

EMMA BEDDOE

Memory and identity in Flodoard of Reims: his use of the Roman past

The *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* of Flodoard of Reims is a history of that church and diocese from its mythical foundations until Flodoard's own time, around the mid tenth century. His role as archivist of the church of Reims must have given him complete access to its records, and a unique understanding of the history of his city and church. The various sources were utilised by Flodoard for what they could tell him about this past, which he then reformed in his own fashion when he wrote the account of it. It is only by working backwards from his text that it is possible to unravel the smooth finished result and uncover the sometimes disparate sources and evidence which he used to create this polished narrative. This process of assessment and adjustment is more easily uncovered in his first few chapters in which he dealt with the distant foundation of Reims, and its Roman past, than in his later books. In these first chapters, not only did he state which sources he was using, but his classical sources are also mostly extant, so allowing for a detailed examination of his text and of the way he used his sources. In addition to the written sources available, the contemporary oral traditions and the evidence from the physical remains in the landscape around him also influenced his portrayal of this distant past of Reims.

Both the collective memories of his contemporaries in Reims and the historical memories of Reims which he read in the classical sources were adapted by Flodoard when writing what he felt was the appropriate history of his town and church. Due to the social and cultural environment in which an historian lives,¹ his work was a process of an amalgamation of the two, rather than a direct conflict between them. Yet at a closer analysis, it is possible to decipher his narrative, to see where he made alterations to other accounts of that past. Reading the extant sources he used is not a way to discover the truth of what really happened for these texts are as carefully constructed as Flodoard's, but instead to have a clearer understanding of why Flodoard wrote what he did, and to have a greater insight into what the origins of Reims meant to him and to those around him.

Flodoard's vision and understanding of his past is illustrated in part by the classical sources that he used when writing of the distant origins of Reims and of the Remi in the first book of his *Historia*. He used Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (I, 6, 3; I, 7, 3); Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (XII, 7, 1; III, 7, 52; XV, 1, 1); Aemilius Macer's *Ornithogonia*; Sallust's *Catilina* (6); Virgil's *Aeneid* (VIII, 313); Eutropius' *Breviarium historiae romanae* (I, 1, 2; I, 2, 4); the *Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense* 356; Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* (II, 3, 5–7, 9–10; III, 11; V, 24 and 54; VI, 4, 12 and 44; VII, 55 and 90); Orosius' *Historiarum adversus paganos* (VI, 11, 12) and Lucan's *Pharsalia* (I v.419–426).² Flodoard tended to be faithful to the texts that he used, although he had no qualms in omitting or changing certain passages which did not reflect well on the people of Reims, and which did not suit his version of the past.

Since he was writing a history of the church of Reims, it is perhaps surprising that Flodoard started his history by recounting the pagan origins of the town and of the Remi themselves. In effect in the first sentence of his work he wrote: "Having the intention to tell the foundation of our faith

¹ Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton 1994) 11.

² In Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* (ed. Martina Stratmann, MGH SS 36, Hannover 1998) 62–65, Martina Stratmann lists in the footnotes which sources Flodoard has used.

and to perpetuate the memory of the fathers of our Church we don't think that it pertains to our topic to research who were the founders, the builders of our ramparts, because they did not contribute to our eternal salvation, but sculpted on the stone the traces of their mistakes."³ Yet despite this apparently clear aim, he did feel compelled to refer to the founders of the town, notwithstanding their errors, by which Flodoard presumably meant their paganism. What made Flodoard wish to present Reims as having pagan origins is quite clear; it was a way to link Reims and Rome,⁴ and so to claim that they were founded at the same time. Having such a close link to Rome was essential to Flodoard and to others in Reims for what Rome represented. The point of the legend that Remus, the brother of Romulus, had founded Reims was to demonstrate that Reims had always had a strong connection to Rome, their histories were entwined from the beginning. This connection to Rome was considered so important by Flodoard not only for the Rome which had been the centre of a vast Empire, but for the Rome which was the centre of western Christianity, and had been the see of St. Peter.

