

# **“To establish a free and open forum”: A memoir of the founding of the Grundtvig Society**

*By S. A. J. Bradley*

With the passing of William Michelsen (b. 1913) in October 2001 died the last of the founding fathers of *Grundtvig-Selskabet af 8. september 1947* [The Grundtvig Society of 8 September 1947] and of *Grundtvig-Studier* [Grundtvig Studies] the Society's year-book.<sup>1</sup> It was an appropriate time to recall, indeed to honour, the vision and the enthusiasm of that small group of Grundtvig-scholars – some very reverend and others just a touch irreverent, from several different academic disciplines and callings but all linked by their active interest in Grundtvig – who gathered in the bishop's residence at Ribe in September 1947, to see what might come out of a cross-disciplinary discussion of their common subject. Only two years after the trauma of world war and the German occupation of Denmark, and amid all the post-war uncertainties, they talked of Grundtvig through the autumn night until, as the clock struck midnight and heralded Grundtvig's birthday, 8 September, they formally resolved to establish a society that would serve as a free and open forum for the advancement of Grundtvig studies. The biographies of the principal names involved – who were not only theologians and educators but also historians and, conspicuously, literary scholars concerned with Grundtvig the poet – and the story of this post-war burgeoning of the scholarly reevaluation of Grundtvig's achievements, legacy and significance, form a remarkable testimony to the integration of the Grundtvig inheritance in the mainstream of Danish life in almost all its departments, both before and after the watershed of the Second World War. More than forty years later, in 1991, one of them, Henning Høirup, by then himself a bishop, wrote in his memoirs the following account of the gathering in Ribe's *bispegaard* and its fruitful consequences, among which was the establishment of this journal. It may be of particular interest and some use to *Grundtvig-Studier's* non-Danish, English-speaking readers to reproduce and translate that account here and to furnish some notes on personalities and events mentioned.

From Henning Høirup, *Så fjern og dog så nær. Erindringer* (Poul Kristensens Forlag, Herning, Denmark, 1991), pp. 160-165. Reprinted with permission.<sup>2</sup>

*The Grundtvig Society of 8 September 1947*

In September 1947, together with my three “royal” (Library)<sup>3</sup> comrades, Steen Johansen,<sup>4</sup> Michelsen and Toldberg,<sup>5</sup> I was guest in the homes of Bishop C. I. Scharling,<sup>6</sup> Dr.Phil., and Dean Villiam Grønbæk,<sup>7</sup> Dr.Theol., in Ribe. The invitation from these two “very reverend and very learned” clerics, who were known as leading figures in “the third way”<sup>8</sup> – the last-named was Kirkeligt Centrum’s chairman – we had perhaps received with a certain amount of scepticism, but this was quite put to shame.

Our two hosts were zealously researching in Grundtvig. The dear bishop was just putting the finishing touches to his thoroughgoing work on “Grundtvig and Romanticism” and the dean was studying Grundtvig’s psychological thinking. They turned out to be three memorable days in which, in the bishop’s residence, we all gave an account of our objectives and areas of study, and thereafter exchanged views about problems in Grundtvig-research. We were agreed that continued cross-disciplinary discussions would benefit work upon so many-sided an œuvre as Grundtvig’s.<sup>9</sup>

On Sunday 7 September, after discussion of the evening’s topic, debate turned towards directly founding a society for the advancement of collaboration in research and for the publication of scholarly document-based studies of Grundtvig’s work. This idea I had discussed a short while previously with Bishop Øllgaard<sup>10</sup> at the “workshop” when he suggested calling a future year-book *Grundtvig-Studier*. This name won approval with us in Ribe – the hour was about to strike.

When the grandfather clock struck twelve that night there was solemn festivity, as at New Year, in the bishop’s study, where lithographs of Grundtvig’s declared adversaries Mynster<sup>11</sup> and Martensen<sup>12</sup> stared down – astonished? – from the wall, flanking Tuxen’s painting<sup>13</sup> of Professor Henrik Scharling,<sup>14</sup> the bishop’s father, who as long as he lived waged a bitter polemic against Grundtvigianism. In the hour after midnight we resolved to set up a free and open forum for Grundtvig-research.

Next day, on Grundtvig’s birthday, 8 September, the foundational meeting took place. We drafted rules and resolved to seek to widen the circle of founding members with, among others, Bishop Øllgaard, professors Poul Andersen<sup>15</sup> and Hal Koch<sup>16</sup> and the literary historians Gustav Albeck,<sup>17</sup> Georg Christensen<sup>18</sup> and Magnus Stevns.<sup>19</sup> Toldberg was appointed to function as secretary and I as editor of *Grundtvig-Studier*.

## Grundtvig-Selskabet af 8. september 1947

I september 1947 var jeg sammen med mine tre »kongelige« (Biblioteks) kammerater Steen Johansen, Michelsen og Toldberg gæster i biskop, Dr. phil. C. I. Scharling og stiftsprovst, Dr. theol. Villiam Grønbaeks hjem i Ribe. Indbydelsen fra disse to »højærværdige og højlærde« gejstlige, der var kendt som ledere i »tredie retning« – sidstnævnte var Kirkeligt Centrums formand – havde vi måske modtaget med en vis skepsis, men den blev ganske gjort til skamme.

Vore to værter forskede Grundtvig med iver. Den elskelige biskop var ved at lægge sidste hånd på sit indgående arbejde om »Grundtvig og Romantiken«, og stiftsprovsten studerede Grundtvigs psykologiske tanker. Det blev tre ihukommelsesværdige døgn, hvor vi i bispegården alle redegjorde for vore studiemål og -områder, og derefter forhandlede om Grundtvig-forskningens problemer. Vi var enige om, at fortsatte tværfaglige drøftelser ville gavne arbejdet med en så mangesidig indsats som Grundtvigs.

Søndag den 7. september, efter drøftelsen af aftenens emne, drejede debatten ind på ligefrem at stifte et selskab til fremme af samarbejde i forskningen og til udgivelse af dokumentarisk-videnskabelige undersøgelser af Grundtvigs værk. Den tanke havde jeg kort forinden drøftet med biskop Øllgaard på »arbejdskonventet«, hvor han foreslog at kalde et kommende årsskrift *Grundtvig-Studier*. Dette navn vandt bifald hos os i Ribe – klokken var ved at gå i slag.

Da standuret slog tolv den nat, var der højtid, som ved nytår, i bispekontoret, hvor litografier af Grundtvigs erklærede modstandere Mynster og Martensen stirrede – undrende? – ned fra væggen, flankerende Tuxens maleri af professor Henrik Scharling, biskoppens fader, der livet lang førte en bidsk polemik mod grundtvigianismen. I timen efter midnat vedtog vi at oprette et frit og åbent forum for Grundtvig-forskningen.

[161] Næste dag, på Grundtvigs fødselsdag den 8. september, fandt det stiftende møde sted. Vi gjorde udkast til love og vedtog at søge kredsens af stiftende medlemmer udvidet med bl.a. biskop Øllgaard, professorerne Poul Andersen og Hal Koch og litteraturhistorikerne Gustav Albeck, Georg Christensen og Magnus Stevns. Toldberg blev sat i funktion som sekretær og jeg som redaktør af Grundtvig-Studier.

The Ribe meeting was not convened with the establishment of the Grundtvig Society in view. The decision grew out of an awareness of the value which the incipient working-partnership brought with it. But would we now also succeed in interesting a sufficiently large circle in our plan?

The nominated co-founders all rallied round, and *Thorvald Balslev*,<sup>20</sup> the priest at Vartov,<sup>21</sup> also joined. There, at Vartov, we held the inaugural meeting in January 1948, when *Scharling* was elected chairman. Despite his demanding position, and in a daily struggle against illness, he with his inspiring personality, amenable to negotiation, made a real contribution as bridge-builder between the three main groupings in our society, the humanistic, the theological and the pedagogic. He was in high degree suited to the task of bringing scholars with varying viewpoints into dialogue. After his death in 1951 *Ernst J. Borup*,<sup>22</sup> superintendent at Vartov, said with justice that through Scharling's collaboration the Grundtvig Society "had been raised above that characteristic of narrowness of direction it might otherwise have acquired."

