

## Fagfællebedømte artikler

# On N.F.S. Grundtvig's Becoming an Old English *Scop*, *Leodwyrhta*, *Wodþora*, Poet

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N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) composed and published two poems in Old English (OE) during his lifetime, each attached to major publications on *Beowulf*: his 1820 Danish translation of the epic and his 1861 edition of it. S.A.J. Bradley briefly mentions the 1820 poem in his “A Truly Proud Ruin,” and Fred C. Robinson offers English translations of the 1861 poem and Grundtvig’s Danishing of his own poem in his “The Afterlife of Old English.” No one, however, has assessed how the poems reflect Grundtvig’s theory of translation, what can be described as “dynamic equivalence.” No one has studied how they function in the works in which they appear, nor how they relate to each other. This paper does all three things. It describes how Grundtvig completely immersed himself in OE and even memorized *Beowulf* in order to turn himself into an OE poet capable of composing poetry in OE and how, forty-one years later, he transforms himself into a poet so proficient and knowledgeable in OE that he is able to create and rearrange OE verse to suit his own purposes, just as a scop would have done 1,000 years before him.

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<sup>1</sup> Bradley 2000a, 158.

Grundtvig's Danishing of his own poem in his "The Afterlife of Old English."<sup>2</sup> No one, however, has assessed how the poems reflect Grundtvig's theory of translation, how they function in the works in which they appear, or how they relate to each other.

Grundtvig's theory of translation is basically that of "dynamic equivalence" in which the translator tries to recreate as far as possible in his or her translation the same response in the target audience that was experienced by the original one. "[T]he receptors of the message in the receptor language," writes Eugene Nida and Charles Taber, "respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language."<sup>3</sup> Such an approach to translation requires a close affinity between original author and translator and a thorough understanding by the translator of all facets of the original work, including lexical, syntactical, grammatical, contextual, phonological, and aesthetic features. The translator becomes, in fact, so closely identified with the original author that they almost merge. This "friendship" model of translation was around in Grundtvig's day and receives clear articulation even earlier in the 1684 *Essay on Translation* by Wentworth Dillon, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Roscommon:

Then seek a poet who your way do's bend  
And chuse an author as you chuse a Friend,  
United by this sympathetic Bond,  
You grow familiar, intimate and Fond;  
Your thoughts, your Words, your Stiles, your Souls agree,  
No longer his interpreter, but he.<sup>4</sup>

Grundtvig's analogous theory of translation seems influenced by the thought of Johann Gottlieb Herder, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and other German Romantics in their emphasis on the creative force of the Word, the Logos. "What the Romantics sought through translation was to transfer the creative power of great writers of other languages into their own. Thus translation was not primarily production of a text, but interpretation and contemplation of Language at work."<sup>5</sup> Theirs was a hermeneutic transla-

<sup>2</sup> Robinson 1993, 299-303.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Gutt 1991, 67.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Kelly 1979, 61.

<sup>5</sup> Kelly 1979, 3.

tion theory. Grundtvig articulates his version of the theory in a couple of places in his works, most explicitly in his introduction to his translation of “The Battle of Brunanburh” in 1817. There, after supplying the reader with a literal Danish prose translation of the OE poem, he states his position:

Saaledes maa da Rimets Ord udtydes, men dermed er i mine Tanker Rimet ingenlunde *oversat* eller *fordansket*, det ligger som et Liig til Ravn og Ulv, og Aanden er borte, denne vil jeg nu søge at gribe og lade tale saa godt den kan med min danske Tunge, uden at udsige Andet end den gamle Skjald, *og det er, som man veed, hvad jeg kalder at oversætte Digte.*

This then is how the poem’s words are to be construed—but to my mind the poem has by no means been *translated* or *made into Danish* thereby. It lies like a corpse for the raven and the wolf and its spirit is gone. This spirit I will now try to catch and allow to speak as best it can with my Danish tongue, whilst not saying anything other than did the ancient skjald. *And this, as people know, is what I call translating poems.*<sup>6</sup>

As laudable or idyllic as dynamic equivalence or the friendship model or the hermeneutic approach may be, their goals are unachievable because of inherently insoluble theoretical problems. The concept of audience is a major one. For most, if not all, of OE poetry, we do not know for whom or where or when or why it was composed, so it is impossible to characterize the audience except in the most general ways (e.g., the learned or the lewd, clergy or laity). Immediate reactions to Grundtvig’s translation of *Beowulf* illustrate the point from the modern perspective. Part of Grundtvig’s audience may have shared his view of translation, appreciated its theoretical underpinnings, and liked what he achieved when putting them to work although I have found no published statements to that effect. Part of that audience categorically did not feel that way, however. Having read Grundtvig’s eviscerating 1815 review of his first edition of *Beowulf* that contained a sample of Grundtvig’s projected translation of the poem (the Scyld Scefing episode), Grímur Thorkelin cried out in anguish, “What a

<sup>6</sup> Bradley 2000b, 46-47. Bradley’s translation.

translation! What madness!”<sup>7</sup> That would be the only time the translation or a portion thereof would be reviewed in Denmark. In Germany and nowhere else, however, the full translation was reviewed twice in 1822 and 1823.<sup>8</sup> Jacob Grimm was the second reviewer. After complimenting Grundtvig on the power of his Danish (more powerful than Öhlenschläger’s), Grimm expresses his dissatisfaction with Grundtvig’s translation, which he feels does not do justice to either the Danish or the OE:

das alliterierende metrum des originals, zu dem jede wendung und re-  
densart genau passt, belebt den gegenstand bis ins einzelne, die neuen  
wechselnden und balladenmässigen reime und strophen machen das  
ganze—ermüdend. prosa hätte weit besser gethan . . .<sup>9</sup>

The alliterating meter of the original, to which every phrase and ex-  
pression fits perfectly, animates the subject matter down to the last  
detail; the new alternating and ballad-like rhymes and stanzas make  
the whole thing—tiring. Prose would have been far better . . .

Despite the less than enthusiastic reception of Grundtvig’s “Danishing” of *Beowulf*, the road to creating it was arduous, exacting, and steep. Grundtvig states in his introduction to his 1820 translation that once he had the financial support necessary to complete his task, he had to learn OE as if he were to be a professor of it using all the aids he had at his disposal.<sup>10</sup> We learn from his unpublished notes, for example, that he made frequent use of Edward Lye’s 1772 *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum*<sup>11</sup> and from his introduction to his translation that he was delighted to learn OE in person from Rasmus Rask and from Rask’s OE grammar and reader, *Angelsaksisk Sproglære tilligemed en kort Læsebog*, published in Stockholm in 1817.<sup>12</sup> He also made extensive notes on both the Latin and OE in his copy of Thorkelin’s first edition of *Beowulf*<sup>13</sup> and compiled long

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Bradley 2000b, 37.

