove,	on the gleaming sea-swell
Glider ind, i Morgengry,	with the dawn comes gliding in
Under grønne Skove,	under the green woodlands,
Bringer med til *Axelstad*	bringing there to Axel's town*
Bredt og boldt et Bøge-Blad,	broad and brave a beechwood leaf,
Tæt med Runer ristet!	close with runes engraven.
Bladet sender *Nordens Aand*,	Northern Spirit sends this leaf
Fuldt af Runer ramme,	filled with runestaves potent,
Ved det *unge* Danmarks Haand	in the hand of Denmark's youth
Til den *gamle* Stamme,	for the tribe of greybeards,

Risted dem paa Bølgen blaa,	cut for them on ocean blue
Hvor Aartusinder ham saae,	where millennia him saw
Svæve over *Sundet*!	o'er the Sound a-floating.[2]

* [Absalon's Copenhagen]

At Skamlingsbanken, "*Danmarks* Folke-Mund" [the people's-voice of Denmark] had greeted "Gylden-Aarets Morgen-Gry" [the golden year's dawning] (Begtrup 1909, 21; v. 4, lines 6-7), and thence the ship comes journeying, to bear "*Skamling-Høiens* Venne-Brev, / Til det *Danske* Hjerte" [Skamlingbanken's friendship-letter to the Danish heart] (Begtrup 1909, 21; v. 8, lines 1-2). Dawn, crystalline freshness of the sky, the sea and Denmark's green beechwoods fringing the coastline of the Øresund, the ship sailing to port through smooth water. It is a rune-message bearing a pristine hope of redemption, of restoration - even if the forthcoming journey to the envisioned destiny would be perilous: Grundtvig warns in his address of "the great strife which it will cost before the Danish mother-tongue, at Denmark's boundary-mark, can raise herself from the thrall's bench aloft upon the throne of a queen" [*den* store *Kamp*, som det vil koste, før det *Danske Moders-Maal*, ved Danmarks Grændse-Skiel, kan hæve sig fra *Trælle-Bænken* høit paa *Dronning-Stolen*].

In the Exeter Book, which Grundtvig transcribed (Royal Library Copenhagen, Grundtvig Arkiv Fascicle 316, 1-8) from the original manuscript in 1830 and 1831, he found two poems which may well have come to mind as he was composing his poetic message aboard *Christian den Ottende* – or perhaps back in his study when he was preparing the text for publication.

The two Anglo-Saxon poems concerned are those known to modern editors as *Riddle 60* and *The Husband's Message*.[3] They stand in this consecutive order in the Exeter Book, and literary critics have long since pointed out the thematic unity between them, and the effective manner in which the riddling exercise of *Riddle 60* preconditions the reader or audience to interrogate *The Husband's Message* as though it too were an *aenigma*. In his transcription[4] Grundtvig in fact sets out the two texts continuously, treating the whole as a riddle, to which he gives the title *Rune-Kiævlet* [The Rune-stick] or, in another draft of the same,[5] *Et Kiærligheds Brev paa en Runekævle* [A love-letter on a rune-stick].[6]

Riddle 60, like two or three of the other approximately 100 riddles in the Exeter Book, may be based upon a Latin riddle by Symphosius,

to which the solution *harundo* (reed, cane, twig or stick) is given. The Exeter Book does not provide the solutions to its riddles, so various titles have been suggested for *Riddle 60*, including 'Wood inscribed with runes', and '*Boc*' (the Anglo-Saxon word meaning 'beech-tree' and 'book', and, depending on context, '*The* Book' that is, the Bible or the Gospel-book, as well as 'charter, covenant'). As in the case of alternative solutions given for other riddles in this medieval rhetorical tradition of *aenigmata*, the solutions are not necessarily in competition with each other but can all of them coexist as meanings latent within the calculatedly metaphorical, ambivalent and multi-layered riddle-format.

Riddle 60 (tacitly asking the final question: What am I?) takes the form of a monologue, in the I-voice of the riddle-persona:

> I used to be by the sand, close by the sea-cliff at the ocean's edge; firm in my first state I stood. It was few only of humankind that observed my dwelling-place there in solitude but with each dawn the tawny wave would lap me with watery embrace. Little I imagined that early or late I should ever speak, mouth-less, across the mead-bench, and communicate words. It is something of wonder, perplexing to the mind of him who knows nothing of such, how the point of a knife and the right hand, a man's ingenuity and the point together, deliberately pricked me so that I should confidently declare a message in the presence of us two alone, so that no more people might gossip our converse further afield. (Bradley 1982, 398).

