RUSSELL POOLE

SCHOLARS AND SKALDS

The Northwards Diffusion of Carolingian Poetic Fashions

> 'We might have to commit ourselves in a measure to the possibility of Latin influence on classic skaldic art, though most connoisseurs of it, I fear, would not want to commit themselves thus even a little.'[1]

IN THESE WORDS Frederic Amory issued a challenge, albeit one phrased with diplomatic caution, to reconsider nativist assumptions. The present essay aims to combine his comparativist insights on the development of tmesis with new ideas on the development of skaldic ekphrasis canvassed in recent articles by Margaret Clunies Ross and Signe Horn Fuglesang.[2] I propose to synthesise and supplement their propositions on possible Carolingian influence in the evolution of skaldic poetry. I shall do so in three ways: by outlining Frankish-Danish political and cultural contacts in the late eighth century and through the ninth century; by undertaking a fuller study of ekphrasis and its closely related sister-genre titulus in

1 Frederic Amory, 'Tmesis in MLat., ON, and OIr. Poetry: An unwritten *notatio norræna*', *Arkiv for nordisk filologi* 94 (1979): 48. With this essay I take the opportunity to salute the memory of a true 'Pacificus Salomon' and generous friend. I am grateful to Lesley Abrams, Carolyne Larrington, Heather O'Donoghue, Eric Stanley, and other participants for their comments on a version of this essay read at an Old Norse in Oxford Research Seminar in November 2010. All errors in the present version of the article are due to me alone. Thanks are also due to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Canada and to Western University (formerly The University of Western Ontario), which provided funding toward the research presented in this essay.

2 Margaret Clunies Ross, 'Stylistic and Generic Definers of the Old Norse Skaldic Ekphrasis', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 3 (2007): 161–92; Signe Horn Fuglesang, 'Ekphrasis and Surviving Imagery in Viking Scandinavia', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 3 (2007): 193–224; for scholarly adoption of the non-native term 'ekphrasis', cf. Clunies Ross, 'Stylistic and Generic Definers', 161, n. 3.

Gripla XXIV (2013): 7–44.

Carolingian poetics; and by tracing the development of tmesis more fully in both poetic corpora.

Scandinavian-Frankish Relations

I start with a brief account of the two polities, i.e., the Danish and Frankish realms. Denmark at this period can be inferred to have exhibited a mixture of regional and central power.[3] Prior to the mid tenth century, kingship seems to have been a matter of blood right and could be vested in several persons at once, no single one of whom seems to have been perceived, so far as our sources show, as having a better claim than the others.[4] A centralising force is also manifest; indicative are the establishment and progressive renewals of the large royal compound at Gamle Lejre,[5] the construction of the Danevirke, the founding of Ribe and other emporia and the canal works on Samsø.[6] To this list might be added the consolidation of a royal centre at Sliasthorp, the focus of recent archaeological investigations by Anders Dobat.[7] Some kings in Denmark, whatever the limits on their sway at home, managed to exert an international presence. Ongendus and Sigifridus are described in Frankish sources as kings who claimed to represent the 'Danes' or 'Normans' in negotiations with foreign leaders.[8] Likewise, some kings took on the role of keeping the peace and protecting foreign traders in the cosmopolitan emporia of Scandinavia – not merely Haithabu/Hedeby and Ribe in southern Jutland but also Birka in Sweden

3 Søren M. Sindbæk, 'The Lands of *Denemearce*: Cultural Differences and Social Networks of the Viking Age in South Scandinavia', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 4 (2008): 171, 196.

4 K. L. Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes": Political Leadership in Ninth-Century Denmark', *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994): 32, 41, 46.

5 John D. Niles et al., *Beowulf and Lejre*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 323 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 2.

6 Inge Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The Making of the Danish Kingdom', in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, vol. 1, *Prehistory to 1520*, ed. Knut Helle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 172–5; cf. Bjørn Myhre, 'The Iron Age', in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, 1:86–7.

7 Full reporting is pending. Informal publications include Victoria James, 'Digging for Europe', *Geographical: Magazine of the Royal Geographical Society* 85.3 (2013): 34–8.

8 Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The Making of the Danish Kingdom', 172–73. Normalised forms of the Latin versions of the names seen in the annals and chronicles will mostly be used in this discussion, in the absence of secure attestations of the corresponding contemporary Danish forms.

and Kaupang in Norway. Some again appear to have exercised a degree of overlordship over local rulers in western and northern Norway,[9] sometimes through dynastic alliances.[10]

The Frankish Kingdom or Carolingian Empire, for its part, can be thought of as having three concentric layers. Its core or heartlands formed an area bounded by the Rhine and the Seine for the most part. Encircling them were the *regna* of more or less subject peoples. Outside these again lay the marches, inhabited by peoples over whom control was looser or at times non-existent. These marches included an area by the Eider bordering with Denmark.[11]

The Franks first took the measure of Danish power in a sustained fashion about the year 800, in the course of conquering and converting the Saxons.[12] Legates of the Franks showed their respect for their Danish counterparts by meeting with them in a much more intensive fashion than they did with the representatives of other peoples.[13] The first recorded Scandinavian incursion on the mainland of Western Europe, in 810, revealed the essential vulnerability of the Carolingian heartlands, thanks to ready access through Frisia.[14] The Franks recognised the futility of initiating outright counter-attacks against the Danes.[15] Even under Charlemagne, negotiation recommended itself as the more productive strategy.[16] Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Pious, sponsored the evan-

9 Niels Lund, 'The Danish Empire and the End of the Viking Age', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. Peter Sawyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 156.

10 Per Sveaas Andersen, *Samlingen av Norge og kristningen av landet 800–1130* (Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1997), 92–6.

11 Thomas F.X. Noble, 'Louis the Pious and the Frontiers of the Frankish Realm', in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 335.

12 Peter Foote and David Wilson, *The Viking Achievement: The Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980), 1; Janet L. Nelson, 'The Frankish Empire', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, 20. For a brief evaluation of the Frankish primary sources to be used in the ensuing paragraphs, see Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', 30–2.

13 Rosamund McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 129.

14 Nelson, 'The Frankish Empire', 23–4.

15 Timothy Reuter, 'The End of Carolingian Military Expansion', in *Charlemagne's Heir*, 404–5.

16 F.L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy*, trans. Janet Sondheimer, Studies in Carolingian History (London: Longman: 1971), 171; Noble, 'Louis the Pious', 339–42.

gelisation of the Danes (as also of other Scandinavians within the extended Danish sphere of influence), settling Danes in Frisia to protect against attacks by Vikings and playing one Danish king off against another, perhaps hoping to turn Denmark into something like a Frankish protectorate.[17] Later Frankish kings, such as Lothars I and II, Charles the Bald and Charles the Fat, persisted with these strategies. On occasion non-military strategies were pursued by the Danes as well. Members of the various Danish royal dynasties came to look to the Carolingians for support when there were disputes or expulsions at home. It was also sought when Danish royal control had to be re-established in *Westarfold* (Vestfold in Norway) in 813.[18] The outcome, as far as our evidence reaches before Danish history fades into obscurity toward the end of the ninth century,[19] was an intermittently lively scene of Frankish-Danish diplomacy.[20]

In the early stages of contact matters were typically, by Danish choice, resolved by negotiations held on-site at the border, but visits by Danish legates at one or other imperial seat in the heartland also occurred from the first.[21] In 782, envoys from Sigifridus appeared at Charlemagne's court, apparently to negotiate a transfer of the defeated Saxon chieftain Widukind.[22] Following the final conquest of Saxony in 804, Godofridus,[23] reportedly another king of the Danes,[24] promised to come in person to negotiate with Charlemagne, although in the event he instead sent envoys.[25] In 809 Godofridus, having destroyed the Slavonic port of Reric the previous year,

17 Martin Brooke, 'The Prose and Verse Hagiography of Walahfrid Strabo', in *Charlemagne's Heir*, 561.

18 Ganshof, *The Carolingians*, 166; Lund, 'The Danish Empire', 156; Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870*, Studies in Early Medieval Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 136-7.

19 Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The Making of the Danish Kingdom', 174.

20 Ganshof, *The Carolingians*, 173.

21 Ganshof, *The Carolingians*, 178; Else Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, trans. Susan M. Margeson and Kirsten Williams, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1998), 195–6.

22 Nelson, 'The Frankish Empire', 20.

23 The spellings Godifridus and Godafridus, also found, are normalised to Godofridus in reference to this and other bearers of the name in this essay.

24 For the actual limitations of his power and the possibility of his co-rulership with Sigifridus, see Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', 32, 34.