<sup>8</sup> Gardthausen 1822 and Grimm 1823.

<sup>9</sup> Grimm 1823, 180-181.

<sup>10</sup> Grundtvig 1820, xxxiii.

<sup>11</sup> Pedersen 2017, 4.4.3.

<sup>12</sup> Grundtvig 1820, xxxiii.

<sup>13</sup> Pedersen 2017, 4.4.2. and 4.4.4.

lists of “Mærkelige Angelsachsiske Ord,” extraordinary OE words.<sup>14</sup> As he accumulated his professor-level knowledge of the OE language, as a poet, he was also acquiring a *scop*'s or poet's understanding or feel for the poetry itself as he consumed large quantities of it. In the introduction to his 1861 edition of *Beowulf*, he mentions that he even *saagodtsom* (as good as) memorized the whole of the poem in preparing to translate it,<sup>15</sup> and it seems likely that he learned other OE poems by heart as well, just as any Anglo-Saxon aspiring to become a cultured member of society would likely have done.<sup>16</sup> Both kinds of knowing were fundamental for Grundtvig in achieving what S.A.J. Bradley has called the “cultural migration” of *Beowulf* from OE to Danish.<sup>17</sup>

The first culture, that of the Anglo-Saxons, is embodied in the OE formulaic phrases and words that Grundtvig weaves together into a 98-line praise poem for his patron, Johan Bülow (1751-1828), who was 69 years old in 1820. Each line is a half line of OE verse. The OE poem is attached to a twenty-three-line stanza, seven-lines-per-stanza Danish poem, each stanza rhyming ababccd, and the Danish poem describes how *Beowulf* lay forgotten in *Anguls Tunge* (Angul's tongue) for many years until Bülow made it possible for Grundtvig to render it into the mother tongue, Danish.<sup>18</sup> He concludes by saying that although he cannot sing a *Drape*, a heroic poem, for the noble man in Angul's tongue, he still wants to stammer something (“Jeg dog vil stamme”) in it for Bülow's sake.<sup>19</sup> What he “stammers” follows, together with my literal English translation to the right:

1	Hwæt we Gar-Dena In gear-dægum Peod-Scyldinga Prym gefrunon	Lo, we of the Spear-Danes in days of yore of the people-Scyldings have heard the glory,
5	Hu þa æbelingas Ellen-rofe And hira beod-geneatas Bil-wite rincas	how the nobles, the braves ones, and their table companions, the pure warriors

<sup>14</sup> Bøye 1998, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Grundtvig 1861, xviii.

<sup>16</sup> Thornbury 2014, 63.

<sup>17</sup> Bradley 2000b, 38.

<sup>18</sup> Grundtvig 1820, vii.

<sup>19</sup> Grundtvig 1820, xvi.

	On Dene-mearce	in Denmark
10	Mærþa gefremedon. And hie ne ealle fornam Ærran mælum Feorh-bealu frecne Folce to ceare:	performed glorious deeds. And the terrible deadly attack in former times did not take them all as a sorrow to the people:
15	Freodoric siteþ On fæder-stole Gumena baldor Þæt is god cyning. Swylcum gifeþe biþ	Frederik sits on the paternal throne, the protector of men. That is a good king, To such a one will be granted
20	Þæt he Grendles cynn Denum to dreame Dæda getwæfe. A þone sinc-gyfan Ymbe-scinon	that he will put an end as a joy to the Danes to the deeds of the kin of Grendel. Always around that treasure-giver shone
25	Witena betstan Wis-fæste eorlas Monige swylce On Middan-gearde Swylc Bilof is	the best of counselors, wise men, many such in middle earth. Such is Bülow,
30	Byre æþelinga Se þe wæs wide-ferhþ Worda gemyndig Þara þe se snotra spræc Sunu Ecgþeowes:	the son of nobles, he who was for a long time mindful of the words that the prudent one spoke, the son of Ecgtheow:
35	Unc æghwylc sceal Ende gebidan Worolde-lifes Wyrce se þe mote Domes ær deaþe	“Each of us must await the end of life in the world; achieve he who can fame before death;
40	Þæt biþ driht-guman Unlifigendum Æfter selest.	that will be best for an unliving retainer afterwards.”
	Uton geferan swa Frome gesiþas	Let us bring it about thus bold companions
45	Þæt on us gladie Gleaw-ferhþ hæleþ Bilof se goda Se þe us beagas geaf Se þe wordum and weorcum	that on us will shine the wise-hearted man Bülow the good, he who gave us rings, he who in words and in works
50	Wægde and hwette Ripiende rincas	moved and urged the ripening and skilled in mysteries

	And run-cræftige.	warriors.
	Forþan sceal on uferan dægum	Therefore in later days must
	Ealde and geonge	many old and young
55	Scopas and witan	poets and wise men mention the fame
	Scyldinga-bearna	of Scylding children
	Beorna beah-gyfan	of the ring-giver of men
	Blonden-feaxes	of the
	Mærþo gemænan	grey-haired one,
60	Monig oft cweþan:	often say:
	Þæt te suþ ne norþ	that neither south nor north
	Be sæm tweonum	between two seas
	Ofer eormen-grund	over the spacious ground
	Oþer nænig	no one else
65	Rond hæbbendra	of shield-bearers and
	Reade beagas	golden-red rings owners
	Leofra nære	was more beloved
	On lif-dægum	in his life days
	Eallum duguþe	to all the troop
70	Dena-cynnes	of the kin of the Danes
	Þara þe on wil-siþ	of those who on the wished-for journey
	Wægas ofer-sohton	over-taxed the waves,
	Beornas on blancum	men on horses [ships],
	Bocera-meres.	of the sea of scholars.
75	Secge ic Engla-frean	I say thanks to the all powerful
	Alwealdan þanc	lord of the Angles (or Angels)
	Þæs þæt ic moste	because I was able
	Mæran to willan	by the will of the famous one
	Discas of beorge	to carry
80	Deore maþmas	plates out from the burial mound,
	Ut-geferian	dear treasures
	Swylce æt eorþan-fæþm	that in the bosom of the earth
	Þusend wintra	for a thousand winters
	Þær eardodon.	there had remained.
85	Gewyrce se þe mote	Make he who can
	Witig of golde	wise of gold
	Heafodes-hyrste	a head ornament
	Harum rince	with hoary treasure
	Swa þæt he wlite-beorht	so that he, radiantly bright,
90	Þonne westan gyt	when in the west
	Hadre scineþ	heaven's candle
	Heofones-candel	still shines clear,
	Glitnie blonden-feax	the grey-haired one glitters
	Under gyldnum beage	under the golden ring

95	Op þæt him of earde	until his soul from the earth
	Ellor hwyrfe	turns elsewhere
	Sawol secean	to seek
	Sop-fæstra dom. <sup>20</sup>	the judgment of the righteous.