Another reason may also have affected Flodoard's choice still to devote chapters of his work to the pagan Remi, their pagan founders and to the Roman past, and this was the local legend through which his fellow inhabitants believed their town had been founded. He wrote: "Concerning the town and our foundation, we do not think that the common opinion should be considered, that Remus, the brother of Romulus, founded our town".⁵ Perhaps Flodoard hoped to correct such myths through his investigation of the classical sources. This statement by Flodoard provides a glimpse of general opinion in Reims regarding the foundation of their town, and hints at the tenth century world which existed around Flodoard.

Of all the sources that he uses to examine the claim to foundation of Reims by Remus, none actually mention it. They in fact give no details whatsoever about the founding of Reims. The written sources that he uses, therefore, do not actually confirm the traditions which existed in the Reims of his time, although they do not completely contradict them either. Instead, they contain information about the founding of Rome, and so Flodoard uses this very cleverly, to lend authority to the other evidence he presents when describing Reims' foundation. That Flodoard felt such classical writers had a higher status than his other sources is not surprising, and in the text just quoted above the contrast is evident between the common opinion which should not be completely accepted and the reliance instead on certain other authors worthy of trust.⁶

Flodoard managed to reconcile the evidence he received from two contrasting sources: the common view of the tenth century Remi on the origins of Reims, and the details in the classical sources he used which counteracted this evidence. Flodoard provided a long quotation from the chapters of Livy which dealt with the foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus, followed by the death of Remus and the naming of Rome after Romulus.⁷ That Livy states that Remus was killed by his brother, and never left the area of Rome, meant that Flodoard had to conclude that the local legend of Reims' foundation by Remus himself was inaccurate.⁸ However, he managed to adapt this now discredited legend to what he had found in Livy by saying that after the death of Remus his soldiers were exiled to the area of Reims, where they built his town and founded the people of the Remi.⁹ This was not

³ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 61: *Fidei nostre fundamina proditurus ac nostre patres ecclesie memoraturus moenium locatores nostrorum vel instructores exquisisse non ad rem adeo pertinere videbitur, cum ipsi salutis aeternae nil nobis contulisse, quin immo erroris sui vestigia lapidibus insculpta reliquisse doceantur.*

⁴ Michel Sot, *Un Historien et son Église au X^e Siècle. Flodoard de Reims* (Paris 1993) 360.

⁵ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62: *De urbis namque nostre fundatore seu nominis inditore non omnimodis a nobis approbanda vulgata censetur opinio, que Remum, Romuli fratrem, civitatis huius institutorem ac nominis tradit auctorem.*

⁶ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62: *... cum urbe Roma geminis auctoribus Romulo Remoque fundata fratris militibus Remus certis accipiamus scriptoribus interfectum.*

⁷ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I, 6 and 7 (trans. Benjamin O. Foster, Loeb Classical Library, London/Cambridge-Mass. 1967) 22–25; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62.

⁸ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I, 6 and 7, ed. Foster 24–25; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62.

⁹ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62: *Probabilis ergo videtur, quod a militibus Remi patria profugis urbs nostra condita vel Remorum gens instituta putatur.*

a detail found in Livy, since Livy did not actually mention Reims at all. Instead, it was Flodoard's way of reconciling the contemporary oral legends in Reims when compared to the conflicting details reported in the classical sources.

Following the statement that the soldiers of Remus had founded the town, Flodoard then went on to provide his evidence for this: "Because the walls bear Roman signs and the higher gate is called after the name of Mars to this our time preserved. According to the ancients, Mars was the father of the Romans".¹⁰ Clearly, despite the centuries which had passed since the ending of Roman rule, that past was still an imposing part of the tenth century landscape of Reims in which Flodoard lived. Indeed, the continuing, if shadowy, presence of the Roman past in Reims would surely have been felt by the majority of the inhabitants through the impact of such physical remains, rather than from knowledge of that Roman past from the classical texts.