25 *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories*, trans. Bernhard Walter Scholz with Barbara Rogers (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1970), 83–4.

requested a meeting with Charlemagne; this was granted, and a group of Danish magnates attended at a location north of the Elbe called *Badenflot*.[26] After Godofridus's death in 810, the next Danish king to pursue these contacts, Hemmingus, sent envoys bearing gifts to the emperor at Aachen and concluded a peace treaty in 811.[27] When Hemmingus himself died in 812, Herioldus and Reginfridus, claimants of kingship in Denmark, sent an embassy asking for peace and the release of their brother, a younger Hemmingus;[28] a meeting was held on the border between sixteen Danish magnates and the representatives of the empire, and Hemmingus was handed over.[29]

Herioldus (also known as Harioldus and Heroldus in Frankish sources and as Haraldr klakk in the much later Icelandic sources) was to become a key player whose diplomatic engagement took him repeatedly to the Carolingian heartland. Expelled from Denmark by the sons of Godofridus in 814, he sought refuge and protection with Louis the Pious.[30] Three years later, facing persistent aggression from Herioldus, the sons of Godofridus themselves sent an embassy to the emperor, asking for peace – unsuccessfully in the event.[31] In 822 separate embassies from Nordmannia, representing respectively Herioldus and two surviving sons of Godofridus, all three of them now linked in an evidently fragile joint kingship,[32] participated in a highly cosmopolitan assembly at the imperial residence at Frankfurt.[33] In the following year Herioldus came from 'Nordmannia', asking for help against the sons of Godofridus, who threatened to expel him once again. The Frankish counts Theotharius and Hruodmundus were despatched to the sons of Godofridus in order to investigate and inform the emperor. They returned in company with archbishop Ebbo of Rheims, who had gone to Denmark to preach at the emperor's behest.[34] In 825 Louis held a

26 Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', 34.

27 *Carolingian Chronicles*, 92–4.

28 *Annales Regni Francorum*, in *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, ed. Reinhold Rau, 3 vols., Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1955), 1:100; cf. *Carolingian Chronicles*, 95.

29 Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', 36.

30 *Annales Regni Francorum*, 106; *Carolingian Chronicles*, 99.

31 *Annales Regni Francorum*, 110-12; *Carolingian Chronicles*, 102.

32 Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', 37.

33 *Annales Regni Francorum*, 130; *Carolingian Chronicles*, 112.

34 *Annales Regni Francorum*, 134–6; *Carolingian Chronicles*, 114.

general assembly of his people at Aachen and among the various embassies were envoys from the sons of Godofridus seeking peace with the emperor.[35]

This combination of ecclesiastical and political involvement with the Danes took a decisive turn in the year 826, when Herioldus, his wife and a great number of his entourage were baptised at St. Alban's in Mainz, with Louis himself acting as sponsor, and received at the emperor's assembly in Ingelheim, an imperial villa a short distance from Mainz. The emperor presented Herioldus with many gifts, most notably the Frisian county Hriustri/Rüstringen.[36] Present at the same well-attended assembly were such luminaries as the envoy of the Holy Apostolic See and the Abbot of Mount Olivet, along with envoys of the sons of Godofridus, who hoped to make a further bid for peace and alliance with Louis.[37] In the short term, according to Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*,[38] this meeting led to Herioldus's provision of hospitality and support for Anskar, at Louis's request. The Danish king's contribution to the mission included the recruiting of boys, some from Herioldus's household, to receive a religious education and continued until the final expulsion of Herioldus from power in 827 at the hands of the sons of Godofridus.

In the following decade one of Godofridus's sons, Horik/Oricus (with variant name forms in the annals), held the status of 'the king of the Danes' where the Franks were concerned and had many diplomatic contacts with them.[39] In an embassy of 839 Oricus sent his *nepos* ['nephew'] in the company of an especially trusted adviser and confidant. They brought gifts of precious objects distinctive of their country, with the aim of consolidating the alliance and lodging complaints about troublesome behaviour from the Frisians. They were cordially received and gifts were bestowed on them.[40] In 841 Lothar I, the currently recognised emperor, presented Herioldus

35 *Carolingian Chronicles*, 118.

36 *Annales Regni Francorum*, 144; *Carolingian Chronicles*, 119. Cf. Adam of Bremen liber I, c. 17, in Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. F.J. Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 21–2.

37 *Annales Regni Francorum*, 144; *Carolingian Chronicles*, 119.

38 On the claims of this work to reliability, see Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', 31.

39 Nelson, 'The Frankish Empire', 23.

40 *Annales Bertiniani*, in *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, 2:48; Nelson, 'The Frankish Empire', 47.

the younger (probably a nephew of the Herioldus mentioned earlier) with Walcheren and the neighbouring regions as a benefice, the object of this magnificent gift being to secure his services and deter him from raiding.[41]

In 850 Rorik, another Danish aspirant, becomes the final major Scandinavian player whose contacts with the empire can be documented in this kind of detail. Initially he challenged Lothar I by joining forces with Godofridus II to raid Frisia and seize Dorestad. Lothar of necessity accepted Rorik's fealty and accorded him a benefice comprising Dorestad and other counties, in return for which Rorik agreed to pay Lothar the customary taxes and to resist Danish incursions.[42] This was yet another massive gift, or concession, on the Frankish side, since Dorestad at that time still rated as one of Northern Europe's greatest trading centres and an important link to Hedeby and Birka.[43] Meanwhile, also in 850, Godofridus II ravaged the lands of Charles the Bald; subsequently he was received into Charles's kingdom and was granted land.[44] Although Rorik remained subject to Lothar I, he enjoyed a certain measure of political independence, even before his conversion to Christianity, and is referred to from 857 as a king in his own right in contemporary sources.[45] According to the *Vita Anskarii*, he developed a strong bond with Anskar, whom he treated as one of his counsellors, culminating in his conversion.[46] When the northern part of the central Frankish realm was divided between the East and West Frankish kingdoms in 870, Charles immediately entered into negotiations with him at Nijmegen.[47] In 872 he held further talks, at which Rorik was now joined by his nephew Rodulfus, possibly the holder of co-leader status

41 Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 197 and 200–1.

42 *Annales Fuldenses*, in *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, 3:38–40; Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 200–1.

43 Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 197. See also Annemarieke Willemsen, 'Dorestad Discussed: Connections and Conclusions', in *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian times*, ed. Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (Turnhout: Brill, 2012), 177.

44 Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', 39.

45 Simon Coupland, 'From Poachers to Gamekeepers: Scandinavian Warlords and Carolingian Kings', *Early Medieval Europe* 7.1 (1998): 98–9.

46 Paul Edward Dutton, ed., *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures, vol. 1 (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004), 428.

47 *Annales Bertiniani*, 206; Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 200.

at this time.[48] The three men came together again in October of the same year at Maastricht; Charles received Rorik graciously, while dismissing Rodulfus on suspicion of treachery and exorbitant demands.[49] We last hear of Rorik in the following year, 873, when he visited Louis the German in Aachen and, after taking hostages from the king, swore him fealty.[50] In Simon Coupland's assessment, Rorik stands out as the most powerful and influential of all the Danes drawn into the Carolingian milieu in the ninth century. He was unique in being a fidelis of all three royal brothers, Charles the Bald, Lothar I and Louis the German, in addition to Lothar II. The Franks regarded him as 'one of us' rather than 'one of them'.[51]

As a coda, we can note that Godofridus II seems to have kept up his dynasty's links with the Carolingian kings. In 882 he accepted baptism and received a grant in Frisia along with other honours formerly belonging to Rorik. He was also given as a wife Gisla, the illegitimate daughter of Lothar II.[52]

These processes of political trafficking brought Danish kings and members of their entourage into contact – in some cases sustained, in others intermittent – with the prestige centres of a society far more opulent and splendid than their own. The imperial circle had by now evolved its pattern of residency away from that of a peripatetic warrior-court toward more settled abode at a select number of élite centres. Charlemagne's three favourite palaces were those at Aachen, Ingelheim and Nijmegen; according to Einhard, the splendid palace at Ingelheim ranked first among them, and it continued in frequent use under Louis the Pious for assemblies and receptions of envoys. The palace at Frankfurt appears to have been another showplace for both Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. These residences were richly decorated with mosaics, paintings, frescoes and painted stucco in ancient Roman style; indeed Aachen was celebrated as a new Rome.[53]

48 Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', 43.

49 *Annales Bertiniani*, 222–6; *The Annals of St-Bertin*, trans. Janet L. Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 177–80.

50 Coupland, 'From Poachers', 98–9.

51 Coupland, 'From Poachers', 101.

52 Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', 44.

53 Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 85; Mary Garrison, 'The Emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature and the Court of Charlemagne', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 130.