The poem consists of three large sections, the first (lines 1-42) governed by the first-person plural pronoun in line one, which includes all members of the Danish realm. The second (lines 43-74) is also governed by the first-person plural, which this time refers just to the subset of Danes who have received the patronage of Johan Bülow. And the third (lines 75-98) is governed by the first-person singular pronoun as Grundtvig expresses his personal thanks to and admiration for his patron.

This first section starts off simply enough with the opening lines of *Beowulf* resounding almost like the opening notes of a famous musical composition imitated by the new poem's composer. These are quickly varied upon, however. Line three, which reads *Peod-cyninga* (of the people-kings) in the original, now becomes *Peod-Scyldinga* (of the people-Scyldings) in Grundtvig's variation as he affirms the unbroken continuity of the Danish dynasty from Scyld Scefing to Frederik VI, who occupied the throne of Denmark from 1808 to 1839. Grundtvig reinforces that affirmation with a simple change of tense in line eighteen: "þæt wæs god cyning" (that was a good king) referring specifically to Scyld in the original becomes "þæt is god cyning" (that is a good king) referring specifically to Frederik in Grundtvig's poem.<sup>21</sup> Grundtvig then identifies Frederik with Beowulf the slayer of the Grendel kin (lines 19-22) who surrounds himself with the best counselors (lines 23-28). One of those counselors is Bülow who keeps in mind the words of the prudent Beowulf in advising Hroðgar after the death of Æschere (lines 35-42). Bülow thus becomes aligned with Beowulf along with Frederik. Together, they exemplify the *sapientia et fortitudo* (wisdom and strength) that characterizes Beowulf and that is such a prominent theme in the poem.<sup>22</sup>

Having narrowed the focus of his poem from the Scylding dynasty to Frederik VI to Bülow, Grundtvig now turns in section two to Danish poets

<sup>20</sup> Grundtvig 1820, xvi-xxii.

<sup>21</sup> Bradley 2000a, 158.

<sup>22</sup> See Kaske 1958.



and scholars who have benefited from the largesse of Frederik's counselor, Bülöw the Good (line 47). *Se goda* is an epithet used multiple times of Beowulf in the original poem, and Grundtvig uses it here to align Bülöw even more firmly with the epic hero. Like Hroðgar, the treasure-giver (also referred to as "the good"), Beowulf the treasure-giver, and Frederik the treasure-giver (line 23), Bülöw is a ring-giver (lines 48, 57). Like Frederik surrounded by good counselors and councilors, Bülöw is surrounded by a devoted *comitatus* of poets and scholars and wise men who must now speak of the fame of their beloved benefactor (lines 53-59). The glory mentioned by Beowulf to Hroðgar and pondered by Bülöw in Grundtvig's poem (lines 35-42) is now being achieved. Bülöw's name will live on after his death.

In section three, Grundtvig finally focuses his poem on his personal indebtedness to his patron, thanking the Lord of the Angles (or Angels, borrowing a pun from Gregory the Great) that because of Bülöw he was able to retrieve poetic treasures long buried. He enjoins a metal worker to fashion a crown, a golden ring (line 94, recalling the rings of line 48) to adorn him while he lives. And he concludes with three more famous lines from *Beowulf*, line 96 (turns elsewhere) associating Bülöw with Scyld Scefing who also turns elsewhere and lines 97-98 identifying him with Beowulf who likewise seeks the judgement of the righteous after death. All three men lived glorious lives.

As a poem in its own right, then, this one works well. As an OE poem, it represents the ideal of how the OE *scop* may have worked and how he or she became a *scop*. Grundtvig had as good as committed *Beowulf* to memory. In pondering the poem, his three-fold subject matter, and his path to "Danishing" *Beowulf*, he becomes Frederik's *scop*, *gilphladen* (laden with words of praise, *Beowulf*, line 868a), remembering old poems, finding other words (*Beowulf*, line 870b), varying them (*Beowulf*, line 874a) as he weaves phrases and formulas from *Beowulf* and the rest of the OE corpus together into something new for the occasion.<sup>23</sup> He is also an OE *leoðwyrhta* (song maker—he will divide his translation of *Beowulf* into twenty songs,<sup>24</sup> and those songs could actually be sung)<sup>25</sup> as well as *wodbo-*

<sup>23</sup> For a description of how an OE *scop* composes poetry, see lines 867b-874a of *Beowulf*. See the notes to lines 867b-915 in *Klaeber's Beowulf* 2008, 165-166, for a discussion of these lines. See also Thornbury 2014, 17-19.

<sup>24</sup> See Thornbury 2014, 21-23.

<sup>25</sup> See especially Osborn 2007.

ra or “bearer of eloquence,” whether that eloquence derives from verse or prose,<sup>26</sup> as the following table demonstrates. Grundtvig’s vast survey of material that makes up his poem for Bülow includes numerous examples from both genres as well as twenty-four lines of his own composition.<sup>27</sup>