The January meeting's participants immediately laid out a "foundation subscription" so that the elected treasurer, parish priest *Morten Øllgaard*,<sup>23</sup> had a cash balance. The vice-chairman, the teacher-training college principal *Georg Christensen*, and I went to Klareboderne and negotiated with Gyldendal's all-powerful director, *Ingeborg Andersen*.<sup>24</sup> Smoking – and offering round – Punch-cigars, she took on Grundtvig-Studier at publisher's cost, no less, although she did make it clear that it was risky venture which would no doubt prove itself unprofitable.

When we proposed a print run of 2,000 copies she replied: "Good heavens! A "learned society" in Denmark can reckon on 250 members at most. You would know that if you were members of the Holberg Society!"<sup>25</sup> Such publications sell lamentably badly. Two thousand, gentlemen! We could not even offload certain of Georg Brandes'<sup>26</sup> things, in his last decades, in 750 copies!" But even so it ended up with our year-book being printed in 1,000 copies.

In January an invitation to membership subscription went out, after the circle of founders was augmented by, among others, *Kaj Thaning*<sup>27</sup> and highschool teacher *Holger Kjær*,<sup>28</sup> Askov.<sup>29</sup> But by August only some 250 subscribers had as yet signed up despite Toldberg's enthusiasm as recruiting officer, including through press and radio. However, we did just exceed Gyldendal's hard-headed prophecy: the membership tally at the first annual meeting in 1948 was 333, whereas 500-600 had been set as the target.

Ribemødet var ikke sammenkaldt med stiftelsen af Grundtvig-Selskabet for øje. Beslutningen groede frem under indtrykket af den værdi, som det begyndende arbejdsfællesskab indebar. Men ville det nu også lykkes at interessere en tilstrækkelig stor kreds for vor plan?

De foreslåede medstiftere sluttede alle op, yderligere tilkom *Th. Balslev*, præst ved Vartov. Der holdt vi konstituerende møde i januar 1948, hvor *Scharling* blev valgt til formand. Trods sit krævende embede, og under daglig kamp med sygdom, ydede han med sin forhandlingsåbne og inspirerende personlighed en virkelig indsats som brobygger mellem de tre hovedgrupper i vort selskab, den humanistiske, den teologiske og den pædagogiske. Han var i udpræget grad egnet til at bringe forskere med forskellig indfaldsvinkel på talefod. Efter hans død i 1951 sagde forstander *Ernst J. Borup*, Vartov, med rette, at Grundtvig-Selskabet ved Scharlings medvirken »blev løftet ud over det snævre retningspræg, det ellers kunne have fået.«

Januar-mødets deltagere erlagde straks et »stifterkontingent«, så den valgte kasserer, sognepræst *Marten Øllgaard* fik en kassebeholdning. Næstformanden, seminarieforstander *Georg Christensen* og jeg gik i Klareboderne og forhandlede med Gyldendals almægtige direktør, *Ingeborg Andersen*. Rygende – og bydende på – Punch-cigar tog hun sandelig Grundtvig-Studier på *forlag*, selvom hun klargjorde, at det var et vovestykke, der nok ville vise sig urentabelt.

Da vi foreslog et oplag på 2.000, replicerede hun: »Men kære dog! Et 'lærd selskab' kan i Danmark højst påregne 250 medlemmer. Det ville De vide, hvis De var medlemmer af Holberg-Samfundet! Slige publikationer sælges sørgelig slet. To tusind, mine Herrer! Vi kunne sågar ikke engang afsætte visse af Georg Brandes' ting i hans sidste årtier i 750 eksemplarer!« Det endte dog med, at vort årsskrift blev trykt i 1.000 eks.

[162] I januar udgik indbydelse til medlemstegning, efter at kredsen af stiftere var øget med bl.a. *Kaj Thaning* og højskolelærer *Holger Kjær*, Askov. Men endnu i august havde kun godt 250 tegnet sig, trods Toldbergs ildhu som hverver, også via presse og radio. Gyldendals nøgterne profeti overtraf vi dog en smule: medlemstallet var 333 ved første årsmøde 1948, hvor 500-600 blev sat som mål.

As far as the print run was concerned, Ingeborg Andersen proved right. The two first years did not pay their way as a publisher's commodity, and with and from 1950 Grundtvig-Studier went on to a commission basis. The director said, apologetically: "Yes, an enterprise like this often grinds to a halt after a couple of years!" But fortunately the year-book lived on. Looking back, I can say in truth: Praised be those charitable foundations and funds whose well-springs, in situations of crisis, always miraculously opened themselves!

Therefore we could also manage the issue of the long series – now over 21 volumes<sup>30</sup> – *Skifter udgivet af Grundtvig-Selskabet*, which started in 1949 with my doctoral thesis<sup>31</sup> and subsequently included four more Danish ones – by Toldberg,<sup>32</sup> Michelsen,<sup>33</sup> Thaning<sup>34</sup> and Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen,<sup>35</sup> together with one Swedish by Harry Aronson<sup>36</sup> and one Norwegian by Sigurd Aarnes.<sup>37</sup>

The 25 years I carried responsibility in the Society's executive committee, first as editor, then as chairman, were a chapter of my life so rich in content that I must now lay a restraint upon myself – or else my memories of faithful fellow workers and unflagging comrades in arms will exceed all bounds.

One name there is which must be set in italics in even the briefest outline of the Grundtvig Society's history: *Gustav Albeck*.<sup>38</sup> Still, at the time of writing, he stands, as an 85-year-old, in the front line; and there he has been from the outset in January 1948, when he gave the day's lecture "On Grundtvig's poetic collections" – a pregnant prelude to his principal work of the same title. Never before had these poems, which were torn to pieces by their own generation and virtually ignored by posterity until Hal Koch<sup>39</sup> reversed the trend in 1940, been so thoroughly and profitably examined. New light continues to be shed upon that wealth of experiences and visions which nurtured Grundtvig's poetry.

Albeck has taken care of the editing of Grundtvig-Studier uninterruptedly since 1953 – from 1972 together with Michelsen who that year also became the Society's chairman – and during the whole of that period he has taken a decisive part in the entire work of the Society, with meetings and seminars, publications and research undertakings. Those joys which collaboration with Albeck has given me are beyond tally, but thanks can be expressed for his fellowship which has been unswerving and for friendship without blemish or flaw.

At our first annual meeting, *Magnus Stevns* spoke on "The Kingohymn and Grundtvig". He was then terminally ill, broken down by that insidious sickness which so early hampered his research. That he managed to speak, brought from his sickbed – and to speak as he did –

Hvad oplaget angår, fik Ingeborg Andersen ret: de to første årgange svarede sig ikke som forlagsartikel, og fra og med 1950 overgik Grundtvig-Studier i kommission. Direktøren sagde beklagende: »Ja, sådan et foretagende går jo ofte i stå efter et par år!« Men heldigvis levede årbogen videre. Tilbageskuende kan jeg med sandhed sige: Lovet være de legatstiftelser og fonds, hvis kilder i krisesituationer stedse mirakuløst åbnede sig!

Derfor kunne vi også klare udsendelsen af den lange række – nu over 21 bind – *Skrifter udgivet af Grundtvig-Selskabet*, der startede i 1949 med min disputats og siden bragte endnu fire danske, af Toldberg, Michelsen, Thaning og Fl. Lundgreen-Nielsen, samt en svensk af Harry Aronson og en norsk af Sigurd Aarnes.

De 25 år, jeg bar ansvar i Selskabets forretningsudvalg, først som redaktør, siden som formand, blev så indholdsrigt et kapitel af mit liv, at jeg nu må lægge bånd på mig selv – ellers vil mine minder om trofaste værkfæller og udholdende medkæmpere løbe over alle bredder.

Eet navn er der, som må sættes med kursiv i selv det korteste rids af Grundtvig-Selskabets historie: *Gustav Albeck*. Endnu i skrivende stund står han, som 85-årig, i frontlinien, og der har han været fra »løbet gik« i januar 1948: da holdt han dagens foredrag: »Omkring Grundtvigs Digtsamlinger«, et prægnant præludium til hans hovedværk med samme titel. Aldrig før er disse digte, der blev sablet ned af samtiden, og næsten forbigået af eftertiden, til Hal Koch slog kontra i 1940, blevet så grundigt og givende undersøgt. Der kastes bestandig nyt lys over den fylde af erfaringer og visioner, som fostrede Grundtvigs digtning.