Altogether, in the words of George Henderson, Carolingian architecture emphasised power and splendour in an essentially political statement.[54] As we have seen, Danish kings and their entourages and envoys were visitors on various occasions at all four of these centres, as also at Maastricht, a major ecclesiastical centre. When foreign embassies were received, they would present lavish gifts sent by their master, to which reciprocal gifts from the emperor were made as the ambassadors departed.[55] According to Hincmar of Rheims, the most important occasions of gift-giving were coordinated by the queen herself.[56] Such occasions guaranteed that portable, high-prestige artifacts would make their way from Empire to various regions of Denmark and perhaps onward into Norway.

Literature at the Carolingian Court

Complementary to the visual splendour of these architectural settings, Charlemagne set about creating a literary circle to rival those that had guaranteed the fame of the most eminent rulers and emperors of the past.[57] He attracted literati from the major European centres of culture outside Francia, along with distinguished representatives of insular learning.[58] These recruits would have thought of themselves primarily as ambassadors (*missi*), grammarians, theologians, advisers to the king – not as poets – but nevertheless they undertook the production of copious new texts in quantitative Latin verse, extending to an unprecedented range of forms and genres.[59] This renewed pursuit of literature and learning was to endure right through the ninth century.[60]

These poems were, at least in part, in requisition for communication,

54 George Henderson, 'Emulation and Invention in Carolingian Art', in *Carolingian Culture*, 248.

55 Ganshof, *The Carolingians*, 163, 176, and 178.

56 Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 525, translating Hincmar of Rheims, *Hincmarus de ordine palatii*, ed. and trans. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer, 2nd ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Fontes iuris Germani antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi, vol. 3 (Hanover, 1980).

57 Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1985), 4; Story, *Carolingian Connections*, 3–4.

58 Godman, *Poetry*, 6.

59 Garrison, 'The Emergence', 112–13.

60 Godman, *Poetry*, 1.

celebration, entertainment and display at court occasions.[61] Praise-poems about imperial victories, for example, were evidently performed at tribute-giving ceremonies and other great assemblies, probably not long after the events they recount.[62] Theodulf's panegyric on Charlemagne's victory over the Avars, composed in exile, describes such an occasion, albeit imaginary, with mention of the arrival of envoys, the holding of a council and the recital of prayers in the *aula*.[63] Among the poems testifying to this aspect of court culture, the extant instance of greatest relevance to this paper is *In honorem Hludowici imperatoris* by Ermoldus Nigellus, a monk who flourished in the 820s but about whom little is otherwise known. Ermoldus describes in luxuriant detail how the emperor, the empress Judith and Lothar, wearing ornate vestments embroidered in gold and gems, stand as godparents to the Danish royal family at the 826 ceremony[64] and how, after the baptism, the imperial couple bestow upon their new godchildren gifts of golden clothing.[65] Clearly registered is the amazement of the Danes at the splendour that surrounds them.[66] The poem itself may originate in various topical recitations at assemblies. Datable to between 826 and 828[67] and covering the life and exploits of Louis the Pious from 781 to 826,[68] it appears to be the product of revising and suturing together a series of originally discrete poems. Peter Godman observes that 'the interest of this declamatory poetry lies in the rapid succession of encomia and descriptions with which it attempts to dazzle its audience ... Episodic and digressive, they jolt from one purple passage to the next.'[69]

Conspicuous among the genres cultivated by the Carolingian literati

61 Garrison, 'The Emergence', 114.

62 Godman, *Poetry*, 174–7; Garrison, 'The Emergence', 135–6.

63 Anton Scharer, 'Charlemagne's Daughters', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter et al., Studies in Early Medieval Britain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 272–3. For the text, see *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini Cardini*, vol. 1, ed. Ernst Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1881), 1:483–9.

64 Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 123.

65 Elizabeth Ward, 'Caesar's Wife: The Career of the Empress Judith', in *Charlemagne's Heir*, 216–17.

66 Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 124.

67 Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 108.

68 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini Cardini*, vol. 2, ed. Ernst Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1884), 2:5–79.

69 Godman, *Poetry*, 74.

were ekphrasis and titulus. The two types are closely related, as noted by both Clunies Ross[70] and Fuglesang[71] – being respectively a full description of the scenes depicted in a work of visual art and a capsule commentary (almost a caption) on a monument. Of these the latter at least is obviously intended for public consumption. Theodulf (750/60–821), bishop of Orleans, is a notable early exponent of both types. Incorporated into the mosaic of the Ark of the Covenant that he designed for his oratory at Germigny-des-Prés is the following titulus:

> Oraclum scm et cerubin hic aspice spectans
> Et testamenti en micat arca dei
> Haec cernens precibusque studens pulsare
> Tonantem Theodulfum votis iungito quaeso tuis.
>
> 'Gaze upon the holy propitiatorium and cherubim, beholder,
> And lo! the Ark of God's covenant glitters.
> Perceiving these things, and prepared to beset the Thunderer with prayers,
> Add, I beg you, Theodulf's name to your invocations.'[72]

Theodulf devoted full-scale ekphrases to two pictures that apparently adorned his villa, showing respectively the Seven Liberal Arts and the Mappa Mundi,[73] two topics that nicely pay tribute to Charlemagne's *renovatio* of learning. Two less formal ekphrases, sections within a satirical and admonitory poem on the duties of *missi*, describe a vase and a rug brought by suppliants who hope to bribe a judge.[74] The ekphrases are put in the mouth of the would-be presenters. The images on the vase depict episodes from the myth of Hercules:

70 Clunies Ross, 'Stylistic and Generic Definers', 182.

71 Fuglesang, 'Ekphrasis and Surviving Imagery', 194, 217.

72 Text and translation (the latter modified) from Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', *Gesta* 40.2 (2001): 125; cf. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 99–100.

73 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:544–8; Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic', 135.

74 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:498–9, lines 179–220. Cf. Godman, *Poetry*, 162–3; Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 100–2.

Quo furor Herculeus Vulcanidis ossa retundit,
Ille fero patrios ructat ab ore focos;
Quove genu stomachum seu calcibus ilia rumpit,
Fumifluum clava guttur et ora quatit...

'There Hercules' fury batters the bones of Vulcan's son,
He belches his father's fires from his savage mouth;
There too Hercules smashes his stomach with a knee and his guts with his heels,
Shatters his smoke-spouting throat and face with his club...'

Quo Alcides, Calidonque amnis, Nessusque biformis
Certant pro specie, Deianira, tua.
Inlita Nesseo feralis sanguine vestis
Cernitur et miseri fata pavenda Lichae.
Perdit et Anteus dura inter brachia vitam,
Qui solito sterni more vetatur humo.

'There Alceus, the river of Calydon, and the centaur Nessus
Fight over your beauty, Deianira.
The deadly shirt smeared with the blood of Nessus
Can be made out, along with the terrible fate of wretched Lichas.
Likewise Antaeus loses his life in the powerful arms of Hercules,
For he is not permitted to be thrown to the ground in the usual fashion.'[75]

This is followed up by the other would-be presenter's description of the images of a calf, cow, heifer and bull on the fine rug he has brought. Both these objects could perfectly well have existed. The vase might have been of Late Antique Roman type[76] and the stories of Hercules were certainly a favourite in Carolingian secular and ecclesiastical culture.[77] The rug for its part, allegedly conveyed to the suppliant by an Arabic middleman and

75 Lines 185–8, 197–202: translation mine; cf. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 101–2.

76 Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 101.

77 Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

featuring figurative motifs, could have been Persian from the era of the Sassanid dynasty (224–641 C.E.).[78]

Ermoldus devotes part of Book IV of his *In honorem Hludowici* to an orderly, succinct ekphrastic run-through of the frescoes that adorned the royal church and hall at Ingelheim. First he mentions the biblical stories featured in the church, with Old Testament episodes on the left and New Testament ones on the right (lines 187–244), and then the secular stories in the hall, with ancient history on the left and modern history on the right (lines 245–82). This example of ekphrasis is especially interesting because it fairly closely precedes the section of the Book that covers the the baptism of King Herioldus and his queen in 826.

Only a short time later, in 829 or thereabouts, Walahfrid Strabo made ekphrasis the opening gambit in his highly complex poem entitled *De imagine Tetrici* 'On the statue of Theodoric'.[79] This was the famous equestrian statue of Theodoric the Great which Charlemagne appropriated from Ravenna and placed at his palace at Aachen. Having comprehensively, and no doubt controversially, subjected it to scorn, Walahfrid moves on to contrast Louis, a new Moses leading his people to freedom, with Charlemagne, whose values are by implication as damnable as those of Theodoric.[80] The ekphrasis takes in such motifs as the spear and shield and golden adornments of the main human figure, the nudity and black skin of the ancillary figures, the rigid breast and running gait of the horse and the stone and lead of the plinth.[81] Walahfrid's work, like Theodulf's ekphrases on the vase and rug, indicates that the ekphrastic mode was sufficiently familiar to serve a variety of polemical purposes.