Line #	Sources for Grundtvig’s 1820 OE Poem with Modern Line Numbers
1	<i>Beo</i> 1a
2	<i>Beo</i> 1b
3	<i>Beo</i> 2a, 1019a
4	<i>Beo</i> 2b
5	<i>Beo</i> 3a
6	<i>Beo</i> 340a, 358a, 1787b, 3063a; <i>GenA,B</i> 1117, 1779, 1844, 1873, 2033; <i>And</i> 349, 408, 1139, 1390; <i>Jul</i> 382; <i>Pan</i> 40; <i>Rid</i> 22 17; <i>Jud</i> 107, 141; <i>WaldB</i> 11; <i>ÆGram</i> 49.6; <i>Josh</i> 1.6, 1.7, 1.9
7	beod-geneatas: <i>Beo</i> 343a, 1713b
8	bil-wite: <i>LS</i> 10.1, 2.23; <i>Mt</i> 11.29; <i>CP</i> 1134 (35.237.18), 1135 (35.237.19); <i>PsGfH</i> 1342 (85.5); <i>PsGfG</i> 1350 (85.5); <i>PsGfD</i> 1149 (75.10), 1348 (85.5); <i>MtGl</i> 282 (10.16)
9	Dene-mearce: <i>Or</i> 0126 (1.16.19), 0128 (1.16.23); <i>ChronC</i> 0175 (108.1), 0717 (1019.1), 0723 (1023.1); <i>ChronE</i> 0995 (1036.3)
10	<i>Sea</i> 0020 (80)
11-12	Inspired from <i>Beo</i> 2236b-2237a
13	<i>Beo</i> 2537a
14	Grundtvig
15	Grundtvig

<sup>26</sup> Thornbury 2014, 25.

<sup>27</sup> I am indebted to Mr. James Neel for tracking down the source for each line in both of Grundtvig’s OE poems and assembling the information in this and the following table. The abbreviations used for the source texts come from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

16	Grundtvig
17	<i>GenA,B</i> 0840 (2694)
18	<i>Beo</i> 11b
19	<i>Beo</i> 299b
20	Grundtvig
21	Grundtvig
22	getwæfe: <i>Beo</i> 479b, 1433b, 1658a, 1763b, 1908a; <i>GenA,B</i> 0020 (51); <i>Ex</i> 0035 (116); <i>ChristA,B,C</i> 0278 (984); <i>Husb</i> 0006 (24)
23	sinc-gyfan: <i>Beo</i> 1012a, 1342a, 2311a; <i>ChristA,B,C</i> 0122 (458); <i>GuthA,B</i> 0397 (1351); <i>Mald</i> 0090 (277)
24	ymbe-scinon: <i>ÆCHom11,35</i> 0017 (261.27); <i>HomU</i> 18 0038 (87)
25	Grundtvig
26	Grundtvig
27	Grundtvig
28	“on Middan-gearde” is a common dative construction in the corpus, but it occurs in <i>Beo</i> specifically at 2996a. “mid-dan-giard” occurs elsewhere in <i>Beo</i> at 504a, 751b, 75b, 1771b
29	Grundtvig
30	Grundtvig
31	wide-ferhþ: <i>Beo</i> 702a, 937b, 1222a; <i>GenA,B</i> 0306 (903); <i>Dan</i> 0120 (405); <i>ChristA,B,C</i> 0043 (162), 0160 (581); <i>GuthA,B</i> 0186 (600), 0198 (670); <i>Jul</i> 0062 (221); <i>OrW</i> 0014 (57); <i>Rid</i> 39 0004 (7), 0008 (20)
32	<i>PPs</i> 0376 (76.9), and probably 0883 (104.37) as well
33	Grundtvig
34	<i>Beo</i> 1550b, 2367b, 2398b
35	Probably <i>Beo</i> 1386a given the following lines

36-42	<i>Beo</i> 1386b-1389b
43	Grundtvig
44	Grundtvig
45	<i>PsCaK</i> 0063 (65.17)
46	<i>GenA,B</i> 0378 (1150)
47	“se goda”: <i>Beo</i> 205a, 355a, 675a, 758a,1190b, 1518a, 2944b, 2949 <sup>a</sup>
48	Possibly from <i>Beo</i> , specifically lines 1719b, 2635b, or 3009b
49	<i>Beo</i> 1833a; possibly <i>Sat</i> 0083 (216); <i>ChristA,B,C</i> 0259 (910), 0340 (1232); <i>GuthA,B</i> 0189 (618), 0238 (790); <i>Whale</i> 0016 (82); <i>Seasons</i> 0011 (71); <i>HomS 15</i> 0037 (80); <i>ChrodR1</i> 0378 (37.10); <i>Conf 10.4</i> 0002 (4); <i>WPol 2.12</i> 0029 (35)
50	wægde: From “wægan?” <i>Bede 4</i> 0790 (33.382.32); <i>HlGl (Olip-hant)</i> 3177 (F270) hwette: <i>Beo</i> 490b; <i>Rid 11</i> 0002 (3); <i>Ægram</i> 1061 (166.13); <i>LS 35</i> 0143 (338); <i>PsCaI</i> 0105 (76.41); <i>CollGl 22</i> 0018 (18), 0023 (23)
51	ripiende: probably from “ripiān,” but the only occurrence in the corpus of a present participle is “ripende” in <i>ÆCHom II</i> 0018 (319.28), which could also come from “ripan” or “repan”
52	run-cræftig: <i>Dan</i> 0214 (733)
53	uferan dægum: <i>Beo</i> 2392a; <i>WHom 2</i> 0002 (31); <i>Or 4</i> 0103 (5.90.15)
54	A common phrase in the corpus. It occurs precisely in this case and order in <i>PPs</i> 1606 (148.12). “geongum ond ealdum” occurs in <i>Beo</i> at 72a
55	Grundtvig
56	Grundtvig
57	Line appears in <i>El</i> 0040 (99) and 0329 (1197), “beorna be-ag-gifa” and “beorna beag-gifan” respectively. “Beag-gyfan” appears in <i>Beo</i> at 1102a

58	blonden-feaxes: <i>Beo</i> 1594b, 1791a, 1873a, 2962a; <i>GenA,B</i> 0729 (2341), 0810 (2602)
59-65	<i>Beo</i> 857-859 and 861a
66	Grundtvig
67	<i>ChronA</i> 0257 (753.33); <i>ChronC</i> 019810 (755.33), 0658 (1014.3); <i>ChronD</i> 0131 (755.28), 0661 (1014.5); <i>ChronE</i> 0396 (755.28)
68	Specifically occurs in <i>El</i> 0136 (432); <i>PPs</i> 1124 (118.17), 1486 (139.8). But also occurs in a few other instances with other prepositions and sometimes a possessive pronoun as in <i>Whale</i> 0014 (71) “in hira lif-dagum.” Accusative plural “lif-dagas” appears in <i>Beo</i> at 793a, 1622a
69	Grundtvig
70	Grundtvig
71	wil-siþ: <i>Beo</i> 216a; <i>And</i> 0325 (1046); <i>Bede</i> 3 0322 (13.200.4); <i>ChristA,B,C</i> 0007 (18)
72	ofer-sohton: <i>Beo</i> 2686a “ofer-sohte”
73	<i>Beo</i> 856a
74	Grundtvig
75	engla-frean: <i>El</i> 0358 (1307)
76	<i>Beo</i> 928b
77	Probably from <i>Beo</i> 2797a “þæs þe ic moste”
78	<i>HomU</i> 26 0081 (243); <i>Conf</i> 10.4 0023 (65); <i>Lit</i> 4.3.1 0004 (6)
79	Grundtvig
80	<i>Beo</i> 2236a
81	<i>Beo</i> 3130b “ut geferedon”
82	eorþan-fæðm: <i>ChristA,B,C</i> 0319 (1141); <i>Phoen</i> 0120 (482)
83-84	<i>Beo</i> 3050