The Husband's Message, similarly to *Riddle 60*, is cast in the first-person voice, and this voice is probably best understood as being the voice of the (sliver of) wood which conveys a message to a female recipient (called, conventionally, "the jewel-spangled") from her lord, calling upon her to embark at last upon the journey to reunion, restoration and fulfilment.

The poem also similarly alludes to the sea – but now not only as the place where the instrument of the message (the reed or stick) once grew, or the route by which the ship-borne message has arrived, but also as the symbolic way for the recipient of the message to journey into a yearned-for future of reunion, as between once-parted lovers or spouses, in glorious fulfilment of a covenant long since made between them. Within the ubiquitous seafaring imagery of Anglo-Saxon writings, as indeed within Grundtvig's store of metaphor, the sea is a navigable if sometimes perilous region – in space, separating, yet linking, here and there; and in time, linking past, present and future.

The manuscript is damaged at this point, so the text (here in my own translation) is fragmentary:

> Now in privacy I will tell you ... Now I have come here in a ship and now you shall know how you may think in your mind of my lord's heartfelt love. I dare promise that you will find there a covenant immutably glorious.
>
> See, he who inscribed this wood instructed me to beseech you that you, the jewel-spangled, yourself recall into mind the spoken vows which you two often voiced in earlier days, while you were allowed to occupy a dwelling-place in the festive cities, inhabit the one country, and forward your friendship. A feud drove him away from his conquering people. Now he himself has bidden me gladly inform you that you should ply the ocean once you have heard on the cliff's edge the melancholy cuckoo calling in the thicket. Thereafter let no man living deter you from the journey or hinder your voyage.
>
> Look to the ocean, the seamen's domain; take to the ship so that southward hence you may meet the man beyond the ocean-way where your lord is expecting you. Not a wish in the world more greatly in his thoughts may be realized for him, according to what he told me, than that all-wielding God should grant that you two together may thereafter distribute treasure, bossed circlets, to men and to comrades. He has plenty of burnished gold . . . though he holds his domain within another country, a lovely land ... of trusty heroes, even though here my lord . . . impelled by necessity launched his ship and upon the motion of the waves had to journey alone upon the sea-road, swirling the ocean currents, eager for the onward way. Now the man has prevailed above his anguish. He has no need of desirable things, not of horses nor treasures nor the pleasures of mead nor any of the noble stores of wealth upon earth, O prince's daughter, if he may possess you in accordance with the ancient vow of the two of you.
>
> I conjoin S together with R, and EA and W and M to declare on oath that he would fulfil, by his living self, the pledge and the covenant of friendship which in former days you two often voiced. (Bradley 1982, 399-400; also Krapp and Dobbie 1936; Muir 1994).

The poem as written down in the manuscript (and as copied out by Grundtvig in his transcription) uses the runes S, R, EA, W and M in its final lines. Anglo-Saxon runes, like Norse runes, have names and so can be written in place of the word that is their name: thus S is 'sun', R is 'road', EA is 'earth', W is 'joy' and M is 'man'. There has been much scholarly discussion of the solution of this runic enigma, but one viable possibility is that "S together with R" is 'sun-road', that is, 'heaven', so that the concepts thus "conjoined" are Heaven, Earth, Joy and Man(kind). Thus prompted to look for a religious solution to the enigmatic discourse of the poem, one might readily think (at any rate, if one is preconditioned by the medieval religious symbolism

characteristic of much Anglo-Saxon poetry and prose) of the reunions of the Church as the Bride of Christ and Christ the Bridegroom, the earthly Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem, or the Body and the Soul, or indeed of all three pairings simultaneously since each one is taken as a reflex of the others in common early medieval religious discourse. Thus the message which contains the long-awaited summons to reunion between the parted could be (in a world-historical perspective) the Gospel with its proclamation of a new and "immutable" covenant, its invitation and its promise, resting upon the ancient covenant of "former days." A patristic image familiar to the Anglo-Saxons spoke of the sacred Scriptures as having been "transmitted to us like letters from our heavenly country, [...] paradise. [...] Our King [...] has deigned to send us through the patriarchs and prophets sacred writings as letters of invitation summoning us to the eternal and excellent country" (Caesarius of Arles, cited Bradley 1982, 398-99).