As a final example from perhaps a decade later I shall mention the

78 Mildred Jackson O'Brien, *The Rug and Carpet Book* (New York: M. Barrows, 1946), 7.

79 Carmen XXIII in *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:370–78; Michael Herren, 'The "De imagine Tetrici" of Walahfrid Strabo: Edition and Translation', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991): 118–39, also Michael Herren, 'Walahfrid Strabo's "De Imagine Tetrici": An Interpretation', in *Latin Culture and Medieval Germanic Europe*, ed. Richard North and Tette Hofstra, Germania Latina, vol. 1 (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1992), 25–41.

80 Janet L. Nelson, 'Carolingian Royal Funerals', in *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson, The Transformation of the Roman World, vol. 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 156.

81 Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, Medieval Texts in Translation (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 78–9.

First Bible of Charles the Bald (the so-called Vivian Bible). Prepared for presentation to Charles by the canons of St Martin of Tours, it contains a series of miniatures accompanied by *tituli*. The poet, identified by Dutton and Kessler with Audradus Modicus, praises both the images per se and the personages they depict:

> Psalmificus David resplendet et ordo peritus
> Eius opus canere musica ab arte bene.
>
> 'The psalm maker David shines brilliantly, and the company is
> Well trained in the art of music to sing his work.'[82]
>
> Rex micat aethereus condigne sive prophetae
> Hic, euangelicae quattuor atque tubae.
>
> 'The heavenly king gleams worthily, and the prophets [also shine]
> Here, and the four evangelical heralds.'[83]

Altogether, Carolingian illustrators, in such splendid presentation volumes as this Bible, the Utrecht Psalter and the Drogo Sacramentary, cultivated a characteristic partnering of words and images where the two media interact closely and subtly.[84] The images are characteristically vivid and suggestive of movement, as if to complement a narrative.[85]

Against this Carolingian cultivation of verbal and visual media, it is striking, as scholars such as Margaret Clunies Ross and Signe Horn Fuglesang have remarked, that ekphrasis seems to have flourished among what are conventionally reckoned to be the earliest skalds. Prime examples of this short efflorescence are the fragments of the *Ragnarsdrápa* of Bragi Boddason and the *Haustlǫng* of Þjóðólfr ór Hvini. In both cases internal evidence indicates that the poets' respective patrons rewarded them with decorated shields for their services and that the poets then reciprocated

82 Paul Edward Dutton, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald*, Recentiores (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 114–15.

83 Dutton, *The Poetry and Paintings*, 116–17.

84 Henderson, 'Emulation', 259–69; cf. Dutton, *The Poetry and Paintings*, 89–90.

85 Celia Chazelle, 'Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter', *Speculum* 72 (1997): 1055.

with a gift of poetry that praised both the gift of the shield and, indirectly, its giver[86] on a public occasion where the object itself was on display.[87] A third ekphrasis is the partially extant *Húsdrápa* of Úlfr Uggason, which praises a hall and its internal decorations. To judge from *Laxdœla saga*, this poem was recited as a reciprocal gift at a wedding feast where the magnificent chieftain Óláfr pá had lavished hospitality upon the poet and others.[88]

The dating of these poems is a matter of inference rather than secure documentation. Both versions of *Skáldatal*, a late twelfth-century or early thirteenth-century compilation,[89] place Bragi and his purported patrons Ragnarr loðbrók, Eysteinn beli and Bjǫrn at Haugi almost at the beginning of their lists. The Ragnarr reference (though not, be it noted, the *loðbrók* part) is apparently corroborated by the title *Ragnarsdrápa*, which has the authority of Snorri Sturluson.[90] The limited linguistic evidence may be compatible with a ninth-century dating for *Ragnarsdrápa*,[91] if we assume that certain phonological changes proceeded at a quicker pace in Denmark and Norway than in Sweden. Eysteinn beli is named in *Ragnarssona þáttr* as an under-king of Ragnarr loðbrók in the Upp-Svíaveldi region.[92] Bjǫrn at Haugi for his part was probably a Norwegian magnate flourishing in the last third of the ninth century, although many scholars have identified him with the Swedish king Bjǫrn (Lat. Bernus), from the first third of that century.[93] In addition, both *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* and *Landnámabók*

86 Clunies Ross, 'Stylistic and Generic Definers', 173, 176.

87 Clunies Ross, 'Stylistic and Generic Definers', 178; cf. John Hines, 'Ekphrasis as Speech-Act: *Ragnarsdrápa* 1–7', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 3 (2007): 228.

88 E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 67–8.

89 Guðrún Nordal, *Tools of Literacy: The Role of Skaldic Verse in the Icelandic Textual Culture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 121.

90 *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, ed. Anthony Faulkes, 2 vols. (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1998), 1:50–1 and 1:72–3; *Edda*, trans. Anthony Faulkes (London: Penguin, 1987), 106 and 123.

91 Finnur Jónsson, 'Om skjaldepoesien og de ældste skjalde', *Arkiv for nordisk filologi* 6 (1890): 150–1; contrast Sophus E. Bugge, 'Om Ægtheden af Bragi den gamles Vers', in *Bidrag til den ældste skaldedigtnings historie* (Oslo, 1894), 1–107; Alexander Bugge, 'Skaldedigtningen og Norges ældste historie', *[Nordisk] Historisk Tidskrift* 21 (1910): 178; cf. Jan De Vries, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd rev. ed., 2 vols. (Heidelberg: De Gruyter, 1964–7), 1:125.

92 *Danakonunga sǫgur*, ed. Bjarni Guðnason, Íslenzk fornrit, vol. 35 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1982), 79.

93 Cf. Jón Jóhannesson, 'Björn at Haugi', in *Afmælisrit helgað Einari Arnórssyni hæstaréttardómara sextugum 24. febrúar 1940*, ed. Guðbrandur Jónsson (Reykjavík: Ísafoldarprentsmiðja,

refer to Bragi as an ancestor of tenth-century Norwegians and Icelanders, which might place him as a native of the south-west of Norway.[94] Certain loanwords in the Bragi corpus, such as *lung* ('ship') from Irish, *penningr* ('penny') and perhaps *sumbl* ('feast') from English, and *rósta* ('noise, battle') from French,[95] fit well with the notion of a poet following itinerantly in the train of a Scandinavian leader in the middle third of the ninth century, or, alternatively, quick to adopt lexis from some predecessor who had done so.

Haustlǫng purportedly was prompted by a shield given to the poet, Þjóðólfr ór Hvini (i.e., from Kvinesdal, Vest-Agder), by a certain Þorleifr. This benefactor has widely been identified with Þorleifr inn spaki,[96] who lived in the first third of the tenth century, but such an identification causes difficulties for the dating of the other Þjóðólfr ór Hvini attribution, *Ynglingatal*, which is most naturally placed in the late ninth century,[97] and so should be abandoned in favour of some earlier bearer of this popular name. We could then see Þjóðólfr as possibly a younger contemporary of Bragi.[98] Vest-Agder appears to have still had Danish affiliations in the late ninth century,[99] though Þjóðólfr evidently enjoyed high social status and close friendship with Haraldr hárfagri.[100]

Úlfr Uggason flourished, to judge from the implicit internal chronology of *Njáls saga* and *Laxdœla saga*, in the late tenth century,[101] and was an Icelander. *Húsdrápa* can be seen as continuing, albeit in an altogether humbler ambiance, Carolingian descriptions of pictures in notable buildings.

1940), 135–40, trans. E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Saga-Book* 17 (1966–9): 293–301; Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, xxi–xxiii.

94 Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gads forlag, 1920–4), 1:415.

95 De Vries, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, 1:127.

96 Cf. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, 8.

97 'Þjóðólfr ór Hvini: *Ynglingatal*', ed. Edith Marold, in Diana Whaley, ed., *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas*, vol. 1: *From Mythical Times to c. 1035*, Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages, vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 6. Cf. De Vries, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, 1:133–4; C.D. Sapp, 'Dating *Ynglingatal*. Chronological Metrical Developments in *kviðuháttr*', *Skandinavistik* 30.2 (2000): 85.

98 Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 1:432; Hans Kuhn, *Das Dróttkvætt* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1983), 279.

99 Claus Krag, 'The Early Unification of Norway', in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, 1:187.

100 Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 1:432–3.