Albeck har varetaget redaktionen af Grundtvig-Studier uafbrudt siden 1953 – fra 1972 sammen med Michelsen, der det år også blev Selskabets formand – og i hele denne periode har [163] han taget afgørende del i hele Selskabets virke med møder og seminarer, udgivelser og forskningsopgaver. De glæder, som samarbejdet med Albeck har givet mig, kan ikke gøres op, men der kan siges tak for hans fællesskab, der var ubrydeligt, og for venskab uden plet og lyde.

Ved vort første årsmøde talte *Magnus Stevns* om »Kingo-salmen og Grundtvig«. Han stod da på falderebet, nedbrudt af den snigende sygdom, som så tidlig hæmmede hans forskning. At han kom til at tale, hentet fra sygelejet – og tale som han gjorde –

was in reality a marvel. With his outstanding knowledge of the hymn-manuscripts he combined his deep engagement so finely as to be unforgettable.

I at once asked him for the manuscript for the year-book (where it appeared in 1949<sup>40</sup>) but he wanted to rework it first. I did not receive it until a few weeks before his death, which terminated his vital collaboration in the republication of Grundtvig's Sangværk<sup>41</sup> Stevns had confided in me that the lecture was merely "a few bits of wreckage from his stranded doctoral thesis" on Grundtvig's hymns. His widow gave Steen Johansen and me access to his surviving papers. Unfortunately the many notes were so fragmentary that we did not find it right to include them in our publication of his collected, printed Grundtvig-treatises: *Fra Grundtvig's Salmeværksted*.<sup>42</sup> The Society has subsequently set up the *Magnus Stevns' Memorial Fund*<sup>43</sup> for the promotion of the study of Grundtvig's hymn-writing.

From the start it appeared to us a desideratum to prepare a complete edition of Grundtvig's authorship, which is deemed to be of an extent as enormous as Luther's. It would amount to about 150 thick volumes if one includes the bulk of the prodigiously many unprinted sermons, treatises and preliminary drafts which he left behind him.<sup>44</sup>

The Royal Library's *Grundtvig Archive* is the largest private archive in Denmark from the 19th century. *Edvard Lehmann*<sup>45</sup> paid "a dutiful visit" to it when – con eleganza, but somewhat perfunctorily – he wrote his book on Grundtvig. He glanced here and there in a couple of the 535 packets but speedily returned the dusty pile as he delivered his snappy verdict to the librarian: "This is much like an eagle's nest, difficult to get at and chock-full of rubbish and muck – but: *an eagle's nest!*"

Before the "great edition" could be planned, it was necessary to undertake a thorough examination of this load of manuscripts, in order to date them and determine their content. How would we get the resources?

A deputation, which boasted dignitaries such as our two bishops, Scharling and Øllgaard, and the professors Hal Koch and Ernst Frandsen<sup>46</sup> along with principal Arnfred, went to see the Education Minister, *Hartvig Frisch*.<sup>47</sup> Though sick, mortally so, he listened attentively, also to us eager younger Hotspurs, expressed great understanding and indeed concluded with a trump, roughly thus: "Yes, it surely has to be worth gold to go digging in Grundtvig. Damn it! I am with you, that the Old Fellow should now pass into the hands of the young."



var i virkeligheden et under. Med sit eminente kendskab til salmemanuskripterne forenede han sin dybe indlevelse så fint, at det ikke glemmes.

Jeg bad ham straks om manuskriptet til årbogen (hvor det kom 1949), men han ville gennemarbejde det forinden. Jeg modtog det først få uger før hans død, der afbrød hans ledende medvirken ved genudgivelsen af Grundtvigs Sang-Værk. Stevns havde betroet mig, at foredraget kun var »lidt vragester fra hans strandede disputats« om Grundtvigs salmer. Hans enke gav Steen Johansen og mig adgang til hans efterladte papirer. Desværre var de mange optegnelser så fragmentariske, at vi fandt det urigtigt at medtage dem i vor udgivelse af hans samlede, trykte Grundtvig-afhandlinger: Fra Grundtvigs Salmeværksted. Siden har Selskabet oprettet *Magnus Stevns' Mindefond*, til fremme af studiet af Grundtvigs salmedigtning.

Fra starten stod det for os som et ønskemål at forberede en fuldstændig udgave af Grundtvigs forfatterskab, der skønnes at have et ligeså enormt omfang som Luthers. Det vil komme op på omkring 150 svære bind, hvis man medtager hovedparten af de uhyre mange utrykte prædikener, skrifter og forarbejder, som han har efterladt.

Det kgl. Biblioteks *Grundtvig-arkiv* er det største privatarkiv i Danmark fra det 19. århundrede. *Edvard Lehmann* aflagde »pligtvisit« i det, da han – con eleganza, men noget letvindt – skrev sin bog om Grundtvig. Han skottede her og der i et par af de 535 pakker, men tilbageleverede snarlig den støvede stak, idet han til bibliotekaren afgav sin rappe kendelse: »Dette er jo nærmest som en ørnerede, svær at komme til og bugnende fuld af skidt og møg – men: en *ørnerede!*«

[164] Inden »den store udgave« kunne planlægges, måtte der foretages en indgående undersøgelse af disse læs af håndskrifter, for at datere og indholdsbestemme dem. Hvordan fik vi midler?

Et udvalg, der talte notabiliteter som vore to biskopper Scharling og Øllgaard, professorerne Hal Koch og Ernst Frandsen samt forstander Arnfred, gik til undervisningsminister *Hartvig Frisch*. Skønt syg, dødsmerket, lyttede han opmærksomt, også til os ivrige yngre hedsporer, udtrykte stor forståelse, ja sluttede med triumf, omtrent sådan: »Ja, det må nok være guld værd at grave i Grundtvig. Sågu'! Jeg er med på, at den Gamle nu kommer i de unges hænder.«

Large grants followed. At the Royal Library the microphotographing of the whole archive was set in train, whereby one could prepare against destruction by wear or by fire. This was Toldberg's idea and it was he who saw it through, so that researchers have since been able to study the papers onscreen. At the same time, together with *Albeck*, *Thaning* and myself, he undertook to organise the examination and to lay down guidelines for the *Registrant over N. F. S. Grundtvigs Papirer* which was published 1957-1964 in 30 volumes (over 7,000 pages).

The Statens almindelige Videnskabsfond<sup>48</sup> gave us, in happy collaboration with Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab,<sup>49</sup> the resources to render the "eagle's nest" accessible. DSL's president, senior librarian Dr. *H. Topsøe-Jensen*,<sup>50</sup> and its equally experienced director, Dr. *Albert Fabritius*,<sup>51</sup> were from start to finish invaluable midwives at the delivery of this mastodon of a task. It has proved itself to serve excellently as an appetiser and as an indispensable tool for research in this previously so unmanageable mine.

Together with Professor *P. Skautrup*<sup>52</sup> I oversaw the publication, and this was a pleasure. The three previously named "registrators" with whom I had worked in the first phase acquired no less than five qualified colleagues: *Steen Johansen*, *Michelsen*, the energetic authority on hymns Pastor *Uffe Hansen*<sup>53</sup> and two excellent younger scholars, *K. E. Bugge*<sup>54</sup> and *Niels Kofoed*,<sup>55</sup> both of whom subsequently wrote Grundtvig-theses on, respectively, his paedagogics, "Skolen for Livet" and on "Grundtvig as self-biographer."<sup>56</sup>

Shortly before the final volume of the Registrant came out, we were all pained to learn of the sudden death of *Helge Toldberg* during a study-visit in London. He was the pioneer in the ordering of the Grundtvig Archive, and just as much gratitude is owed him for the unquenchable energy which led him to seek collaboration with scholars who, whether out of philological, literary, theological, paedagogic, psychological or historical interest, were working with Grundtvig. For these reasons, Toldberg was a "find" as the Grundtvig Society's first secretary, as one tailor-made to facilitate that team-work which brought forth the Registrant, in the hope that this work – as the Afterword says – would "put forth rich fruits in coming generations' work upon Grundtvig's significance for the Danish people."<sup>57</sup>

Der kom store bevillinger. På Det kgl. Bibliotek iværksattes *mikrofotografering* af hele arkivet, hvorved man kunne forebygge ødelæggelse ved slid eller brand. Det var *Toldbergs* ide og ham, der gennemførte den, så forskere siden har kunnet studere papirerne via skærm. Samtidig tog han sammen med *Albeck*, *Thaning* og mig fat på at tilrettelægge selve undersøgelsen og fastlægge retningslinierne for den *Registrant over N. F. S. Grundtvigs Papirer*, som blev udgivet 1957-1964 i 30 bind (over 7.000 sider).