Yet in order to support his opinion, Flodoard does not use the textual evidence to support his claim, but instead uses the remaining monumental evidence. The most significant Roman building remaining was the arch of Mars, used as one of the gates to the city in Flodoard's time and beyond. As such it would have been part of most inhabitants' daily life, part of their everyday landscape. The gate dedicated to Mars was constructed in the second century AD, and had been incorporated into the third century ramparts circling the city. Although these original ramparts were destroyed by Archbishop Ebo in the early ninth century, the gate was left, and was included in the rebuilt walls of the late ninth century. The gate itself has three arches; one main arch surrounded by two side arches. Flodoard provides a description of the carvings on it: "On the right hand arch is represented, according to the fable, the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, the central one bears sculptures of the twelve months according to the Roman calendar, while the left hand arch contains swans and geese".¹¹ Although worn now, they would have been clearly visible to the tenth century inhabitants of Reims, as evidenced by Flodoard's eyewitness description. This Roman monument was the likely source of the inhabitants' foundation myth regarding the origins of their town, and this is the use to which Flodoard put it.

The other evidence he presented was the name of the gate, which was dedicated to Mars. According to 'the ancients', he was considered the father of the Roman nation through being the father of Romulus and Remus.¹² The arch was still a clear symbol of the power and might of ancient Rome in Reims in the tenth century, as had been the case when the arch was first built. As such a potent representation of the rule of Rome it was obvious that it must have strongly coloured the view of that Roman past held by the town's inhabitants. Its grandeur hinted at the former nature of the town under Roman rule, and also provided the Reims of the ninth and tenth centuries with a potentially glorious past to enhance its present status.¹³

However, the impressive arch of Mars was not the only triumphal arch in the city. There was another arch that later formed a gate into the city, and this was known as the Porta Collectitia or Basilicaris. This name was only attested as early as the ninth century, and there are no records of its Roman name.¹⁴ Another name that has been suggested is Bacchus, given that there were other gates in Reims dedicated to the pagan deities Venus and Ceres.¹⁵ It was situated to the south of the city, along the *Via Caesarea*, although little is known of its size compared to that of Mars.¹⁶ Like the

¹⁰ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62: ... *cum et menia Romanis auspiciis insignita et editor porta Martis, Romane stirpis veterum opinione propagatoris, ex nomine vocitata, priscum ad hec quoque nostra cognomen reservaverit tempora.*

¹¹ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62: *Cuius etiam fornitem prodeuntibus dexterum lupe Remo Romuloque parvis ubera prebentis fabula cernimus innotatum; medius autem XII mensium iuxta Romanorum dispositionem panditur ordinatione desculptus; tertius, qui et sinister, cignorum vel anserum figuratus auspicio.*

¹² Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62.

¹³ Cristina La Rocca, Using the Roman past. Abandoned towns and local power in eleventh-century Piemonte, in: *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (1996) 45–69, at 47f.

¹⁴ Bernard Fouqueray/Robert Neiss, La Porte Basée a Reims, premier essai de reconstitution, in: *Etudes Champenoises* 2 (1979) 4–25, at 5.

¹⁵ Fouqueray/Neiss, La Porte Basée 5.

¹⁶ Fouqueray/Neiss, La Porte Basée 6.

arch of Mars, it too had been incorporated into the third century walls around the city, and also in their replacements under Archbishop Fulk (882–900).¹⁷ Flodoard does not refer to this arch in this section of his work, as clearly it played no part in his interpretation of the Roman past of Reims and the Remi. While its vault did have an image on the ceiling, in which were depicted Triton with perhaps Venus and Bacchus,¹⁸ but this was not part of the identity of the inhabitants of Reims.