101 Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, 68.

The poem featured a refrain with the following words: *hlaut innan svá minnum* ('it [the hall] was allotted memorable stories in this way').[102] From Ermoldus we can compare:

> His est aula Dei picturis arte referta,
> Pleniter artifici rite polita manu.[103]
>
> 'The hall of God is crammed with these skilfully executed pictures, fully embellished by dextrous hand in ceremonial fashion.'

Skaldic ekphrasis appears to have enjoyed only an attenuated existence after Úlfr's time.[104] By contrast, skaldic tmesis was much longer-lived, with attestations all the way from the late ninth century to the twelfth. Amory has shown that of the various figures of language traditionally designated by the term tmesis, only those attested in Mediaeval Latin (and, secondarily, Old French) work on the same pattern as those in Old Norse/Icelandic. In both corpora it is typically parts of the noun that are separated by intervening linguistic material and only rarely other parts of speech. The noun concerned is either a compound or at the least a combination of syllables that could be interpreted as a compound. Other traditions of tmesis, for instance that of Old Irish, which typically operates on the verb, work on quite different principles.[105]

The following is a list of characteristic examples of tmesis in Carolingian verse (arranged in approximate order of dating); it is designed to be representative but not exhaustive:

102 Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, 69.

103 Ermold le Noir, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Épîtres au Roi Pépin*, ed. and trans. Edmond Faral (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1964), 162–3, ll. 2124–5.

104 Clunies Ross, 'Stylistic and Generic Definers', 166–7.

105 Daniel Melia, 'A Poetic Klein Bottle', in *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture: A Festschrift for Eric Hamp*, ed. A.T.E. Matonis and Daniel F. Melia (Van Nuys, CA: Ford & Bailie, 1990), 187–98; Daniel Melia, 'On the Form and Function of the "Old Irish" Verse in the Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus', in *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition*, ed. Joseph Falaky Nagy and Leslie Ellen Jones (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 285; Amory, 'Tmesis', 44.

Dicuil, Irish monk, eighth century, *De grammatica*, line 17: *Prisci- canit pueris haec -ani cuncta libellus* 'The book of Prisci- recited to the boys -anus all these things' (i.e., Priscianus).[106]

Alcuin (735–804), Northumbrian scholar and Abbot of Tours, Carmen XXXII, line 3: *Te cupiens apel- peregrinis -lare camenis* 'Desiring to ad- in foreign -dress you poems' ('apellare').[107]

Alcuin, *Epitaphium [Ælberhti]*, line 1: *Pontificalis apex, meritis archi- que -sacerdos* 'Pinnacle of priesthood, for his merits arch- and -bishop'.[108] Here the enclitic *que* would normally be attached to *meritis*.

Peter the Grammarian, also known as Peter of Pisa (744–799), deacon, Carmen XLI *Versus Petri in laude regis*, line 10: *Hic domuit Lango- properans ad proelia -bardos* 'He subdued the Lango- as he rushed off to battles -bardi' ('Langobardos').[109]

Anonymous early ninth-century titulus: *Gloria magnificus de Lango- maxime -bardis* 'Glory, the noble [Grimoaldus] of the Lango- exceedingly -bards'.[110]

Theodulf, Carmen XLIII *Ad Gislam*, line 29: *Suave- que, Gisla, tuo feliciter utere -rico* 'And Suava- Gisla, happily enjoy your -ricus' (i.e., her husband Suavaricus).[111]

Bernowinus, early ninth century, Carmen XXXII, line 10: *Ianu- decimo migravit -arii Dida Kalendas* 'of Janu- on the tenth migrated -ary Dida Kalends' (i.e., on the tenth day before the Kalends of January).[112]

Hibernicus exul (unidentified Irish exile-poet), epitaph to Charlemagne dated 814, line 9: *Febro- migravit quinto -arii ex orbe kalendis* 'of Febru- migrated on the fifth -ary Kalends from the world' (i.e., on the fifth day before the Kalends of February).[113]

Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hlodowici* IV, 13: *Nort- quoque Francisco*

106 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:667.

107 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:249; Amory, 'Tmesis', 47. Cf. Godman, *Poetry*, 122. Translations of this and the following examples are mine and are designed to highlight the tmesis.

108 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:206.

109 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:74; Amory, 'Tmesis', 47.

110 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:430.

111 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:541.

112 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:425.

113 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:408.

dicuntur nomine -manni, 'North- thus they are called by a Frankish name -men' ('Nortmanni').[114]

Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hlodowici* IV, 179: *Engilin- ipse pius placido tunc tramite -heim / Advolat induperans* 'To Ingel- the pious emperor himself then hastens on a peaceful byway -heim' ('Engilinheim').[115]

Ermoldus Nigellus, *Ad Pippinum Regem* II, 221–2: *Er- modolata tibi conscripsit carmina -moldus, / Nominis ut famuli sis memor, alme, tui* 'Er- composed melodious songs for you -moldus, so that, dear man, you may be mindful of the name of your servant' ('Ermoldus').[116]

Walahfrid Strabo (ca. 808–849), monk, Carmen XVI *Ad Altgerum monachum Elahwangensem*, line 13: *Marcwardum, Cotan- en dignum precor omnia -bertum* 'Lo, I entreat everything of the worthy Marcwardus, Cotabertus'.[117]

Walahfrid Strabo, Appendix, Carmen VI *Vita Sancti Galli confessoris*, line 24: *Brunni- secunda mali Zezabel cognominis -hilda* 'Brunni- the second of the evil cognomen Jezebel -hilda' (i.e., Brunnihilda).[118]

Walahfrid Strabo, Appendix, Carmen VI *Vita Sancti Galli confessoris*, line 202: *Hilti- cuius erat nomen baptismate -boldus* 'Hilti- whose name by baptism was -boldus' (i.e., Hiltiboldus).[119]

Walahfrid Strabo, Appendix, Carmen VI *Vita Sancti Galli confessoris*, line 702: *Discipulus quidam Magno- cum cerneret -aldus* 'a certain pupil Magno- when he saw -aldus' (i.e., Magnoaldus).[120]

Walahfrid Strabo, Appendix, Carmen VI *Vita Sancti Galli confessoris*, line 1104: *O Magno- levita sacer dilectus et -alde* 'Oh Magno- sacred and chosen Levite -aldus'.[121]

Walahfrid Strabo, Appendix, Carmen VI *Vita Sancti Galli confessoris*, line 1429: *Constanti- ecclesiae dilectis moribus -ensis* 'Constanti- of the church with refined morality -ensis' (i.e., Constantiensis, of Konstanz).[122]

114 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:59; Ermold le Noir, *Poème*, 145; Amory, 'Tmesis', 47.
115 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:63; Ermold, *Poème*, 157; Amory, 'Tmesis', 47.
116 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:91; Ermold, *Poème*, 233; Amory, 'Tmesis', 47.
117 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:361.
118 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:429.
119 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:434.
120 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:447.
121 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:456.
122 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:464.

Angelomus, deacon, ninth century, *Angelomus in iv libros regum*, line 36: *'Ange- deus -lomi,' dic, 'miserere tui'* '"Ange- God -lomus," say, may have mercy on you' (i.e., 'Angelomus, may God have mercy on you').[123]

Anonymous, ninth century, titulus added to a book, line 1: *Cassio- libripotens titulaverat ordine -dorus* 'Cassio- able in authorship had written *tituli* in order -dorus'.[124]

Johannes Scottus (ca. 815–877), theologian, Carmen VIII iii, line 19: *Hic theo- fert palmam cunctis perpulchra -logia* 'Here Theo- most fair bears the palm over all things -logy'.[125]

Sedulius Scottus (flourished 840–860), teacher, Carmina II xxxvi, line 3: *Rot- bone, sint nobis per te solacia -berte* 'Rot- may there be consolations for us through you, good -bertus'.[126]

Anonymous Irish monk, perhaps contemporary with Sedulius Scottus, Carmen III, line 32: *Clausis marga- suis candida -rita thoris* 'white pearls in her enclosed cells'.[127]

Ermentarius, latter half of ninth century, titulus added to a book, line 12: *Ermen- enim vester -tarius ista cupit* 'Ermen- because your -tarius wishes these things'.[128]

Heiricus (841–876), Benedictine theologian, *Vita S. Germani* V, line 277: *Dicentes Medio- facti de nomine -lanum, / Quod, cum prima novis struerent fundamina muris, / Lanea sus media perhibetur parte reperta* 'Saying Mi- from the fame of the event -lan that when they laid the first footings for new walls a woolly sow is said to have been found beneath the middle section'.[129]

Erchanberhtus, latter half of ninth century, *Versus Ercanberhti*, line 4: *Ercan- qui hunc scriptor -berhtus sudore peregi* 'I, Ercan- who as writer this -berhtus completed with sweat'.[130]

123 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:677.