The motif of a woman (whether spouse or lover) languishing in painful separation from her "lord" and yearning for reunion is also found in the Exeter Book poem *The Wife's Lament* (Exeter Book fol. 115a-115b; Bradley 1982, 382-385). Though not adjacent to it in the manuscript, the poem is regularly discussed alongside *The Husband's Message*, on the very plausible premise that the *Message* is an answer to the *Lament*. Just as they pair well together at the secular level of their respective story-lines, so they fit well together when considered as religious metaphors inspired by Scriptural texts such as the weeping of Zion in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, paired with Messianic texts such as Isaias 54:1-10, especially 5-8 [Vulgate Version]:

> (5) For he that made thee shall rule over thee [Latin Vulgate Quia dominabitur tui qui fecit te, translated in Luther's German Bible as "Denn der dich gemacht hat, ist dein Mann" and similarly in the Danish Bible based upon Luther as "Thi din Skaber er din Ægtemand" (and in the English Authorized Version as "For thy Maker is thine husband")]. The Lord of hosts is his name : and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, shall be called the God of all the earth. (6) For the Lord hath called thee as a woman forsaken and mourning in spirit : and as a wife cast off from her youth, said thy God. (7) For a small moment have I forsaken thee : but with great mercies will I gather thee. (8) In a moment of indignation have I hid my face a little while from thee: but with everlasting kindness have I had mercy on thee, said the Lord, thy Redeemer.

It is not essential to the present argument to believe that Grundtvig was fully alert to this complexity of *oldkirkelige* ideas and images which may lie behind these Anglo-Saxon poems. At surface-level, in secular terms, both poems speak sufficiently dramatically of a message which

is momentous to both sender and recipient, of an invitation to look to a glorious new future which will be the fulfilment of promises which have long languished unfulfilled, of a communication solemn and cryptic but full of love and comfort, of a husband or lover who having himself won through from suffering to glory now desires to restore the "prince's daughter" to her rightful status, sharing his lordship according to the bond that has long existed between them. But, given the comprehensive intimacy with the Bible which Grundtvig shows throughout his writings, and the symbol-seeking cast of his imagination in the construing as in the composition of texts, it might seem surprising if he were not at some level alert to the biblical-archetypal pattern of story in these poems.

We would surely not be expecting too much of Grundtvig's associative and symbol-seeking creativity, then, if we think of him opportunistically associating the concept and the message-image of these Anglo-Saxon poems with those stirring, even visionary, issues concerning Denmark's unity and future, Slesvig threatened and intimidated and the *modersmaal* [mother-tongue] oppressed and demeaned, issues still vivid in his mind as he returned from the Skamlingsbanke gathering, aboard ship, sailing capital-wards, in the company of the young folk who spontaneously sang to the honour of Willemoes at Sjællands Odde and desired to drink with Grundtvig, poet-custodian of old Denmark, to the renewed vigour and vision of the new Denmark.

Perhaps we would not be expecting too much of him, even if we went as far as saying that in borrowing the concept and the imagery from these Anglo-Saxon poems, Grundtvig was augmenting (at least in his own consciousness, to his own deeper satisfaction) the import of his topical and prophetic message to Copenhagen, by associating it with the supreme model of the fulfilment of ancient covenant, that of "all-wielding God" with whom it lay to grant his creatures the blissful union intimated in the Exeter Book poems - and by the same token to grant them the happy destiny of a Denmark united with Slesvig and sharing the ancient common heritage embodied in the one Danish mother-tongue.

If so, we are looking at a rather movingly documented example of Grundtvig's remarkable poetic creativity at work.