Statens almindelige Videnskabsfond gav os midlerne til, i lykkeligt samarbejde med Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, at gøre »ørnereden« tilgængelig. DSL's formand, overbibliotekar, Dr. *H. Topsøe-Jensen* og dets ligeså erfarne administrator, Dr. *Albert Fabritius*, var fra start til slut uvurderlige fødselshjælpere ved tilblivelsen af dette mastodontværk. Det har vist sig at fungere fortrinligt som appetitvækker og uundværligt redskab for forskningen i den før så uoverskuelige fundgrube.

Sammen med professor *P. Skautrup* førte jeg tilsynet med udgivelsen, og det var en lyst. De tre tidligere nævnte »registratorer«, som jeg havde virket sammen med i første fase, fik hele fem kvalificerede kolleger: *Steen Johansen*, *Michelsen*, den ihærdige salmekender pastor *Uffe Hansen* og to fortrinlige yngre forskere, *K. E. Bugge* og *Niels Kofoed*, som begge siden skrev Grundtvig-afhandlinger, henholdsvis om hans pædagogik: »Skolen for Livet« og om »Grundtvig som selvbiograf«.

Kort før sidste bind af registranten udkom, smertede det os [165] alle at erfare *Helge Toldbergs* bratte død under studieophold i London. Han var pioneren i ordningen af Grundtvig-arkivet, og ligeså megen tak tilkommer der ham for den uslukkkelige energi, der førte ham til at søge samarbejde med forskere, der enten ud fra filologiske, litterære, teologiske, pædagogiske, psykologiske eller historiske interesser arbejdede med Grundtvig. Derfor var Toldberg som Grundtvig-Selskabets første sekretær et »fund« – som skabt til at formidle det team-work, der frembragte registranten i håbet om, at dette værk – som Efterordet siger – ville »sætte sig rige frugter i de kommende generationers arbejde med Grundtvigs betydning for det danske folk«.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> William Michelsen, 1913-2001, graduated *cand. mag.* University of Copenhagen 1939, was not a theologian by formal training, his publishing debut (1943) being a book on the tragedies of Adam Oehlenschläger. Soon after his involvement in the launch of the new initiative in Grundtvig studies with the establishment of the Grundtvig-Selskab in 1947 he published (1948) the essay *Det særegne i Grundtvigs digtning* [The peculiar characteristics of Grundtvig's poetry], and in 1954 published his doctoral thesis as *Tilblivelsen af Grundtvigs Historiesyn* [The genesis of Grundtvig's perception of history]. This was followed in 1956 by his *Den sælsomme forvandling i N. F. S. Grundtvigs liv* [The strange metamorphosis in NFSG's life], an extension of his study of Grundtvig's philosophy of history after the turning-point of 1810. He collaborated in the compilation of the monumental *Registrant over N. F. S. Grundtvigs Papirer* (published 1957-1964). After a period (1942-50) teaching Danish language and literature at Uppsala University, and a period (1950-67) teaching at Roskilde Cathedral School, he was from 1968 Reader (*docent*) at the Institute of Scandinavian Studies, University of Aarhus; from 1969 was for many years an editor of and frequent contributor to *Grundtvig-Studier*; and was chairman of the Grundtvig Society 1972-79. See further Kim Arne Pedersen's obituary, "Et rids af Grundtvig-forskning og dens stilling i efterkrigens Danmark. William Michelsen in memoriam" [A sketch of Grundtvig scholarship and its position in post-war Denmark. In memory of WM], in *Grundtvig-Studier* 2002.
- <sup>2</sup> Henning Høirup, 1909-95; bishop, Grundtvig scholar. Having graduated as *cand. theol.* in 1934, he served 1934-38 as chaplain to Nyborg State Prison, and 1938-51 as priest in Balslev-Ejby. From 1951-63 he was Dean in Viborg, and from 1963-79 Bishop in Århus. He became *dr. theol.* 1949, with his thesis *Grundtvigs Syn paa Tro og Erkendelse* [Grundtvig's view on faith and cognition], and thereafter author of a number of books on Grundtvig – including, with Steen Johansen, the anthology *Grundtvigs Erindringer og Erindringer om Grundtvig* [Gr's memoirs and memoirs of Gr] (1948). His commitment to Grundtvig research was inspirational in the early days of modern Grundtvig scholarship. An archive of his papers containing correspondence and the manuscripts of lectures chiefly about Grundtvig, and a small collection of printed matter, is in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. On the founding of the Grundtvig-Selskab, see also Høirup's lengthy article in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1957, 'Grundtvig-Selskabets Tilblivelse og Virksomhed I dets første Tiår' [The origin and the activities of the Grundtvig Society in its first decade]; and his conference paper 'Omkring Grundtvig-Selskabets tilblivelse [etc]' in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1988. An obituary by Kim Arne Pedersen appeared in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1996.

- <sup>3</sup> The reference is to Det kongelige Bibliotek, the Royal Library, Copenhagen.
- <sup>4</sup> Steen Johansen, 1908-1987; graduated as *cand. mag.* 1937; librarian at The Royal Library, Copenhagen from 1961; apart from his major collaboration in production of the *Registrant*, his greatest contribution to Grundtvig studies was his *Bibliografi over N. F. S. Grundtvigs skrifter* [Bibliography of the writings of NFSG] in four volumes, published 1948-54; but among the rest he also compiled and edited with Henning Høirup the biographical volume *Grundtvigs Erindringer og Erindringer om Grundtvig* [Grs reminiscences and reminiscences concerning Gr] (1948) in which he was responsible for memoirs concerning Grundtvig; published (1956) the significant edition *N. F. S. Grundtvig. Taler paa Marielyst Høiskole 1856-71* [Speeches at Marielyst Highschool]; and he contributed to *Grundtvig-Studier* a number of valuable articles on Grundtvig-related archives. An obituary by Henning Høirup was published in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1987.
- <sup>5</sup> Helge Toldberg, 1913-1964, graduated 1938 as *cand. mag.* in Danish and English. His scholarly publishing career began (1937) with a collaborative textual, philological and literary work on the poems of Mikkel Hansen Jernskæg (1654-1711) and continued (1944) with a study of the Nordic element in the poetry of Johannes Ewald, had, by the time of the Ribe meeting in 1947, already established himself also as a Grundtvig scholar, not least through his philological studies – a Copenhagen University gold medal dissertation (1942) leading later to *Grundtvigs ordforråd i forfatterskabet indtil 1824* [Gr's authorial vocabulary up to 1824] and his study *Grundtvig som filolog* [Gr as philologist] 1946. He proved, in Høirup's opinion, to be the ideal first secretary (1947) of the Grundtvig-Selskab and, whilst maintaining his involvement with earlier Danish literature (as witness his three-volume *Den danske Rimkrønike* [The Danish rhyming chronicle], 1958-61, which *Universitetets Jubilæums danske Samfund* is currently preparing to complete with a commentary volume), went on to make major contributions, literary and philological, to published Grundtvig scholarship over two decades before his untimely death. Notable among them were his published doctoral thesis *Grundtvigs symbolverden* [Grundtvig's world of symbols] (1950), his collaboration in the *Registrant* (1957-64), and an illuminating study, largely based on research he undertook in England, of Grundtvig's dealings (especially 1829-31) with the English antiquarian establishment ('Grundtvig og de Engelske Antikvarer', 1947). An obituary by Gustav Albeck appeared in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1964.
- <sup>6</sup> C. I. Scharling, 1879-1951, Bishop of Ribe 1939-49; in 1917 he gained the degree of dr. phil. for his thesis "Ekklesiabegrebet hos Paulus og dets Forhold til jødisk Religion og hellenistisk Mystik" [The *Ekklesia*-concept in Paul and its relationship to Jewish religion and Hellenic mysticism] and was appointed parish priest in Tøstrup; his ensuing studies and publications focussed in particular on ideas of Grundtvig, H. L.