124 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini: Supplementa,* vol. 4.3, ed. Karl Strecker, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1923), 1064.

125 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini,* vol. 3, ed. Ludwig Traube, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae, vol. 3 (Berlin 1896), 550.

126 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 3:201.

127 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 4.3:1126.

128 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 4.3:1065.

129 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 3:495.

130 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 4.3:1062.

Abbo, later ninth century, *Bella Parisiacae urbis* II, line 472: *Consilioque fugae Burgun- adiere -diones* 'And the Burgun- were present -dians with advice to flee'.[131]

Samson, epitaph (date obscure): *Super tumulum Atanagildi Abatas: Occulit abbatis magni haec urna fabilas / Quem Athana- prisca vocitabant secula -gildum* 'On the tomb of Abbot Atanagildus: This urn conceals the ashes (*favillas*) of the great abbot whom Athana- ages of old called -gildus' ('Athanagildus').[132]

Tmesis in Skaldic Poetry

Although the overall incidence of tmesis in Carolingian poetry is low, remarkably Ermoldus Nigellus uses it twice in Book IV of his *In honorem Hlodowici*. The first example occurs in line 13, as Louis is initiating his conversion of the Danes, the second in line 179, immediately following Ebbo's good news that Herioldus has accepted Christianity and immediately before the ekphrastic description of Ingelheim. It seems equally remarkable that examples of tmesis should crop up in verses ascribed to the two earliest skalds to produce ekphrases, Bragi and Þjóðólfr ór Hvini. The highest-incidence type of tmesis in Carolingian tradition, as shown by the above list, is the splitting up of proper names, and this equally is an early and productive type in the Scandinavian tradition. The first attestation is from Þjóðólfr's *Haustlǫng*:

> Urðut brattra barða
> byggvendr at þat hryggvir;
> þá vas Ið- með jǫtnum
> -unnr nýkomin sunnan.[133]

131 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. 4.1, ed. Paul von Winterfeld, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1899), 111; cf. *Viking Attacks on Paris: The Bella parisiacae urbis of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, ed. and trans. Nirmal Dass, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, vol. 7 (Paris: Peeters, 2007), 90–1; Amory, 'Tmesis', 47.

132 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 3:146, and cf. 3:143 on the dating; Amory, 'Tmesis', 47.

133 *Haustlǫng*, 10.1–4, in *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 4 vols. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1912–15), 3 (B.1):16; E.A. Kock, *Notationes norrænæ: anteckningar till edda och skaldediktning* (Lund: Gleerup, 1923–44), §304; Finnur Jónsson, 'Kenningers led-omstilling og tmesis', *Arkiv for nordisk filologi* 49 (1933): 10; Anne Holts-

> 'The giants [denizens of the steep cliffs] were not rueful at that; then was Ið- amongst the giants -unn newly arrived from the south.'

There is no reason to suppose that Þjóðólfr's audience would have had difficulty understanding tmesis of the familiar mythological name Iðunn.[134] Another equally transparent example of tmesis of a personal name (Hákon) is attributed to the tenth-century Gunnhildr konungamóðir:

> Há- reið á bak báru
> borðhesti -kon vestan,
> skǫrungr léta brim bíta
> bǫrð, es gramr hefr Fjǫrðu.[135]

> 'Há- on the back of the wave with the ship [plank-horse] -kon rode from the west; the champion did not allow the prow to graze on the surf, when he holds the Fjords.'

Against prevailing scholarship, Kock would emend to *Hár- … konr* 'high (i.e., eminent) man' in order to avoid tmesis, which systematically fell foul of his assumptions regarding commonsense in skaldic interpretation. A side-benefit would allegedly be to enhance the *hending* (which would become *hár*:*bár-*),[136] but, as Olsen observes, this is unnecessary since *há r*:*bár-* in itself constitutes a recognised type of *hending*.[137]

The above two examples are reminiscent of Ermoldus's rendering of his own name as *Er- -moldus* (cited above). Place names are also subjected

mark, 'Myten om Idun og Tjatse i Tjodolfs Haustlǫng', *Arkiv for nordisk filologi* 64 (1950): 10; Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, 11; *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 1:32; contrast Felix Genzmer, 'Zwei angebliche Fälle der Wortspaltung', *Arkiv for nordisk filologi* 44 (1928): 305–6.

134 De Vries, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, 1:119.

135 'Gunnhildr konungamóðir: *lausavísa*', ed. R.D. Fulk, in Whaley, *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas*, vol. 1, 151. Cf. Finnur Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 1 (A.1):61, and 3 (B.1):54; Finnur Jónsson, 'Kenningers led-omstilling', 10–11; *Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sǫgum: Fagrskinna, Nóregs konunga tal*, ed. Bjarni Einarsson, Íslenzk fornrit, vol. 29 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1984), 75.

136 Kock, *Notationes norrænæ*, §249.

137 Magnus Olsen, 'Har dronning Gunnhild diktet om Håkon den Gode?', Avhandlinger: Det Norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo: Historisk-Filosophisk klasse, vol. 1 (Oslo: Dybwad, 1944), 4; cf. 'Gunnhildr konungamóðir: *lausavísa*', 151.

to tmesis, on the same pattern as Ermoldus's division of *Engilinheim*. An instance is Hallfreðr Óttarsson's tmesis of *Heiðabý*:[138]

> Bǫðserkjar hjó birki
> barklaust í Danmǫrku
> hleypimaðr fyr Heiða-
> hlunnviggja -bý sunnan.[139]
>
> 'The sea-warrior [running tree of roller-horses] cut down the armour-stripped army [bark-less birchwood of the war-shirt] in Denmark to the south of Hedeby.'

Tmesis of the place-name Myrkviðr is seen in a stanza by the late tenth-century poet Einarr skálaglamm:

> Ok við frost at freista
> fémildr konungr vildi
> myrk- Hlóðynjar -markar
> morðalfs, þess's kom norðan.[140]
>
> 'And in the winter the generous king wished to test the warrior of Norway [the land of the dark forest], who had come from the north.'

138 Kari Ellen Gade, *The Structure of Old Norse* dróttkvætt *Poetry*, Islandica, vol. 49 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 214.

139 *Óláfsdrápa* v. 2: 'Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld Óttarsson: *Óláfsdrápa*', ed. Diana Whaley, in Whaley, *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas* 1, 393–4. Cf. *Óláfsdrápa* v. 5: Finnur Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 3 (B.1):149; *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols., Íslenzk fornrit, vols. 26–28 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1941–51), 1:263.

140 *Vellekla* 26.1–4: 'Einarr skálaglamm Helgason: *Vellekla*', ed. Edith Marold, in *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas*, 1:315–16. Cf. *Vellekla* 27 in *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 3 (B.1):122; Finnur Jónsson, 'Kenningers led-omstilling', 13; Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, *Heimskringla*, 1:256; Konstantin Reichardt, 'A Contribution to the Interpretation of Skaldic Poetry: Tmesis', in *Old Norse Literature and Mythology: A Symposium*, ed. Edgar C. Polomé (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 210–11; contrast Kock, *Notationes norrœnæ*, §406.

Except for Kock[141] all editors analyse *myrk … markar* as tmesis.[142] Marold construes as follows: *Hlóðynjar myrkmarkar* 'of the Hlóðyn = Jǫrð (jǫrð 'earth') of the dark forest ⟨= Myrkviðr⟩ [JUTLAND]'; she identifies the referent of the compound as 'the Myrkviðr "Dark Forest" that lies between Jutland and Holstein', while noting that ON Myrkviðr has multiple attestations and evidently refers to a number of different forests that lie on various borders.[143]

From the tenth century we see another line of development where the application of tmesis to proper names extends itself to compounds of other kinds. The *Þórsdrápa* of Eilífr Goðrúnarson, a skald who lived in the latter half of the tenth century, contains examples of this sub-type.

> Þylk granstrauma Grímnis;
> gall- mantælendr halla
> -ópnis ilja gaupnum
> Endils á mó spendu.[144]
>
> 'I declaim a poem [Grímnir's moustache-streams]. Þórr [the entrapper of the eagle's [shrill-crier's] hall's king's [giant's] concubine] made his feet [sole-palms] span the heath.'[145]

This example is uncertain, since *gallópnir*, the heiti for 'eagle', is somewhat insecurely attested, but the alternative solutions so far proposed[146] are considerably more complicated than the assumption of tmesis. Tmesis of a polysyllabic common noun has its Carolingian counterparts in *Ianu- decimo migravit -arii Dida Kalendas, Febro- migravit quinto -arii ex orbe kalendis*

141 Kock, *Notationes norrœnæ*, §406.

142 Cf. Konstantin Reichardt, *Studien zu den Skalden des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1928), 9, 93 n. 20, 207–8.