85	Grundtvig
86	Grundtvig
87	Grundtvig
88	harum: <i>Beo</i> 1678a
89	wlite-beorht: <i>Beo</i> 93a; <i>GenA,B</i> 0041 (129), 0062 (187), 0075 (218), 0495 (1555), 0538 (1726), 0557 (1800); <i>Met</i> 0320 (25.1)
90	Grundtvig
91	<i>Beo</i> 1571b
92	heofones-candel: <i>Ex</i> 0034 (111); <i>And</i> 0075 (243). “rodores candel” in <i>Beo</i> at 1571a
93	glitnie: From “glitnian.” The infinitive appears in <i>Beo</i> at 2758a. This particular conjugation only appears in <i>HomU 16</i> at 0013 (12). blonden-feax: see note for line 58.
94	<i>Beo</i> 1163a
95	Fairly common words, but possibly from <i>Beo</i> 56 “aldor of earde — oþþæt him eft onwoc” given the following line.
96	<i>Beo</i> 55b; also <i>Jud</i> 0031 (11)
97-98	<i>Beo</i> 2820

Grundtvig begins his OE poem with verbatim lines from *Beowulf* and ends it with still more as the variations on the major theme subside, and his poem lapses into silence. The poem functions as a gateway or intermediary between Grundtvig’s own praise poem in his native tongue and his Danishing of *Beowulf*, an apprenticeship venture that transforms him into an OE *scop*. The transformation ensures that he will be able to fashion the dynamic equivalent of the OE source text in its Danish reincarnation.

Forty-one years after the publication of his first OE poem, Grundtvig published his second together with his “Danishing” of it on the facing page. These two items immediately follow his dedication page in his 1861 edition of *Beowulf*. Johan Bülow, to whose memory the edition is dedicated, turned elsewhere to seek the judgement of the righteous in 1828, and Grundtvig was seventy-eight in 1861, well aware of his own mortality.

The tone and function of the poem therefore differ from that of the first OE poem. The 1820 poem begins with the opening lines of *Beowulf*; the 1861 poem begins with Beowulf's last words in lines 2801-2808 of the original text. Grundtvig's last OE words read as follows with my literal English translation of them to the right:

1	Beowulf maðelode, bona Stearcheortes <sup>28</sup> : “for leoda þearfe ne mæg ic her leng wesan;	Beowulf spoke, the slayer of Starkheart: “For the benefit of the people I can no longer be here.
5	hatað heaðomære hlæw gewyrcean beorhtne æfter bæle æt brimes nosan! Se sceal to ge-myndum	Command those renowned in battle to build a barrow bright after the funeral fire on a promontory of the sea! It must as a memorial
10	minum leodum heah hlifian on Hronesnæsse, þæt hit sæliðend syððan haten	for my people tower high on Hronesnæs, so that seafarers afterwards may call it
15	Beowulfes Beorh, þa, þe birðingas <sup>29</sup> ofer floda genipu feorran drifað! þæt wæs þam gomelan	Beowulf's Barrow, those who drive their ships over the mists of the waters from afar!” That was for the old man
20	gingæste word breost-gehygdum, ær he bælcure, hate heaðowylmas; him of hreðre gewat	the last word from the thoughts of his heart before he chose the funeral pyre, the hot, hostile flames; from his heart departed
25	sawol secean soðfæstra dom!”	his soul to seek the judgment of the righteous!
	Best þæt ge-munde,	He remembered that best,

<sup>28</sup> Grundtvig takes the adjective *stearcheort* (stout-hearted) in lines 2,288b and 2,550a of *Beowulf* to be a proper noun. It is “aapenbar Navnet paa Ild-Dragen, som rugede over Guld-Skatten” (obviously the name of the fire-dragon that brooded over the gold hoard). See his list of proper names in Grundtvig 1861, 207.

<sup>29</sup> The original reads *brentingas* in line 2,807b, but Grundtvig was not familiar with the word and substituted the Old Icelandic *byrðingr* with an OE plural ending. See his note to lines 5,607-5,609 in Grundtvig 1861, 187.

30	mine gefræge, se þe eall-fela eald-gesegena worn gemunde, wigena bealdor, Scop Beowulfes, Scefinga leod;	as I have heard, he who a great many old sagas remembered, a leader of men, Beowulf's Scop, a man of the Scefings;
35	hlæw he ge-worhte æfter wines dædum, in bæl-stede, beorh þone hean, micelne and mærne,	he built a mound in memory of his friend's deeds, at the place of the funeral pyre, that lofty barrow, great and famous, since he was of men
40	swa he manna wæs, wigend weorð-fullost wide geond eorðan, þenden he burh-welan brucan moste.	the most-worthy warrior throughout the wide earth while he the wealth of his town might enjoy.
45	Se is wæg-liðendum wide gesyne, Beorh Beowulfes, beorhtost geweorca, mearcod to ge-mynde,	That is to wave-farers widely seen, the Barrow of Beowulf, the brightest of works, created as a memorial with hearty words!
50	Ðær is þam scennum sciran goldes, þurh run-stafas, rihte gemearcod,	There on the metal plates of resplendent gold in runic letters is rightly marked,
55	“þæt nu sceal Geataleodum  and Gar-Denum sib-gemænum, and-sacu restan, inwit-niðas,	“that now must be for the people of the  Geats  and the Spear-Danes mutual peace, and strife must rest, hostile purposes, which they earlier experienced,
60	þe hie ær drugon, sceal hring-naca ofer heaðo bringan lac and luf-tacen; ic þa leode wat	the ring-prowed ship must bring after the war gifts and love tokens; I know the people toward both foe and friend
65	ge wið feond ge wið freond fæste geworhte, æghwæs untæle aalde wisan!”	are firmly disposed, blameless in every respect in the old way!”
	God-fremmendra swylcum	To such performers of good