Martensen and Karl Barth in the context of the relationship of the church to modern culture; among other activities in the 1930s, he was editor of ecclesiastical journals and member of the commission of the translation of the New Testament as well as collaborating in ecumenical initiatives; he was successively appointed Dean in Ribe (1930) and in Roskilde (1937), and 1939 bishop in Ribe; his *Grundtvig og Romantiken, belyst ved Grundtvigs Forhold til Schelling* [Gr and Romanticism, in the light of Gr's relationship to Schelling] was published in 1947. An obituary by Henning Høirup is to be found in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1951.

<sup>7</sup> Villiam Grøn­bæk, 1897-1970; Dean of Ribe; theologian, authority on German Enlightenment and Romanticism, who achieved international recognition for his writings on the psychology of religion; president of the Internationale Gesellschaft für Religionspsychologie, 1963-69; apart from his *Psykologiske tanker og teorier hos Grundtvig* [Psychological thoughts and theories in Grundtvig; 1951], notable works were *Om Beskrivelsen af religiøse Oplevelser* [On the description of religious experiences; 1935], *Det religiøse i alderdommen* [The religious in old age; 1954], *Religionspsykologi* [The psychology of religion; 1958], and *Barnets religiøse verden* [The religious world of the child; 1962]. An obituary by William Michelsen is in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1970.

<sup>8</sup> The "third way" [*den tredie retning*] was a disposition of subscribing clergy and laity within the Folkekirke (the national church), defined by dissent from, on the one side, Grundtvigianism and, on the other, the Indre Mission [The inner, or domestic, mission]. It was founded in 1899 and from 1904 assumed the name 'Kirkeligt Centrum' [the Church centre-party]. Still in existence, it publishes a quarterly journal under the same name, and describes itself as striving to uphold the central importance of Church, ministry and divine worship in Danish society, supporting ecumenism, advocating adoption of a formal church-constitution, involving itself especially in work with children and young adults and in teaching confirmands and adults, and promoting lay participation in church governance.

<sup>9</sup> Behind this somewhat bland acknowledgement that continuing cross-disciplinary dialogue would be beneficial lay a rather more dramatic actuality, which forcefully brought home to them all the imperative need for some kind of coordinating body for scholars working in Grundtvig research. It was discovered that both Scharling and Michelsen had been simultaneously working on virtually the same subject (Grundtvig and Romanticism) in unawareness of each other's work. The bishop's book was more or less finished, so Michelsen was left to return to Uppsala with the prospect of radically reworking his well-advanced doctoral thesis. When seven years later he published it as *Tilblivelsen af Grundtvigs Historiesyn*, he wrote with a fine nonchalance that the appearance of Scharling's book had "brought about a beneficial restriction of my topic to Grundtvig's vision of history." I have to thank Professor K. E. Bugge for drawing this story to my attention.

- <sup>10</sup> Hans Øllgaard, 1888-1979, Bishop of Fyn 1938-58; theologian with a strong interest in Grundtvig. During the German occupation he was a member of *Danmarks Frihedsraad* [Freedom council] coordinating the activities of the resistance movement. Apparently a more radical personality than his fellow bishops, he was more outspoken than they in declaring publicly his protest against the persecution of Jews (1943), and accepted the ordination of women when certain fellow bishops refused, and thus in 1948 ordained the first three women into the Danish priesthood. Henning Høirup, who was present at the ordination, recorded some 45 years later that "I shall not forget his address – upon the Easter gospel, where the angel at the tomb ordained the women."
- <sup>11</sup> J. P. Mynster, 1775-1854; theologian; Bishop of Sjælland from 1834. He was brought up by his stepfather Professor F. L. Bang, Grundtvig's uncle to whose home the student Grundtvig came for meals. Like his father-in-law, Bishop (of Sjælland) Fr. Münter (1761-1830), he grew deeply hostile to Grundtvig's concept of the Church, and was unsympathetic to revivalism and the *folkelige*. Though Grundtvig earlier held some esteem for him, a series of major confrontations hopelessly embittered the relationship. Mynster contemptuously refused Grundtvig permission to confirm his own sons, pursued a policy of compulsory (and physically enforced) baptism into the State Church of children of Danish Baptists, and proposed a radical revision – anathema to Grundtvig – of the baptismal rite. He also clashed with Grundtvig over *Sognebaandsløsning* (dissolution of the parish tie; the right of laity to form or join a congregation other than that of their parish church, and of clergy to minister in parishes other than their own, all still within the state church). He was otherwise widely regarded as an able administrator of his office, an esteemed preacher. His two-volume *Betragtninger over de christelige Troeslærdomme* [Meditations upon the Christian doctrines] (1833) was among major Danish devotional works of the 19th century. His posthumous image was coloured at least as much by Søren Kierkegaard's violent attack (1854-1855) upon him and upon the Church.
- <sup>12</sup> H. L. Martensen, 1808-84; Bishop of Sjælland from 1854. His interest in philosophy having been stirred by the same F. C. Sibbern who was Grundtvig's close and cherished friend from student years onwards, his career is in striking counterpoint to that of Grundtvig. He associated admiringly with Grundtvig in the 1830s to the extent of supporting the idea of a Grundtvig hymnal; but eventually, perhaps under the influence of Bishop Mynster, he steadily moved away from Grundtvig's position and finally aligned himself completely with Mynster and the ecclesiastical and secular establishment. A distinguished speculative theologian seeking accord between believing and understanding, and principal mediator of Hegelian philosophy in Denmark, he achieved international status for his scholarship. His *Den christelige Dogmatik* [Christian dogmatics] was published 1849. In 1861 Grundtvig (to mark his 50-years jubilee and his life-service to Danish Church) was granted title of Bishop and ranked alongside Martensen.

- <sup>13</sup> Laurits Tuxen, 1853-1927, Danish painter, educated in Kunstakademiet [The academy of arts] 1868-72 and with Léon Bonnat in Paris 1875-76 and 1877-78; Professor in Kunstakademiet 1908-16. Active and influential in the Danish art world, not least among the school of Danish painters at Skagen, he also achieved status as portrait painter to European royalty and aristocracy.
- <sup>14</sup> Henrik Scharling, 1836-1920, theologian and author; taught theology in Copenhagen University from 1867 and held post as Professor of Ethics and the Philosophy of Religion 1870-1916. He was a fervent opponent of Danish cultural radicalism but also of Grundtvigianism and the Indre Mission. His notable publications included *Menneskehed og Kristendom* [Humanity and Christianity], 1-2 (1872-74), *Christelig Sædelære efter evangelisk-luthersk Opfattelse* [Christian ethics according to an Evangelical-Lutheran interpretation], 1-2 (1885-86), *Dogmatikens historiske Forudsætninger* [The historical premises of dogmatics] (1908), and the novel *Ved Nytaarstid i Nøddebo Præstegaard. Fortælling af Nicolai, 18 Aar gammel* [New Year in Nøddebo Vicarage. A story by Nicolai, 18 years old] (1862).
- <sup>15</sup> Poul Andersen, 1888-1977; *dr. jur.* 1924, Professor of Public Law in Copenhagen University 1928-58. Among other authoritative works on various branches of law, he published (1940) *Grundtvig som Rigsdagsmand og andre Afhandlinger* [Grundtvig as member of the Rigsdag and other discourses]. He was for a long period (1939-70) chairman of the publisher Gyldendal's board of directors. His inclusion among the founders of Grundtvig-Selskabet illustrates the broad base of diverse disciplines and professional callings upon which Grundtvig research was to be promoted by the Society, ensuring that it was not, and was seen not to be, simply a sectarian mouthpiece of proselytising Grundtvigianism.
- <sup>16</sup> Hal Koch, 1904-1963; theologian and church historian, founder and first principal of Krogerup Højskole. His doctoral thesis (1932) on Origen and his relationship to Platonism established for him an international reputation and within five years he was appointed (1937) Professor in Church History at Copenhagen University and moved his research interests onwards into the history of the medieval and later Danish Church, collaborating in the establishment of an Institute for Danish Church History in 1956, of which he was for a period leader. During the German occupation of Denmark in the Second World War he made Grundtvig a focus for Danish identity and values through his lectures and publications and was elected chairman of Dansk Ungdomssamvirke [Danish Youth Association]. Controversially he defended the Danish government's policy of cooperation with the occupying power until its breakdown in 1943, on the grounds that it properly sought to protect the Danish democratic tradition in the face of tyranny and dictatorship. Likewise, he was an outspoken critic of the *udrensningsspolitik* [policy of political cleansing] pursued (often, as he saw it, hypocritically) after the war. The exchange of letters (1940-43; edited by Henrik N. Nissen and



published 1992 under the title *Kære Hal. Kære Koste*) between him and his close friend K. E. Løgstrup, Professor of Theology in the University of Århus (who took a different view on the proper disposition towards the German occupying power) is a deep and often painful testimony to the moral, cultural, philosophical and political conflicts generated in responsible citizens by war. His book *Grundtvig* was first published in Sweden, in Swedish 1941, then in Denmark in Danish 1943, in a French translation 1944, a German translation 1951, an American edition in English 1952, and a revised Danish edition 1959. Among much else, he also published *Hvad er Demokrati?* [What is democracy?] in 1945.