143 For two possible eleventh-century imitations of this tmesis see Reichardt, 'A Contribution', 210–12.

144 Eilífr Goðrúnarson, *Þórsdrápa* 3.5–8: Finnur Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 1 (A.1):148–9; 3 (B.1):140; Kock, *Notationes norrœnæ*, §1080; Finnur Jónsson, 'Kenningers led-omstilling', 14; Konstantin Reichardt, 'Die Thórsdrápa des Eilífr Guðrúnarson: Textinterpretation', *Publications of the Modern Languages Association* 63 (1948): 343; *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 1:26.

145 *Edda*, 83, with modifications.

146 Cf. Genzmer, 'Zwei angebliche Fälle', 307–10.

and *Clausis marga- suis candida -rita thoris* cited above. In the same poem we observe a characteristic skaldic configuration where the tmetic elements begin and end the *dróttkvætt* line. This pattern is firmly established in the three attestations from Ermoldus, as also in the additional examples from Theodulf, Walahfrid Strabo and Sedulius Scottus cited above. Clearly Eilífr was fond of it, since two undoubted instances appear in *Þórsdrápa*, with a third possible instance proposed for *Þórsdrápa* 12.1-4.[147] The unequivocal instances are as follows:

> Harðvaxnar lét herðar
> Hall-lands of sik falla
> (gatat maðr) njótr inn neytri
> njarð- (ráð fyr sér) -gjarðar.[148]
>
> 'The doughty user of the power-girdle allowed the rocks [shoulders of the boulder-land] to fall on himself; the man knew of no help for it.'
>
> Komat tvíviðar tívi,
> tollur karms, sás harmi
> brautar liðs of beitti
> bekk- fall jǫtuns -rekka.[149]
>
> 'No lack of support befell the double wood-stave [bow-tree, warrior], the god of the wagon, who inflicted grief on the giant's bench-fellows.'[150]

147 *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 3 (B.1):142; Kock, *Notationes norrœnæ*, §458; Reichardt, *Studien zu den Skalden*, 210; Reichardt, 'Die Thórsdrápa', 367–8; and Reichardt, 'A Contribution', 213–14; *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 1:28.

148 *Þórsdrápa* 7.1–4: Finnur Jónsson, 'Kenningers led-omstilling', 15; Reichardt, *Studien zu den Skalden*, 207–8; Reichardt, 'Die Thórsdrápa', 351–2; Reichardt, 'A Contribution', 212–13; contrast *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 3 (B.1):141; Kock, *Notationes norrœnæ*, §449; *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 1:27.

149 *Þórsdrápa* 19.5–8: Reichardt, 'Die Thórsdrápa', 387–8; Reichardt, 'A Contribution', 214–15; *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 1:29; contrast *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 3 (B.1):143.

150 *Edda*, 85, with modifications.

A further elaboration, using two different tmetic types within a single *helmingr*, may be exemplified by a verse ascribed to Eyvindr skáldaspillir, from the later tenth century:

> Fengum feldarstinga
> fjǫrð- ok galt við -hjǫrðu,
> þanns álhimins- útan
> oss -lendingar sendu.[151]
>
> 'I received last year a cloak-pin, which Ice- [the channel-sky's]-landers sent to me from across the sea, and I spent it on fish [fjord-livestock].'

In the second tmesis, the phrase *álhimins lendingar* ('inhabitants of the channel-sky') contains an *ofljóst* for 'Icelanders', the 'sky' of the 'channel' being resolvable as 'ice'.[152] The first tmesis is not entirely secure, since a different interpretation of *fjǫrð*, avoiding the tmesis, is possible, though not favoured by most scholars.[153]

Another type of tmesis involves the separation of kenning elements that would logically belong together in a nonce compound. The first of the poets to use it is Bragi. This is the unique example of tmesis in the Bragi canon, and it is evidently not from *Ragnarsdrápa*, but a separate expression of thanks to a generous patron.

> Þann áttak vin verstan
> vazt- rǫdd en mér baztan
> Ála -undirkúlu
> óniðraðan þriðja.[154]
>
> 'I had him as a third not demeaned friend, worst to gold [the fishing-ground- voice of Áli -under-globe] but best to me.'[155]

151 'Eyvindr skáldaspillir: *lausavísur*', ed. Russell Poole, in *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas*, 1:234–5. Cf. *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 3 (B.1):65.

152 Reichardt, 'A Contribution', 201–2.

153 *Heimskringla*, 1:223–4.

154 Fragment 6: *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 3 (B.1):5; *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 1:44.

155 *Edda*, 99, with modifications.

Snorri's commentary vouches by implication for the presence of tmesis: *Hann kallaði stein vazta undirkúlu – steinninn – en jǫtun Ála steinsins, en gull rǫdd jǫtuns* ('he called "stone" the "under-globe of fishing grounds" – the stone – and "giant" the "Áli of the stone", and "gold" the "voice of the giant"').[156] In other words, the element *vazt-*, from *vǫzt* ('fishing ground'), is to be taken as first half of a nonce compound *vazt-undirkúla* ('fishing-ground under-globe, seabed-globe').[157]

The same type is exemplified once in *Haustlǫng*:

> Ok lómhugaðr lagði
> leik- blaðs -reginn fjaðrar
> ern at ǫglis barni
> arnsúg faðir Mǫrnar.[158]
>
> 'And with deceitful mind the giant [Mǫrn's father], feather-blade play-deity, directed a storm-wind against Loki [the hawk's offspring].'[159]

In Anthony Faulkes's analysis, the kenning for Þjazi, *leikblaðs fjaðrar reginn*, 'god (or dwarf) of the play-blade of the feather', is to be taken as equivalent to *fjaðrar blaðs leikreginn*, 'god (or dwarf) of the play of the feather-blade'. Thus Þjazi is the 'god, i.e., causer, of the feather's playing blade', meaning that he beats or flaps his wings.[160] This type is often referred to as the 'inverted kenning', because in it the nonce-compounds characteristic of kennings are treated tmetically.[161] It proliferated greatly in subsequent skaldic poetry.

A final type of tmesis to be mentioned involves the insertion of a preposition between the parts of a compound. It is attested in *Haustlǫng*:

156 *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 1:45, with modifications.
157 *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 2:432, with modifications.
158 *Haustlǫng* 12.5–8: *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 3 (B.1):16; *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 1:33.
159 *Edda*, 88, with modifications.
160 *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, 2:345, following Kock, *Notationes norrœnæ*, §138.
161 Amory, 'Tmesis', 47, and references there given.

> Segjǫndum fló sagna
> snótar ulfr at móti
> í gemlis ham gǫmlum
> glammi ó- fyr -skǫmmu.[162]
>
> 'Þjazi [the wolf, i.e., predator, of the lady] flew noisily to meet the Æsir [the commanders of the crew] no short time ago ["un- ago -shortly"] in an ancient eagle's form.'[163]

The manuscript evidence is complex[164] but the direct testimony of one manuscript along with the variants in the others presupposes an original 'ó fyr', which has been the subject of misunderstandings and paraphrases of various kinds in the paradosis. Venturing into emendation, with Kock, is unnecessary. This type is as uncommon in Carolingian poetry as in skaldic, but Alcuin's *Pontificalis apex, meritis archi- que -sacerdos*, with insertion of enclitic *que*, bears a general resemblance.

The above discussion has demonstrated that the skaldic practice of tmesis can be traced back to early attestations that are congruent with late eighth-century and ninth-century Carolingian usage. Amory draws a tentative conclusion: 'It is just possible that the first recorded occurrence of onomastic tmesis in skaldic poetry, i.e., Þjóðólfr's *Ið- með jǫtnum -uðr…*, was a Latinate stylism … Word-splitting and syntactic hyperbaton of the noun phrase were favorite compositional techniques of the Carolingian poetæ and the skalds alike.'[165] Despite De Vries's cautions against assumptions of influence from Latin texts,[166] Amory's case deserves entertaining, and the more so because, as we have seen, some very early examples of tmesis in skaldic poetry are associated with ekphrasis, another feature that is firmly established in Carolingian poetics.

Given these formalistic and genre commonalities, it seems altogether less likely that tmesis originated independently in the two poetic corpora as

162 *Haustlǫng*, 2.1–4: *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 3 (B.1):14; Finnur Jónsson, 'Kenningers led-omstilling', 10; Reichardt, 'A Contribution', 202–3; contrast Kock, *Notationes norrænæ*, §1810.