The massive Roman arch dedicated to Mars was one of the few points at which the contemporary landscape present in front of Flodoard coincided with his own mental view of the Roman landscape of Reims. This image of Roman Reims had been created through the various sources he was using to construct his text. The gate of Mars had survived intact, whereas it appears from the evidence in Flodoard and from archaeology that few other Roman monuments and public buildings in Reims had done so. The general plan of Roman towns in Gaul during the first few centuries of Roman rule had been to place all the main public buildings together, to form a single complex. This would have included the temples, along with the civic basilica.¹⁹ The development from the second century onwards of bathhouses in many of the main towns would have provided another important public space.²⁰ This seems to have been what happened in Reims, since there was a central complex consisting of a forum and bathhouse at the least.²¹ However, because Flodoard does not mention any other Roman buildings apart from the gate of Mars, it seems clear that any residual memories of other Roman monuments such as temples, bathhouses and the forum complex must have long since disappeared by the tenth century. From archaeology it is clear that the bathhouse had certainly not survived, for its remains were found under the cathedral which had first been built at least by the fifth century.²² Such a monument as the gate of Mars would have been visible to all who came to Reims, and would have been a potent reminder of their past.

The one other Roman monument that Flodoard referred to were the walls, although the ones that he saw in the tenth century were not the original Roman ramparts. These ramparts had been another Roman survival, at least until the mid ninth century when Archbishop Ebo had them destroyed in order to rebuild the nave of Reims cathedral. However, the ramparts were rebuilt by Archbishop Fulk, so Flodoard, and his fellow inhabitants, would therefore not have seen the original Roman walls.

Flodoard used various other classical sources to describe the significance of the remaining symbols carved on the gate of Mars, along with more details concerning the foundation of Rome. Flodoard's knowledge of three of these particular classical sources was from quotations which had been included in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* rather than from first hand knowledge.²³ These sources were Virgil's *Aeneid*, Sallust's *Catalina* and Aemilius Macer's *Ornithogonia*. The library at Reims apparently did not have these sources, although it did have the *Etymologiae* of Isidore.²⁴ The references from these classical sources were therefore short, dependent as they were on the quotations by Isidore. Moreover, he also directly quoted Isidore's *Etymologiae*, along with a direct quotation from the *Breviarium* of Eutropius.

The quotation from the *Ornithogonia* by Aemilius Macer was used by Flodoard to describe the birds found on the gate of Mars, for Aemilius said that the swan was the most favoured among birds: "The swan in auspices is always a very happy omen, this sailor saw for himself when it had not

¹⁷ Fouqueray/Neiss, *La Porte Basée* 6.

¹⁸ Fouqueray/Neiss, *La Porte Basée* 9–12.

¹⁹ Christian Goudineau, Gaul, in: *The Cambridge Ancient History 11, The High Empire AD 70–192*, ed. Alan K. Bowman/Peter Garnsey/Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge 2000) 427–493, at 481.

²⁰ Goudineau, *Gaul* 481.

²¹ The forum is on the map in *Les premiers monuments chrétiens de la France 3, Ouest, Nord et Est, Atlas archéologiques de la France*, ed. José Ajot (Paris 1998) 105.

²² The location of the bathhouse was close to the forum, and remains of it were found underneath the early cathedral and baptistery, Walter Berry/Robert Neiss, Excavation report, in: *Archéologie Médiévale* 26 (1996) 254–255, at 254.

²³ Stratmann, Flodoard, nr. 5 and 7, 62.

²⁴ As is clear from the list of manuscripts in the library at Reims in the ninth and tenth centuries, Sot, *Un Historien* 72–77.

plunged among the waves".²⁵ Flodoard also referred to the legend that Rome was saved when the geese raised the alarm: "The geese also perform the night watch, as the assiduity of their singing attests. It is reported that they saved the Capitol when it was surprised by the Gauls".²⁶

Flodoard was aware that there is no written evidence supporting the foundation myth of Reims, but he again used the parallel with Rome to justify even this. Yet as the other sources he quoted made clear, Rome's origins were probably lost in obscurity. If the Eternal City should have had a birth shrouded in myth and legend, then no one could think any the less of Reims for also having confused and shadowy origins. These included the quotation from Virgil's Aeneid via Isidore which referred to the legend that Evandrus founded the town of Rome.²⁷ He reinforced this point by a brief reference to the Catilina of Sallust, who believed that Rome was built and inhabited by the Trojans.²⁸ As Flodoard wrote: "It is not a surprise that the foundations of our town present an obscurity, since after the work of Isidore, the birth of Rome itself, the mother of the world, is an object of controversy, and one cannot know with certainty the origin".²⁹ Here Flodoard was pointing out that if the origin of his town was vague, as could be seen from the diversity of opinion among the sources, so was that of Rome.³⁰