- 17 Gustav Albeck, 1906-1995; Professor, *dr. phil.*, literary historian, theatre critic, music patron; his doctoral thesis (1946) was a study of the *Heimskringla* (sagas of the Norse kings) but he went on to become an authority in other areas of literary history including poetry of the Danish 18th and 19th centuries. As others also did, consciously or intuitively, in the years of the German occupation of Denmark, he looked to Grundtvig as a central and monumental figure within the corporate Danish national identity, and published in 1942 his *Grundtvig og Norden* [Gr and the North], to be followed in 1955 by his *Omkring Grundtvigs Digtsamlinger. Studier i Grundtvigs lyriske Forfatterskab 1808-16* [On the poetic works of Grundtvig. Studies in Gr's lyric authorship 1808-16]. He early became and remained a key figure in the thoroughgoing review of Grundtvig's achievement and status in the post-war decades in Denmark, serving, among the rest, as the long-term editor of and contributor to *Grundtvig-Studier*. His special interest in the inter-relationship of literature and other art forms was reflected in his study of Grundtvig's relationship to music and pictorial art (1967). He was Professor at Aarhus University 1958-76, and a significant figure in the cultural life of the city, being a co-founder of the Aarhus City Orchestra and Den Jyske Opera [Jutland Opera]. William Michelsen wrote his obituary in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1995.

- 18 Georg Christensen, 1877-1966; literary historian, teacher; graduated as *mag. art.* in 1902 having studied comparative literature, with a special interest in the influence of German philosophy on Danish national literature, and in folklore. In 1923-24 he taught in the University of Uppsala, but his main career was as a progressive and innovatory teacher, and principal of teacher-training colleges in Haderslev and Jonstrup, firmly committed to cultural radicalism, and to the role of psychology as a pedagogic tool. Among other substantial editions of Danish writers he published (in collaboration with Hal Koch), was the ten-volume anthology *N. F. S. Grundtvigs værker i udvalg* (1940-49).

- 19 Magnus Stevns, 1900-49; graduated as *cand. mag.* in 1934; subsequently taught at Danmarks Lærerhøjskole. In 1938, in a series entitled *Danske Digtere ved Arbejdet* [Danish poets at work], published by Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, appeared his book-length study of Grundtvig at work, *Grundtvig-Manuskripter – Den sidste Nattevagt* [Gr-manuscripts – The last watch of the night]. In the year following Denmark's

occupation he published the anthology *Vor nationale Sang* [Our national song] (1941). His early death deprived Grundtvig scholarship of one whose appreciation of the literary artistry of Grundtvig's hymns complemented the theologians' exposition of their didactic content. At the time of his death he was collaborating in the preparation of the six-volume edition *Grundtvigs Sang-Værk. Samlet Udgave* [Gr's Song-Work. Collected edition] (1944-64). In 1950 Henning Høirup and Steen Johansen published a collection of his papers on Grundtvig's hymns under the title *Fra Grundtvigs Salmeværksted* [From Gr's hymn-workshop]. An obituary by Provst Vagn Riisager appeared in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1949.

<sup>20</sup> Th. Balslev, 1871-1964; *valgmenighedspræst* [pastor chosen by the congregation] in Vartov; *cand. theol.* 1895; after a period from 1896 as tutor in a teacher training college, he was appointed priest to a short succession of congregations 1902-25, and in 1925 was chosen as priest to the Vartov congregation and chaplain to the Vartov residents, a position he held for 35 years. He published an esteemed edition of Gr's *Christenhedens Syvstjerne* [The seven stars of Christendom] (1955) and collaborated in the publication of the six volumes of *Grundtvigs Sang-Værk. Samlet Udgave* [Gr's Song-work. Collected edition] (1944-64).

<sup>21</sup> When Grundtvig was appointed to its church in 1839, Vartov, situated close within Copenhagen's walls and west gate, was a charitable institution for elderly impoverished women, accommodated, in a manner reminiscent of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, in rooms leading off separate staircases, its early 18th-century buildings grouped around a cobbled quadrangle shaded by lime-trees and now watched over by Niels Skovgaard's statue of a kneeling Grundtvig (placed there in 1932 to mark the sixtieth anniversary of Grundtvig's death). In the 1930s Vartov's former use was discontinued, and in 1947, the year of the founding of the Grundtvig Society, it was bought and eventually restored by Kirkeligt Samfund (the society established in 1898 to sustain and promote a Grundtvigian view of church and folk) as its Copenhagen headquarters and as a centre for its educational work, especially with young people. It was an appropriately and deliberately symbolic meeting-place for the inauguration of the Grundtvig Society of 8 September 1947.

<sup>22</sup> Ernst J. Borup, 1894-1961, was born and brought up in a Grundtvigian folk-highschool milieu and followed that route to his career, first (1928-37) as principal of Grundtvigs Højskole in Lyngby, subsequently as director of youth work on behalf of Kirkeligt Samfund in Grundtvigs Hus, Copenhagen, then (from 1947) as leader of Kirkeligt Samfund's new base at Vartov. As well as writing a two-volume history of the Danish folk-highschool (1939-40) and twice (1939, 1951) co-editing the *Folkehøjskolens Sangbog* [Folk-highschool songbook] – the great repository of songs embodying the spirit, values and motifs of the folk-highschool tradition, a major part of Dk's national song-heritage since the 19th century – he made two particularly notable contributions to published Grundtvig scholarship, first with the three-volume *Haandbog i*

- N. F. S. Grundtvigs Skrifter* [Handbook of NFSG's writings] (1929-31), edited jointly with Frederik Schrøder, which presented quotations from Grundtvig's writings grouped under the three headings of school, folk and church; and later with his collaboration in the six-volume *Grundtvigs Sang-Værk. Samlet Udgave* [Gr's Song-Work. Collected edition] (1944-64). Henning Høirup wrote his obituary in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1961.
- 23 Morten Øllgaard, b. 1922, was still studying in Copenhagen at the time of the Ribe meeting, graduating as *cand. theol.* in 1950. He was later (1965-91) Rural Dean (*Provst*) in Rinds and Norlyng, Himmerland, member of the Liturgical Commission 1981-86 and member of the revision committee in connection with the Bible translation 1989-92; and has published articles on liturgical reform and biblical translation.
- 24 The Gyldendalske Boghandel is the oldest existing Danish publishing house, founded in 1770 by Søren Gyldendal, who in 1787 bought the property at Klareboderne 3 in central Copenhagen which remains today Gyldendal's address. Ingeborg Andersen, 1887-1960, was the first female director of Gyldendal. After reading English at university she joined Gyldendal in 1921 and worked her way up to position of sole director in 1940. The firm was in some decline in the period after the German occupation of Denmark and at the time the deputation from the Grundtvig-Selskab visited to negotiate publication of *Grundtvig-Studier* with the cigar-smoking director. She retired in 1954, when she was made an honorary member of the Association of Danish Authors.
- 25 Holberg Society; *Holbergsamfundet af 3. December 1922*, founded on the birthday of the dramatist Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) to mark the 200th anniversary of the reestablishment (after a period of state-endorsed pietism) of Danish theatre, and to facilitate dialogue between the theatre, scholarship, readers and audiences. Holberg, also a major benefactor of Sorø Academy where he is conspicuously entombed in the church by way of reward, is Denmark's most notable writer of comedy. His writings, such as *Niels Klim* – covertly challenging contemporary political, social, religious convention – were reading for Grundtvig through boyhood and youth and one of his few reading satisfactions in university years, endorsed by Henrich Steffens' commendation of Holberg as a master in his genre. Evidently, in Gyldendal's scale of values, if Holberg's celebrated and classical name attracted so few learned folk, little hope should be pinned on the name of Grundtvig.
- 26 Georg Brandes, 1842-1927, literary critic and architect of Danish *kulturradikalisme* [cultural radicalism] with his Copenhagen University lecture series *Hovedstrømninger i det 19de Aarhundredes Litteratur* [Mainstreams in 19th-century literature] (1871), a *tour-de-force* of cultural history and cultural criticism, subsequently published 1872-90 with far-reaching consequences for the cultural debate in Denmark. According to Høirup's wry reporting here, the cigar-smoking lady-director may have been wilfully teasing her visitors. Although Brandes said in a lecture at Sorø (1902) that "Grundtvig's life-work is one of the chief cornerstones on which the Denmark of today is built," few figures