70	gifeðe bið, þæt seo Engla-þeod, þegna-heap ær-god, seo þe wiccung-dome wrættum gebunden	it will be granted that the English people, a tried and true troop of retainers, those who by witchcraft craftily confined
75	for-gyted and for-gymed þisne þe hire God sealde, wuldres wealdend, weorðmynda dæl, on eðel-londe,	forget and neglect what their God gave, the ruler of glory, this share of honors in the native land,
80	oðre siðe, gaste gefysed, fugle gelicost, wudu-holt wynlic willsum geþence	at another time, urged by the spirit, most like a bird, ready will think of the joyful forest
85	Scede-londum in, scopas and witan, hæleða dream, Dena and Wedera! Þonne forstes bend,	in Scandinavia, the poets and sages, the joy of men, of Danes and of Geats! When he loosens
90	fæteras onlæted, on-winded wæl-rapas he þe ge-weald hafað sæla and mæla (þæt is soð Metod!)	frost's bonds and fetters, unwinds the flood ropes, he who has power over times and seasons (that is the true Measurer!)
95	Fugelas singað sunne bewitigað wuldor-torhtan weder; þa is winter scacen, ge-frætwed foldan bearm	the birds will sing, the sun will observe the gloriously bright weather; then winter is past, the bosom of the earth adorned
100	fægerlice! Ða beoð eað-fynde æt Ida-wealde tæfla gyldenne in gærs-tune,	beautifully! Then will be easily found at Ida wood the golden dice in the meadow,
105	swycle in gear-dægum dom-fæste ahton Wodan and Frea, Welandes laf; þa is gear gylden	as in days of yore the renowned Wodan and Frea possessed the heirloom of Weland; then the golden year
110	in geardas cumen, lixeð se leoma ofer landa fela, fugel feðrum strong,	will have come into the homesteads, the light will shine over many a land, the bird strong in feathers,

115	se is Fenix haten, weardað his eðel-þyrf eall bið geniwad, feorh and feder-homa, swa he æt frymðe wæs, þa hine ærest God	who is called the Phoenix, will guard his native soil; all will be renewed, life and feather-raiment, as it was in the beginning, when God first set him
120	on þone æðelan wong sigor-fæst sette swegle to-geanes!	on the noble plain victorious against the sky!

The poem consists of four sections, beginning with Beowulf's own words (lines 1-26), moving to the *Beowulf* poet's building Beowulf's barrow (lines 27-68), then to a hope for the English that they will remember Scandinavia (lines 69-88), and finally to God's bringing spring, birdsong, and the Phoenix to the world (lines 89-122).

Section one containing Beowulf's last words in which he commands a barrow to be built sets the scene for the memorialization of the hero. Beowulf's speech comes directly from Grundtvig's edition of the original OE text (lines 5,594-5,609; 5,626-5,633), and, significantly, his Danish-ing of those lines comes directly from the end of the sixteenth song in the second edition of his translation of *Beowulf*, which would be published in 1865.<sup>30</sup> In Danish-ing the speech, Grundtvig has Beowulf quip, "Brat har Aske jeg for Been" (soon I'll have ashes for bones, line vii) and adds a *bautasten* (a tall stone monument or monolith, line ix) on top of Beowulf's burial mound.<sup>31</sup> *Beowulfes Beorh* (Beowulf's Barrow) in the OE becomes in the Danish *Bjovulfs Grav* (Beowulf's Grave, line xvi), the literal, physical place for the internment of Beowulf's ashes.<sup>32</sup>

In section two of the OE poem, containing two long quotations from the original (lines 36-44 [6,185-6,193 in Grundtvig's edition] and lines 51-68 [3,381-3,384; 3,705-3,710; 3,717-3,724]), Grundtvig brings Beowulf's *scop* into the narrative as the builder of Beowulf's physical barrow. Lines 47-50 are crucial ones for Grundtvig's vision of the *Beowulf* poet, the poem, and the burial mound. The poet literally built the latter above the place of the funeral pyre, and *Beowulfes Beorh* is therefore liter-

<sup>30</sup> Grundtvig 1865, 202-203.

<sup>31</sup> Grundtvig 1861, v. See Robinson 1993, 302-303 for an English translation of the Danish.

<sup>32</sup> Grundtvig 1861, iv-v.

ally translated, not Danished, in line xvi. But in lines xlvii-l in the Danish translation, the poet follows the literal creation of the barrow with its creation *meaglum wordum* (in hearty words). The poem itself thus metaphorically becomes Beowulf's Barrow, the resting place containing Beowulf's whole narrative, his rise to glory, his fame, his death. With the introduction of those powerful words and metaphor comes the poetic heritage of the north. Grundtvig lauds the *Beowulf* poet, saying he was peerless like Beowulf while he enjoyed the skald's life in the land of the Angles.

	Som i Valhal Brage, sad	Like Bragi in Valhalla, you
	Du paa Heltegrave,	sat on the hero's grave,
	Mageløst er end dit Kvad	your poem still peerless
	Mellem begge Have,	between the seas,
xlv	Ligner mest en Konge-Hal,	resembling most a royal hall
	Bygt af Bautastene,	built of monoliths,
	Runerne i Tusindtal	runes in the thousands
	Konstig sig forene,	artfully uniting
	Til at sees over Strand	to be seen clearly across the shore
l	Hundred Danske Mile,	a hundred Danish miles away
	Klarlig hvor i Daneland	where in Denmark
	Hrodgar sank til Hvile,	Hrodgar sank to rest,
	Til at staves med Bedrift	to be spelled out with exploits
	I de stille Kamre,	in the still chambers
lv	Som en herlig Billedskrift	like a glorious picture-script
	Fra de høie Hamre!	from the high hammers! <sup>33</sup>

*Beorb Beowulfes*, not literally translated at all from line 47 of the OE, has been transmuted into a peerless poem resembling a royal hall, and the *Beowulf* poet becomes associated with Bragi, the Norse god of poetry. Through the transmutation and the association, all quarrels between Danes and Geats are reconciled, and the ship crossing Øresund

	Budskab immer bringe,	always brings a message
	Mest om Hjertets grønne Lund	mostly of the heart's green grove
	Og dets gyldne Ringe,	and its golden rings,
	Uden Sorg og Mistillid,	without sorrow or distrust,
lxx	Som i Fredegodes Tid!	as in [Frode] Fredegod's time. <sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Grundtvig 1861, vii-ix.