On the other hand, the quotation from Eutropius also referred to the founding of Rome: "Romulus, while engaged in brigandage among the shepherds, founded when he was eighteen years of age, a small city on the Palatine Hill, which he called Rome after his own name. To him succeeded Tullus Hostilius".³¹ Thus the evidence of Eutropius reinforced the idea that Rome was founded by Romulus.

Clearly Flodoard did try to find any references to Reims in the sources available to him which might have helped to shed light on the shadowy beginnings of Reims, but in the end the only direct evidence he had for its foundation was the oral traditions and memories of the people of Reims, given that the written narratives then available to him did not preserve any such memories of Reims' beginnings. The amount of help the classical written accounts could therefore provide for this was limited.

Having discussed the background to the founding of Reims and the Remi, the next classical source Flodoard turned to was Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*. The evidence that Flodoard found concerning Reims in this source was quite informative about the town's Roman past. The first passage from Caesar that Flodoard quoted was the one in which the name of Reims was mentioned for the first time: "From Caesar, we learn that the ancient name of our town is Durocortorum. In the sixth book, one reads: After having ravaged the country, Caesar took his army to Durocortorum, the town of the Remi, and he there convoked an assembly of Gaul and determined to hold an inquisition touch-

²⁵ Aemilius Macer, Ornithogonia, quoted in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XII, 7, 19 (ed. Wallace M. Lindsay, Oxford 1911): *Cignus in auspiciis semper letissimus ales, hunc optant naute, quia se non mergit in undas*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62.

²⁶ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XII, 7, 52, ed. Lindsay: *Anseres quoque nocturnas excubias celebrant quas cantus assiduitate testantur. Denique Romana etiam capitolii Gallo servasse traduntur ab hoste*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62.

²⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid* VIII, 313 (trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Cambridge-Mass./London 2000) 81; quoted in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XV, 1, 1, ed. Lindsay: *Alii dicunt Euandro, secundum quod Virgilius: 'Tunc rex Euandrus Romane conditor arcis'*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 63.

²⁸ Sallust, *Catilina* 6, quoted in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XV, 1, 1, ed. Lindsay: *Nam Salustius (sic): urbem, inquit, Romam, sicut ego accepi, condidere atque habitare initio Troiani, qui Enea duce sedibus incertis vagabantur*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 63.

²⁹ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 62f.: *Nec mirum tamen urbis nostre conditionem vel originem noon in proptulo dari, cum de ipsius gentium vel orbis domine Rome Ysidoro teste oriatur plerumque dissensio conditione, ut eius diligenter agnosci non possit origo*.

³⁰ From Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XV, 1, 1, ed. Lindsay; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 63.

³¹ *Eutropius in libro historiarum sic loquitur dicens: Romulus cum inter pastores latrocigaretur, XVII annis natus urbem exiguam in Palatino monte constituit, conditam civitatem ex nomine suo Romam vocavit. Post hunc Tullius Hostilius eam adiecto Celio monte ampliavit*. Eutropius, *Breviarium* I, 1, 2 and 4 (trans. John Selby Watson, London 1886) 452–453; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 63.

ing the conspiracy of the Senones and Carnutes".³² The next quotation from a classical source comes directly afterwards, and is from the *Itineraria Antonini Augusti*. This passage also referred to Reims under its old name of *Durocortorum*.³³ As the ancient name of Reims, *Durocortorum* was only gradually replaced in the course of the first century A.D. onwards by the name of the Celtic tribe in the area, the Remi.³⁴ Flodoard did not mention why his town should have changed its name, although the above quotations from Caesar and the *Itineraria* make it clear that he realised it had done so. He offered no explanation for the fact that this evidence seemed to hint at an alternative foundation story to the one he presented, that Reims was founded soon after the foundation of Rome by the soldiers of Remus.