163 Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, 86, with modifications.

164 *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, 1 (A.1):16.

165 Amory, 'Tmesis', 47–8.

166 De Vries, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, 1:119.

a makeshift expedient for inserting metrically recalcitrant proper names.[167] It should be noted that not all such names are actually recalcitrant – indeed the Carolingian poets occasionally use tmetic and non-tmetic forms in the same poem, as if to further display the device: thus Ermoldus writes *Ebo sacer dudum Nortmannica regna peragrans* 'Bishop Ebbo traversing the Nordic kingdoms just previously' in Book IV line 147, as if to vary the tmetic form in line 13.[168] Also, although the requirements of Latin quantitative verse and skaldic *dróttkvætt* are alike very strict, in practice the poets could avail themselves of a wide variety of expedients towards correctness of metre – among them in both traditions a plenitude of poetic synonyms and considerable freedom of word and phrase order.

Carolingian Influence on Skaldic Poetry: Possible Conduits

Ekphrasis and tmesis: through what agency could these artistic features have been adopted into native Scandinavian poetry from imperial exemplars? It is highly probable that the Danes, as the people that most sustainedly consorted with Empire, would have functioned as the intermediary for any Scandinavian adoption and adaptation of current European artistic fashions. Norway, particularly Vestfold, Vest-Agder and other areas controlled partially or wholly by Danish kings and their Norwegian agents, may have experienced similar cultural influences during the ninth century.[169] We see hints of a parallel development in the plastic arts, whereby plant ornamentation was adapted from Carolingian sources into Scandinavian artifacts towards the end of the ninth century.[170] Carolingian coins were emulated, either for local coinage or for brooches and pendants,[171] the latter evidently as a fashion statement.[172]

167 Though cf. Gade, *The Structure*, 215.

168 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2:62.

169 Clunies Ross, 'Stylistic and Generic Definers', 163–4; cf. Fuglesang, 'Ekphrasis and Surviving Imagery', 211–12.

170 David Wilson and Ole Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 93.

171 James Graham-Campbell, *The Viking World*, 3rd ed. (London: Frances Lincoln, 2001), 116.

172 Ildar H. Garipzanov, 'Carolingian Coins in Ninth-Century Scandinavia: A Norwegian Perspective', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 1 (2005): 55–6.

If this was the agency of transfer, the mechanisms remain to be articulated. While there are no records of poets, as such, accompanying Danish rulers to the Carolingian prestige centres, we can reasonably postulate that various members of the Danish kings' entourages would have had skills as interpreters, go-betweens, negotiators, mediators and counsellors across language or dialect boundaries, even though we have scant knowledge of these functionaries now. Extrapolating backwards from later medieval practice in Denmark, Søren M. Sindbæk posits a highly mobile 'elite collective', who clustered round the various Danish kings and whose class culture would have been determined by international fashion rather than the local norm.[173] A place in this elite, if it existed at the earlier stage, would fittingly have been accorded to the holders of the office of *þulr*, who seem to have been competent in counsel, general knowledge and savoir-faire alongside poetic composition. We happen to possess an attestation of the *þulr* from the right period in the shape of a late eighth-century rune-stone originally located at Snoldelev in Sjælland: *kunuAltstain sunaR ruHalts þulaR asalHauku(m)* 'the stone of Gunnvaldr, son of Hróaldr, þulr on Salhaugum'.[174] More legendarily, the Old English poem *Beowulf* shows the hall 'Heorot', seat of the Danish king Hroðgar, as boasting a *þyle* called Unferð; the same seat is named Lethrae/Hleiðrar in Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* and in *Hrólfs saga kraka* and can be identified with modern Danish Lejre and thus with an outstanding 'central place' in early medieval Denmark.[175]

We should also not neglect the possibility that the Danish leaders might themselves have practised poetry, as seen in the case of the legendary Hroðgar and more securely documented for later Scandinavian tradition by Haraldr harðráði and Rǫgnvaldr Kali, the latter of these a self-styled *þulr*.[176] Such a leader would be the obvious person to absorb

173 Sindbæk, 'The Lands of *Denemearce*', 200.

174 Lis Jacobsen and Erik Moltke, eds., *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1942), 729–30, n. 248; Erik Moltke, *Runes and their Origin: Denmark and Elsewhere* (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 1985), 158 and 183.

175 Stefan Brink, 'Political and Social Structures in Early Scandinavia: A Settlement-Historical Pre-Study of the Central Place', *Tor: Journal of Archaeology* 28 (1996): 245.

176 For further discussion of these points see Russell Poole, '*Þulir* as Tradition-Bearers and Prototype Saga-Tellers', in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, eds. Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge, Viking Collection, vol. 18 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010), 237–59.

artistic impulses at first hand while participating in imperial receptions and to reproduce and transmit them or instigate other poets to do so. The Latin poetry actually declaimed at the court need not have been so involuted as the worked-up versions available to us now. Moreover, the salient features of tmesis and ekphrasis would tend to be conspicuous whatever one's Latinity. The tmetic splitting of a familiar proper name would be readily discernible, while ekphrasis might be signalled by the performer's gestures towards the artifact itself, displayed in all its splendour. Paul the Deacon spoke contemptuously in a poem of 783 of Sigifridus, who had abjured his ancestral religion but still had no knowledge of Latin,[177] but more sustained contact in later decades, such as enjoyed by Herioldus and Rorik on both the diplomatic and the religious fronts, might have led to greater familiarity. There would have been every incentive to make one's way in the official language of both Empire and Christianity, or at the least to have personnel in attendance who could.

Clunies Ross, in her important paper, has laid emphasis upon Herioldus's visit and Ermoldus's ekphrastic panegyric as a key point of contact that might have fostered the composition of ekphrastic poetry on the part of the skalds.[178] To this we can add the suggestion, in light of the broader evidence outlined in the present paper concerning contact at prestige centres and the incidence of ekphrasis and tmesis, that this moment of transfer at Ingelheim could have been prepared for by previous contacts and reinforced by subsequent contacts.

Tmesis is most characteristically in Carolingian usage a linguistic play upon naming. Ekphrasis and titulus lend themselves to the commemoration of gifting and dedication. Naming, gifting, dedication – these are central moments of interpellation and transaction where, if anywhere, cultural transfer from Empire to the northern kingdoms might have occurred.

177 Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 54. For the text, see *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1:50–1, especially lines 17–20.

178 Clunies Ross, 'Stylistic and Generic Definers', 163.

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EFNISÁGRIP

Fræðimenn og skáld: dreifing stílgerða í ljóðlist Karlunga norður á bóginn

Lykilorð: ljóðlist, myndskýringar, *titulus*, stílbrögð, dróttkvæði, ljóðahefð Karlunga, Danmörk, víkingar.

Grein þessi leiðir saman tvenn rök fyrir mögulegum áhrifum ljóðlistar Karlunga frá því seint á áttundu öld og þeirri níundu, á hinar fyrstu dróttkvæðu vísur eða fyrirrennara þeirra. Í fyrsta lagi voru þær ljóðagerðir sem kallaðar eru myndskýringar (*ekphrasis*) og áletranir (*titulus*) – tvær skyldar tegundir ljóðlistar sem lýsa hinu sjónræna með orðum – algengar við hirð Karlunga á því tímabili sem er til skoðunar, og myndskýringar finnst einnig í kvæðum eftir fyrstu skáldin sem heimildir eru um, þ.e. Braga Boddason og Þjóðólf úr Hvini. Margaret Clunies Ross og Signe Horn Fuglesang hafa nýlega fært rök fyrir Karlungaáhrifum af þeim toga á norrænu skáldin. Á hinn bóginn finnst sú stílgerð sem kallast orðklofning (*tmesis*) í skáldskap Karlunga á sama tíma og í dróttkvæðum frá tíma Braga og Þjóðólfs; Frederic Amory hefur leitt líkur að Karlungaáhrifum á þennan þátt í samningu dróttkvæða. Í þessari grein er bætt við framlag áðurnefndra fræðimanna með því að sýna fram á að samskipti milli Karlunga og Dana voru nógu mikil til að mögulegt

hafi verið að bókmenntaleg áhrif hafi orðið frá þeim fyrri á þá síðarnefndu. Því eru myndskýringar, áletranir og orðklofning hér könnuð sameiginlega sem mögulegar vísbendingar um áhrif, og einnig er gefið ýtarlegra yfirlit yfir þessi stílbrögð bæði í dróttkvæðum og ljóðum, sem samin voru við hirð Karlunga.

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