<sup>34</sup> Grundtvig 1861, ix.

Section three of the OE poem, containing one short quotation from the original (lines 75-78 [3,495-3,498]), prays for the inclusion of the Angles in the reconciliation between the Danes and the Geats. Grundtvig hopes that they will be urged by the spirit, *fugle gelicost* (most like a bird, line 82), to think about the joyful forest of Scandinavia and its poets and sages. The words “forest” and “bird” anticipate what will come in the final section of the poem, where both undergo significant change. Grundtvig’s Danishing of this section emphasizes the alienation of the Angles from the north, hopes they will remember the home of the Vanir and tear off the Grendel hand that caused that alienation, and predicts that we will soon hear a swan song from Avon (lines lxxix-lxxx). The bird representing the spirit now becomes the Swan of Avon, Shakespeare himself.

The last section of the OE poem, containing two short quotations from the original (lines 89-94 [3,211-3,216] and 97-99 [2,265-2,267]), brings an end to winter and the advent of spring. The bird in line 82 becomes birds in line 95, and the Scandinavian forest in line 83 moves to the realm of Norse myth in Ida wood or *Íðavölfr*, where the Norse gods meet, in line 102. Wodan and Frea, in possession of an heirloom of Weland’s, are there in lines 107-108. The golden year has now come (line 109) bringing light (line 111), the Phoenix (lines 113-114, the final transformation of the bird and birds in lines 82 and 95), renewal, and rebirth (lines 116-122) with it.

Grundtvig’s Danishing of this section illuminates what has transpired. He begins with the Phoenix speeding through the air singing praises, carrying its father’s burnt bones in a basket of flowers, then singing loudly on a beech branch about a *Fimbul-Sommer* (a mighty summer, line xc) that will turn into three. The Swan of Avon in lines lxxix-lxxx has become the mythical Phoenix. The snow will melt even on Glacier Mountain, the runoff like three golden rivers reaching its final destination and moving old brotherhood to acknowledge itself:

	Dan og Angul midt paa Hav Trykke Broder-Hænder, Medens Heimdals Systre ni, Øre-Sunds Havfruer,	Dan and Angul in the middle of the sea will shake fraternal hands while Heimdall’s nine sisters, Øresund’s mermaids,
cv	Dandse syngende forbi. <sup>35</sup>	dance by, singing.

<sup>35</sup> Grundtvig 1861, xi.

They sing about the white god, Heimdall, on Heaven Mountain, his home. Then golden words are found on Ida-Plain, and a game ensues. “Voves alt paa Lykke-Spil, / Hvori alle vinde”<sup>36</sup> (all is ventured in a game of chance where all may win, lines cxvii-cxviii), the poem ends, calling to mind the concluding stanzas of the Old Norse *Völuspá* dealing with the rebirth of the world after *Ragnarök*. Grundtvig’s OE poem has been reborn in a new, expansive, Danish vision of the reunification of the Nordic peoples, including the English.

As with his first OE poem from 1820, Grundtvig mines *Beowulf* and other OE texts, mainly poetic, for his new OE song in 1861 as the table below reveals. Most striking about the table is its showing that throughout his OE poem, Grundtvig quotes large portions of *Beowulf* from his own edition even as he rearranges those portions to suit his purpose. In fact, only 34 of the 122 lines come from other sources, and of those 34, eleven come from *The Phoenix* (lines 79, 83, 113-114, and 116-121). By depending so greatly on the text of *Beowulf* in this poem, Grundtvig increasingly identifies himself not just with the OE *scop* he was becoming in his 1820 OE poem, but specifically with the *scop* of *Beowulf*.

Line #	Sources for Grundtvig’s 1861 OE Poem with Modern Line Numbers
1	<i>Beo</i> 529a, 957a, 1383a, 1651a, 1817a
2	Grundtvig
3-18	<i>Beo</i> 2801a-2808b
19-26	<i>Beo</i> 2817a-2820b
27	Grundtvig
28	A common phrase that occurs frequently in the corpus. It occurs in <i>Beo</i> at 776b, 837b, 1955b, 2685b, 2837b
29	Grundtvig
30-31	<i>Beo</i> 869b-870a
32	Exact phrase occurs in <i>Jud</i> 0014 (46). Possibly similar phrase occurs in <i>Beo</i> 2567a “winia bealdor.”

<sup>36</sup> Grundtvig 1861, cxvii-cxviii.

33	Grundtvig
34	Grundtvig
35	Possibly derived from <i>Beo</i> 2803b, “hlæw gewyrcean.”
36-44	<i>Beo</i> 3096b-3100b
45-46	<i>Beo</i> 3158
47	Grundtvig variation on <i>Beo</i> 2807a
48	Grundtvig
49	Grundtvig
50	<i>Beo</i> 1980a
51-54	<i>Beo</i> 1694a-1695b
55-60	<i>Beo</i> 1856a-1858b
61-68	<i>Beo</i> 1862a-1865b
69-70	<i>Beo</i> 299
71	Grundtvig
72	þegna-heap: <i>Beo</i> 400a, 1627a; <i>And</i> 0213 (696); <i>El</i> 0158 (549)
73	wiccung-dom: <i>Dan</i> 0035 (120)
74	<i>Beo</i> 1531b
75-78	<i>Beo</i> 1751a-1752b
79	eðel-londe: <i>GenA,B</i> 0446 (1376), 0603 (1964); <i>Dan</i> 0012 (35); <i>GuthA,B</i> 0195 (651); <i>Phoen</i> 0067 (276)
80	Grundtvig
81	gefysed: Likely from <i>Beo</i> 217b given the next line.
82	<i>Beo</i> 218b
83	<i>Phoen</i> 0011 (33)
84	Grundtvig
85	<i>Beo</i> 19b
86	Grundtvig