These classical sources were not only used by Flodoard to investigate, and sometimes also to amend, the memories of Reims' beginnings, but also to establish Reims within the classical Roman past itself. Flodoard claimed to have quoted from the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister, although in reality it was from the *Itineraria Antonini Augusti*.³⁵ This was a road manual or route map, which listed the most important traffic routes of the ancient Roman Empire, along with road stations and the distances between them. It had two sections, one for the land and one for the sea. It had been created for one of the Antonine emperors (AD 138–222), and had been revised afterwards for later rulers.³⁶ That he may have used Pseudo-Aethicus is counteracted by Martina Stratmann, who in a footnote to her edition of Flodoard states that Flodoard's quotation has been mistakenly attributed to Pseudo-Aethicus rather than to the *Itineraria*.³⁷

Such a work as the *Itineraria* was not only a way to establish the location of Reims, but through this to verify its classical credentials by showing that Reims had existed in Roman times, and was significant enough to have been included in works of this kind. With this source Flodoard was therefore seeking to establish Reims within a broader landscape, one that encompassed the western half of the Roman Empire. His work sought to locate Reims in relation to famous and important towns and cities of the Roman period, even if in fact they could have been a long way from Reims itself. Reims is located in relation to Vienne, and through Vienne to Milan, while the distance between Reims and Metz is also listed, along with that between Reims and Trier. Thus Flodoard was able to link Reims to two imperial cities, Milan and Trier.³⁸

Having located Reims in the classical landscape through the *Itineraria Antonini Augusti*, he then sought to place Reims into the framework of events provided by classical history, through the information he gleaned from Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* in particular, along with Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Orosius' *Historia adversus paganos*. Flodoard used Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* for the evidence it provided of the ancient friendship between the people of Reims and those of Rome. Indeed, this chapter's title was "Concerning the friendship between the Romans and the Remi" (*De amicitia Romanorum atque Remorum*), and its first lines were: "It is well known that in ancient times the people of Reims were attached to the Romans with a deep friendship".³⁹ This evidence of friendship also reinforced his earlier discussion regarding the foundation of Reims, since it was clear that the Remi and the Romans had a natural affinity, born from their distant kinship. Nevertheless, Caesar and his troops do not show any awareness of the supposed ancient links between the Remi and themselves.

³² Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* VI, 44 (trans. Henry J. Edwards, Loeb Classical Library, London/Cambridge-Mass., 1917) 377: *Urbis autem nostrae nomen Durocortorum quondam dictum Caesaris astruitur historia, in qua libro sexto sic legitur: Factis legionibus exercitum Cesar Durocortorum Remorum ducit concilioque in eum locum Gallie indicto de coniuratione Senonum et Carnutum quaestionem habere instituit.* Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 63.

³³ *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* 356 (ed. Otto Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana* 1, Leipzig 1929) 53–58: *Inde Durocortorum M passum CCCXXXIII, que fiunt leugae CCXXI. Item a Durocorto Divodorum LXXXVIII.* Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 63.

³⁴ Goudineau, *Gaul* 481.

³⁵ Sot, *Un Historien* 359.

³⁶ Oswald A.W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London 1985) 125.

³⁷ Stratmann, Flodoard, nr. 10, 63.

³⁸ Sot, *Un Historien* 359.

³⁹ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 1, ed. Stratmann 63: *Constat itaque Remorum populum populo Romanorum tenacissima priscis olim temporibus amicitia iunctum.*

In fact, as the passage below makes clear, in some ways they actually thought quite the opposite, and saw the Remi as typically barbarian. Caesar, and the other classical authors who referred to Reims, were clearly unaware of the past tradition that the Remi have in Flodoard's history.