in late-19th and early-20th-century Denmark were so offensive to Grundtvig's admirers as the unstoppable apostle of cultural radicalism: and "even" his writings, she says, became hard to market. To this provocative commercial ranking of Grundtvig below both Holberg and Brandes, Høirup and Christensen did well not to capitulate, but in fact to come away with an agreement for a run of 1000 copies of *Grundtvig-Studier*.

<sup>27</sup> Kaj Thaning, 1904-1994, proved one of the most influential 20th-century theologians to interpret the life and works of Grundtvig. His first Grundtvig publication came in 1941 with 'Et tredje Grundtvigstandpunkt' [A third Grundtvig standpoint], a controversial article in the periodical *Tidehverv* [Turning of the tide; epoch] and in the spirit of the existentialist-orientated theology of the *Tidehverv*-movement. After he had joined the initial, and more conservative group of Scharling, Grønbaek, Høirup and other founders of the Grundtvig-Selskab in 1947 he was among the early contributors to the recently launched *Grundtvig-Studier* with an article (1949) on Grundtvig and the Constituent Assembly formed to draft Denmark's first democratic constitution; and he was among the first to start on the preparation of the *Registrant* (published 1957-64). His ground-breaking work, however, was his doctoral thesis published 1963 as *Menneske først – Grundtvigs opgør med sig selv* [The human first: Gr's showdown with himself]. Previous studies had taken Grundtvig's distinctive perception of the church as the basis of debate and appreciation. Thaning's thesis, within a general trend stemming from German secularising theology, and consistently with the *Tidehverv*-movement's advocacy "at være jorden tro" (literally, to be true to the earth: to live out one's humanness in fulfilment of the commandment to love one's neighbour as God loved the world in taking human form, rather than cultivate world-denying other-worldliness as the way to salvation), reconstructed Grundtvig upon the testimony of the preface to *Nordens Mythologi* (1832) where Grundtvig, in the wake of his visits to England, is radically preoccupied with the development of the whole human being in the context of human community, upon which the nurturing of the more specifically Christian engagement with life can follow: the human first and then the Christian. Through almost the whole of his working life (1938-73) Thaning served as pastor in Asperup on Fyn. An obituary by Kim Arne Pedersen is in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1994.

<sup>28</sup> Holger Kjær, 1899-1980, teacher at Askov (Grundtvigian) folk-highschool 1926-64, a vigorous campaigner and polemicist on matters of education from his doctoral dissertation in Zürich (1925) onwards, in which he debated the proper limits of the school's role in education and upbringing, and argued the importance of tuition in the home (rather than, for example, compulsory religious instruction in school). A significant Grundtvig publication (1961) was his study of Gr's ideas in *Tolerance eller Frisind?* [Tolerance or permissiveness?]. Through prolific articles and his editorships of several journals, he showed a tendency to join battle on behalf of the underdog and the minority group as for example in

*Dansk skolepolitik og mindretalsret* [Danish school polity and the rights of minorities] (1979).

- 29 Askov; folk-highschool, near Vejen, Jylland; originally established (1844) at Rødding, North Slesvig, on the initiative of Christian Flor (1792-1875), Professor in the University of Kiel, as the first ever materialisation of educational innovations sought by Flor, Grundtvig and Chresten Kold (1816-1870), to promote historical cultural Danishness against German cultural rivalry, to advance education of a largely rural population and to encourage Scandinavianism. Under the fourth principal, Sofus Høgsbro (1822-1902; principal 1850-62), objectives were broadened and modernised, particularly in pursuit of Grundtvig=s educational aspirations. With Denmark's loss of Slesvig in the war of 1864, the fifth principal, Ludvig Schrøder (1836-1908; principal from 1862) led resettlement at Askov, north of the new frontier on the river Kongeåen, as a continuing beacon of Danishness on both sides of the frontier. The foundation still flourishes as Askov Højskole and Askov Efterskole, declaring its aim to be what it always was, *livsoplysning* [life-enlightenment] with respect to the fundamental conditions of existence, and *folkelig oplysning* concerning the important issues of the age and of society.
- 30 Further volumes have since been added. A list is printed on the cover of each issue of *Grundtvig-Studier*.
- 31 See the earlier note on Høirup.
- 32 See the earlier note on Toldberg.
- 33 See the earlier note on Michelsen.
- 34 See the earlier note on Thaning.
- 35 Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen, born 1937, academic, literary historian; graduated as *cand. mag.* from Copenhagen University 1965 where he was immediately appointed to teach Danish literature, and as Reader (*docent*) from 1988. His doctoral thesis, published 1980 as *Det handlende ord. N. F. S. Grundtvigs digtning, litteraturkritik og poetik* [The operative word. NFSG's poetry, literary criticism and poetics], remains the most comprehensive and authoritative study of the poet Grundtvig; and with a long list of Grundtvig-related publications and studies in romanticism and the history of national identity Lundgreen-Nielsen has consolidated his position as the leading Grundtvig-scholar of his generation in these fields.
- 36 Harry Aronson; born 1926; *dr. teol.* 1960; Reader (*docent*) at Lund University 1962-68, *gymnasium* and school principal 1969-1991. His doctoral thesis was published (1960) as *Mänskligt och kristet. En studie i Grundtvigs teologi* [Human and Christian. A study in Gr's theology].
- 37 Sigurd Aa. Aarnes, born 1924; *ph. d.* University of Bergen; school teacher 1951-58 and 1960-62; Reader (*docent*) in Norwegian and European literature, University of Bergen, 1962-90, with special interest in Norwegian literature and Norwegian and Danish Romanticism. His doctoral thesis (1962) published as *Historieskrivning og livssyn hos Grundtvig. En undersøkelse av to-verdenmotivet i verdenskrønikene* [Historiography and life-view in Grundtvig. An investigation of the two-

world motif in the world chronicles] opened up debate with William Michelsen's doctoral thesis (1954) on *Tilblivelsen af Grundtvigs Historiesyn* [The genesis of Gr's perception of history] from which it differed in approach, methodology and findings. Other Grundtvig-related writings include essays on *Den unge Grundtvig som litteraturteoretiker* [The young Gr as literary theorist] (1967) and *Grundtvig the historian* (1983).

38 See the earlier note on Albeck.

39 See the earlier note on Koch.

40 See the earlier note on Stevns.

41 *Sang-Værk til den danske Kirke* [Song-work (or 'carillon') for the Danish Church]; a collection of hymn-texts by Grundtvig; published 1837, followed in 1839 by portions of a second part. The first part was issued in a new edition 1868. The second part, comprised of songs relating to Biblical and Church history, was completed and published 1870 under the title *Sang-Værk til den danske Kirkeskole*. Of the hymns, finally numbering some 1500 items, many are wholly original compositions, others are reworkings of pre-existing texts which Grundtvig's characteristic eclecticism led him to seek not only in post-Reformational German sources but in pre-Reformational Latin, in Anglo-Saxon religious poetry, and in hymns of the Greek Church, so that it may be said that here his eclecticism becomes ecumenism. Many were eventually adopted into the official Danish Hymnal and still remain the most substantial single corpus of contributions there. Most are printed in the six-volume *Grundtvigs Sang-Værk. Samlet Udgave* [Gr's Song-Work. Collected edition] (1944-64) edited by Th. Balslev, Ernst J. Borup, Uffe Hansen, Ejnar Skovrup and Magnus Stevns (photographically reprinted 1982-84 without the commentary volume, VI).