Postscript: The principal purpose of this article has been to air the possibility that in *Rune-Bladet* Grundtvig drew his main *device* of a message-bearing rune-sliver from the model known to him in the

Exeter Book. It is obvious enough that the main *substance* of *Rune-Bladet* is circumstantially well distant from the main substance of the Anglo-Saxon poems cited. Even so, other details of correspondence between the texts have suggested themselves during discussion of the rune-stick device - enough, perhaps, to encourage a more thorough examination of this poem (and others) for Grundtvig's importation of what might be called the *Billed-Sprog* [picture-language, metaphor] of the Anglo-Saxon *skjald* into his own metaphor-rich poetry.

Attention could be given, for example, to Grundtvig's use of the fresh-sprung woodland and the cuckoo's call as tokens of Spring and thus as symbols of renewal and hope reborn; and to the shift from land to sea as the cry of the cuckoo yields to the singing of the swan: "Seer du det, du Blindebuk! / *Lyst* der blev i Skoven! / Hører du det nu, *Kuk-Kuk*! / *Sang* der blev paa Voven! / *Svane-Sang* paa Bølgen blaa!" [Do you see, you blinkered man! fair has grown the woodland! Do you hear it now: Cuckoo! Song is heard upon the waves! Song of swan on sea-surge blue!] (*Rune-Bladet* verse 12, lines 1-5).

The swans here are both a literal feature of the seascape, and also reflexes of the swans upon the well of Urðr (the past) beneath the roots of the world-ash Yggdrasil in Norse myth (*Rune-Bladet* verse 10, lines 1-2); but in the Exeter Book poem *The Seafarer* too the singing of the swan, *ylfete song*, occurs – as a symbol of the hardships that attend (metaphorical) journeying upon the ocean towards a yearned-for port (Bradley 1982, 333; Krapp and Dobbie 1936, 143). Similarly in *The Seafarer*, the eager pilgrim knows the season for setting out on the journey is come, when "the woodlands take on blossoms" and when "the cuckoo too serves warning by its mournful cry; summer's herald sings" (Bradley 1982, 333; Krapp and Dobbie 1936, 144).

More strikingly, this set Anglo-Saxon poetic motif of the cuckoo also appears, with similar symbolic import, in *The Husband's Message* (quoted above). Like the singing of the swan, the cuckoo's call is at once the thrilling announcement of the arrival of Spring as the season for setting forth, and (as in folk-tradition) the melancholy warning of mortality and of hardship.

The ambivalence of such Anglo-Saxon *Billed-Sprog* would suit well the ambivalence of the clarion-call of *Rune-Bladet* – to a great mission with the promise of a new glory, but also to strife and sacrifice. Grundtvig rarely shows himself unalert to possibilities of this kind in the eclectic and symbol-seeking processes of his creativity.[7]

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Notes

1 Fortegnelse over den af N. F. S. Grundtvig efterladte Bogsamling, som bortsælges ved offentlig Auction i Klædeboderne Nr. 38 Mandagen den 29. Sept. 1873 Kl. 10 [Catalogue of the book-collection left by NFSG which will be sold by public auction in Klædeboderne 38, Monday 29 September 1873 at ten o'clock] (Copenhagen, 1873).

2 Begtrup 1909; my literal translation.

3 Exeter Book folios 122b-123a and folios 123a-123b respectively.

4 Royal Library Copenhagen Grundtvig Arkiv Fascicle 316, 7, p. 135v.

5 Royal Library Copenhagen Grundtvig Arkiv Fascicle 316, 1, p. 115r.

6 See, for details, Bradley 1998, p. 55, note 188 and p. 64. The somewhat rare Danish word *runekævle*, in being cognate with Old Norse *rúnakefli*, points to a supplementary source of Grundtvig's idea for *Rune-Bladet*, in the literary culture of early Iceland.

7 Similarly, other instances of Grundtvig's use of the image of a rune-stave could profitably be brought into this discussion. An instance of one appearing before Grundtvig familiarised himself with Anglo-Saxon poetry occurs in his *Roskilde-Riim* (1814) where a royal edict is called a *Runebaand* (Begtrup 1904-1909, II, 513, 515). Another instance appearing after Grundtvig familiarised himself with Anglo-Saxon poetry occurs in his *Sang-Værk til den danske Kirke* I (1837), in the lyric "Hvad har Kirken her tilbage?" where "Kirkens Rune-Stave" [the Church's runestaves] are "Skyggerne af Aarons Stav" [the shadows of Aaron's rod] and where written words are envisaged as speaking.