87	<i>Beo</i> 497b
88	<i>Beo</i> 498b
89-94	<i>Beo</i> 1609a-1611b
95	<i>Finn</i> 5b
96	bewitigað: Probably derived from <i>Beo</i> 1135b given the next three lines.
97-99	Derived from <i>Beo</i> 1136a-1137a, “wuldor-torhtan weder. Ða wæs winter scacen, fæger foldan bearm.”
100	fægerlice: <i>ÆLet</i> 4 0231 (1143); <i>LS</i> 9 0145 (386); <i>HomU</i> 0029 (35)
101	eað-fynde: <i>Beo</i> 138a; <i>GenA,B</i> 0612 (1993)
102	Grundtvig
103	Grundtvig
104	gærs-tune: <i>LawIneRb</i> 0043 (42); <i>LawIne</i> 0070 (42); <i>Ch</i> 340 0006 (4), 0007 (5); <i>Ch</i> 605 0002 (3), 0010 (24); <i>Ch</i> 664 0014 (9), 0015 (9); <i>Ch</i> 1314 0009 (8); <i>Ch</i> 1370 0021 (24); <i>HlGl</i> ( <i>Oliphant</i> ) 1721 (C2128)
105	No clear source for the whole line, though obviously “in gear-dagum” is pretty common and occurs in <i>Beo</i> at 1b, 1354a, and 2233a.
106	dom-fæste: <i>GenA,B</i> 0417 (1285), 0481 (1503), 0554 (1784), 0736 (2377); <i>Fates</i> 0003 (4); <i>GuthA,B</i> 0322 (1081); <i>Az</i> 0025 (97); <i>LPr I</i> 0004 (6); <i>PsGll</i> 1562 (100.1)
107	Grundtvig
108	Welandes: <i>Beo</i> 445a; <i>Met</i> 0126 (10.33), 0127 (10.35), 0129 (10.42); <i>WaldA</i> 0001 (1); <i>WaldB</i> 0003 (6); <i>Ch</i> 367 0008 (7); <i>Ch</i> 564 0010 (11)
109	Grundtvig
110	Grundtvig
111-12	<i>Beo</i> 311

113-14	<i>Phoen</i> 0022 (85)
115	Grundtvig
116-21	<i>Phoen</i> 0068 (279)
122	<i>Phoen</i> 0029 (120)

By opening his poem with Beowulf's final utterance before being immolated and closing it with reference to the mythical bird that rises from its own ashes, Grundtvig announces the rebirth and renewal of the epic *Beowulf*.<sup>37</sup> This transformation comes first in his edition of the poem and then in his Danishing of it in the second edition of his 1820 translation, improved in light of the edition.

The 1865 version of *Bjovulfs-Drape* is significantly re-subtitled as *et høi-nordisk heltedigt fra Anguls-Tungen fordansket* (a High Nordic Heroic Poem Danished from Angul's Tongue) instead of the original *Et Gothisk Helte-Digt fra forrige Aar-Tusinde af Angel-Saxisk paa Danske Riim* (a Gothic Heroic Poem in Anglo-Saxon from the Previous Millennium in Danish Rhyme). It benefitted greatly from Grundtvig's work editing the original OE text. The twenty songs of the 1820 translation shrink to seventeen in 1865, but the 5,719 lines of the first edition swell to 5,988 in the second. Kemp Malone offered a thorough analysis of the revisions in 1960<sup>38</sup>.

One revision Malone does not note, however, is in the front matter of the revised translation. Instead of reprinting the 1820 OE poem, Grundtvig replaces it with the Danish translation of his 1861 OE poem but excludes the OE poem itself. The Danish translation remains unaltered except that Grundtvig corrects *Heimdals Systre ni* (Heimdall's nine sisters, line ciii) to *Heimdals modre ni* (Heimdall's nine mothers)<sup>39</sup> and prefaces the poem with twenty-eight more lines of verse. Ægir, the personified sea and host to the gods, is in the first line then joined by Bragi, the skald of Valhalla

<sup>37</sup> Beginning in 1816 with Grundtvig's poem "Danevirke," the Phoenix myth plays a central role in Grundtvig's view of the world as a symbol for rebirth and renewal. Besides poems on the Phoenix in his 1840 edition of the OE *The Phoenix*, Grundtvig produced five poems on the myth or inspired in some way by the OE poem: "Fønix-Gaarden" in 1836; "Fugl Fønix" and "Fugle-kvidder" in 1840; and "Phenix-fuglen" and "Phenixfuglen" in 1853.

<sup>38</sup> Malone 1960, especially 21-22.

<sup>39</sup> Grundtvig 1865, vii.



in Odin's hall, who invites the reader in to enjoy Sleipnir, Odin's horse, as his or her own. He continues:

	Kom og lad med Lyst og Gammen,	Come and with delight and merriment,
	Efter Skaldas gamle Ord,	after the skalds' old words,
	Os som Venner tale sammen	let us talk together as friends
	Om hvad Guld blev kaldt i Nord!	of what Gold came to be called in the North!
xxv	Guldet, efter all Mærker,	Gold, according to all the signs,
	End er Lyset i din Hall,	still is the light in your hall;
	Nordens Aand dets Glands forstæker,	the North's spirit enhances its luster;
	Klart er det hos Bjovulfs Skjald. <sup>40</sup>	it is evident in Beowulf's skald.

Grundtvig had written about *Nordens Aand* previously in a poem of that title published in 1834 that begins “Gik jeg drømmende i Lunden” (I walked dreaming in the grove) and that celebrates the spirit of the North in England<sup>41</sup>; he wrote another poem in the same year entitled *Nordens Guld* (Gold of the North) that begins with lines from the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth songs of Grundtvig's 1820 translation of *Beowulf*.<sup>42</sup> He returns to the ideas in those two poems here in distilled form in 1865: the spirit of the North animates *Beowulf*; one major piece of Nordic gold. The poem has come home; the Phoenix has risen, leaving its ashes (the original OE text) behind; and it has also risen from Grundtvig's own OE poem from 1861, the ashes of which give birth to his Danish translation. Grundtvig the apprentice OE *scop* in 1820 transitions to Grundtvig the seasoned OE *scop* parallel to the *Beowulf scop* in 1861 and finally to Grundtvig the *Beowulf scop* himself in 1865. Bragi, in fact, identifies the author (Grundtvig) of what follows the 28-line introduction as “Bjovulfs skjald.” In the end, then, Grundtvig is no longer Grundtvig and “No longer [the *Beowulf* poet's] interpreter, but he.” He has become Beowulf's *scop*, an OE *leoðwyrhta* and *wodþora*.

<sup>40</sup> Grundtvig 1865, iii-iv.

<sup>41</sup> Grundtvig 1834a. On this poem, see Grell 1992, 141-143.

<sup>42</sup> Grundtvig 1834b.

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