42 After the premature death of Magnus Stevns in 1949, Henning Høirup and Steen Johansen prepared, on behalf of the Grundtvig Society, a collected edition of all his published studies on Grundtvig's hymns – which had already won him a reputation as an outstanding interpreter and commentator in the field – under the title *Fra Grundtvigs Salmeværksted* [From Grundtvig's hymn-workshop] (1950).

43 The fund is still in existence and administered by the board of the Grundtvig Society.

44 The desideratum of a complete edition of the whole authorship of Grundtvig had not yet been realised when Gustav Albeck, at the 40th anniversary celebration of the Grundtvig-Selskab (1987), asked in an address "Har Grundtvig-Selskabet forsømt digteren Grundtvig?" [Has the Gr-Society neglected the poet Grundtvig?] and pointed not only to the historic scarceness of major *literary* scholarship on Grundtvig but to the increasingly problematic absence of a comprehensive edition of the whole *œuvre*. Deplorable then, it is indefensible now, in the wake of the monumental publication of an international edition of the work of Grundtvig's contemporary Kierkegaard, that resources should not be found to place before the world's eyes the Dane Grundtvig alongside the

Dane Kierkegaard in the context of 19th-century Danish culture. However, fresh current initiatives renew hope that this great gap in accessible Danish cultural resources might yet be tackled within the foreseeable future.

- 45 Edvard Lehmann, 1862-1930; Danish Professor in History of Religion in Berlin and in Lund; wrote and translated many books on religion, its history, forms and psychology. His book on Grundtvig (1929) was his last published work, and was an attempt to set Grundtvig in a religious-historical perspective and in his own contemporary milieu.
- 46 Ernst Frandsen, 1894-1952; graduated as *cand. mag.* in Danish, German and Latin 1922; achieved doctorate 1927 with thesis on medieval Danish *Mariaviser* [Lyrics dedicated to the Virgin]; subsequently published other works on medieval literature, on the Danish ballads, and on more modern Danish literature; 1934 appointed Professor of Nordic Literature at the new University of Århus where he became the first Vice-Chancellor [*Rektor*], 1935-36.
- 47 Hartvig Frisch, 1893-1950; politician, author. He joined the Social Democratic party in 1911 and after an early career in school-teaching became increasingly involved in politics, entering the Folketing in 1926. He was European and internationalist in outlook, while domestically active in promoting *folkeoplysning* [popular education and enlightenment]. Alongside more political writings he also published a number of works reflecting his interest in classical culture and European cultural history. As Education Minister (1947) he played his part in backing the ambitious initiatives of the new Grundtvig Society – and was responsible for seeing through, against stiff opposition, a reform of Danish *retskrivning* (officially approved spelling, punctuation, etc.) which among other things did away with the initial use of capitals for nouns and substituted the letter form *å* in place of *aa*.
- 48 Government-funded body for the allocation of research support, established 1952 and replaced in 1968 by Statens Forskningsråd.
- 49 Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab [The Danish Language and Literature Society] was founded in 1911. Its aim is to publish Danish works of linguistic or literary significance hitherto unpublished or published in inadequately scholarly editions, and to contribute to Danish national lexicography and bibliography.
- 50 H. Topsøe-Jensen, 1896-1976; *dr. phil.*, librarian, literary historian and author; graduated as *mag. art.* in history of literature 1920 and was appointed as a librarian at the Statsbibliotek in the University of Aarhus 1921. After a period as librarian in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, he was appointed in 1947 head of the University Library's First Department in which position he remained until 1965. From the publication (1928) of *Den skandinaviske Litteratur fra 1870 til vore Dage* [Scandinavian Literature from 1870 to our day] onwards he was a major figure in Danish literary scholarship, later specialising in the work of H. C. Andersen. He was a member of Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab

(president 1948-71) and other learned societies, and recipient of various distinctions and prizes.

- 51 Albert Fabritius, 1905-1976; historian, genealogist, librarian; *dr. phil.* 1946 with thesis published as *Danmarks Riges Adel. Dens Tilgang og Afgang 1536-1935. En Studie i dansk Adelshistorie* [Aristocracy of the Kingdom of Denmark. Its ascendancy and decline 1536-1935. A study in the history of the Danish aristocracy] (Copenhagen 1946), followed by many other publications in the fields of genealogy and personal and public archives. As a librarian at the Royal Library Copenhagen during the German occupation he risked his life to protect from the Gestapo a secret archive of illegally printed literature; after the war he emerged as an authority on the illegal wartime press. From 1951-74 he was director of Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab.
- 52 Peter Skautrup, 1896-1982; philologist; graduated 1922 as *cand. mag.* in Danish, history and English; 1924-28 worked as editor of the great *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* [Dictionary of the Danish language], published by Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab; 1928 appointed to the newly founded University of Århus where he was Professor of Nordic Languages 1934-66 and *Rektor* [Vice-Chancellor] of the University 1953-55. Throughout his life he worked on the Danish language, its history, dialects, syntax and lexis, and between 1944-68 published in four volumes, with an index (1970), his monumental *Det danske Sprogs Historie* [The history of the Danish language]. Notable among his many involvements was his participation in the establishment (1955) of the Dansk Sprognævn (a national committee advising on good practice in usage of the Danish language) and his membership of Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab.
- 53 Uffe Hansen, 1894-1994; *cand. theol.* 1921; parish priest in Aggersborg-Bejstrup from 1921, and *valgmenighedspræst* in Ubberup-Gørlev from 1925, remaining in ministry until 1965. An authority on Danish hymns, he also worked on the *Registrant* (1957-64). He collaborated in the publication of *Grundtvigs Sang-Værk. Samlet Udgave* [Gr's Song-Work. Collected edition] (6 vols., 1944-64). An obituary by Henning Høirup was published in *Grundtvig-Studier* 1995.
- 54 K. E. Bugge, b. 1928; *cand. theol.* 1954, *dr. theol.* 1965; having taught for a period at Copenhagen University he was appointed (1964) Reader (*docent*) and subsequently (1981) Professor at Danmarks Lærerhøjskole (now emeritus). He was Visiting Professor at Bangalore University 1970-71, 1974 and 1980, and has been instrumental in maintaining educational connections with India. He collaborated in the compilation of the *Registrant* (published 1957-64). His *Skolen for Livet. Studier over N. F. S. Grundtvigs pædagogiske tanker* [The school for life. NFSG's ideas on education] (1965) remains the definitive study and established Bugge as the leading authority on Grundtvig's pedagogic theories and their implementation, a position consolidated by further notable publications in the field; his many other publications of Grundtvig source-material and



studies include, most recently, *Grundtvig og slavesagen* [Grundtvig and the Slavery issue] (2003).

<sup>55</sup> Niels Kofoed, b. 1930; *cand. mag.* in Danish and French 1955; *dr. phil.*; literary critic and literary historian; has taught at the universities of Århus and Odense, and universities in Sweden and the United States, and at Københavns Dag- og Aftenseminarium [Copenhagen Day and Evening College of Education]; published (1954) *Grundtvig som selvbiograf* [Grundtvig as self-biographer] and various other works on Danish literature including several on H. C. Andersen.

<sup>56</sup> Bugge's *afhandling* was his doctoral thesis. Kofoed's was the dissertation for his master's degree, which he later followed with a doctoral thesis on H. C. Andersen.

<sup>57</sup> I am most grateful to Kurt Johannes Dokkedahl for valuable assistance in gathering information for this article; also to K. E. Bugge and Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen for saving me from various errors and providing helpful and interesting supplementary information. The free online enquiry service BiblioteksVagten ([www.biblioteksvagten.dk/forsk](http://www.biblioteksvagten.dk/forsk) ) has also efficiently responded to specific factual requests. Needless to add, the blame for surviving shortcomings lies with me.