The passages which Flodoard did include all make plain the usefulness of the Remi for the Romans, and mentioned the good service and great loyalty that they provided: "... the Remi ... were of great service to us for the conduct of the campaign".⁴⁰ He referred to other passages in which Caesar used the Remi to bring supplies for his troops: "... he had the banks of the river to protect one side of the camp, rendered his rear safe from the enemy, and made it possible for supplies to be brought up to him from the Remi and the rest of the states without danger".⁴¹ In addition Caesar was able to station troops with the Remi.⁴² From the Remi Caesar also learnt the movements of the Belgae who were still against him: "So soon as he perceived that all the forces of the Belgae had been concentrated and were coming against him, and learnt from the scouts he had sent and from the Remi that they were not far distant".⁴³

According to Flodoard, the Remi had throughout all antiquity been considered first among their neighbouring peoples, and the Romans had kept this rank. This was evidenced by Caesar's statement that the previous tribe, the Sequani, who had previously held this honour, had lost it through their lack of fidelity to Rome, and so the Remi had succeeded to their place.⁴⁴ Flodoard was also able to show the status of the Remi through his use of Caesar, for through their support and influence with the Romans the Remi now had vassals, such as the Carnutes.⁴⁵ Flodoard also mentioned the great courage of the Remi, and their loyalty towards Rome during all the wars, even when all the tribes of the Belgae around them had turned against Rome.⁴⁶ In addition, Caesar wrote: "... the Aedui and the Remi, whom Caesar always held in especial honour – the former for their old-established and unbroken loyalty towards Rome, the latter for their recent services in the Gallic war".⁴⁷ Yet Flodoard was being disingenuous here, since he omitted the rest of the section, which went on to state that "The state of things then at that time in question was that the Aedui were regarded as by far the chief state, while the Remi held the second place in importance".⁴⁸

By reading his text it is apparent that in the lands of the Remi another town apart from Durocortorum/Reims also existed at this early stage, called Bibrax.⁴⁹ Whether it was named as such in Flodoard's time, or whether it even existed at all, he does not state. What was the nature of this

⁴⁰ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* II, 9, ed. Edwards 103: ... *Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 64.

⁴¹ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* II, 5, ed. Edwards 97: ... *Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat, et post eum quae essent tuta ab hostibus reddebat, et commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus ut sine periculo ad eum portari posset efficiebat*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 64.

⁴² Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* V, 24 and VII, 90, ed. Edwards 263–264 and 511; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 65.

⁴³ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* II, 5, ed. Edwards 97: *Postquam omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit neque iam longe abesse ad eis quos miserat exploratoribus et ab Remis cognovit*. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 64.

⁴⁴ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* VI, 12, ed. Edwards 335: *Principatum quoque Remos antiquitus inter sibi finitimos tenuisse constat, sed et apud Romanos id ipsum optinuisse auctumque sibi legitur in premissa tam ius quam decus historia. Ut in eodem libro VII: Sequani principatum dimiserant; in eorum locum Remi successerant*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 65.

⁴⁵ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* VI, 4, ed. Edwards 321: *Carnutes legatos obsidesque mittunt deprecatoribus Remis, in quorum erant clientela*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 65.

⁴⁶ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* VII, 55, ed. Edwards 458: *Semper enim et in omnibus bellis Remi fidem Romanis servaverant. Etiam quando totius pene Gallie populi adversus Romanos conspirasse conciliumque Bibracte habuisse leguntur, illi nullatenus adesse voluere, quod amicitiam Romanorum sequebantur*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 65.

⁴⁷ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* V, 54, ed. Edwards 307: ... *Heduos et Remos – quos precipuo semper honore Cesar habuit, alteros pro vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide, alteros pro recentibus belli officiis – nulla fere civitas fuerit non subiecta nobis*. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 65.

⁴⁸ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* VI, 12, ed. Edwards 335: *Eo tum statu res erat, ut longe principes haberentur Aedui, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent*.

⁴⁹ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* II, 6, ed. Edwards 99; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 64.

town and Durocortorum at this very early time is also unknown from Flodoard, although at least Caesar provides evidence that the towns had a pre-Caesar foundation, even if his evidence does not confirm or deny the legend of foundation by the soldiers of Remus.

Yet Flodoard did not merely cite all the passages in which Caesar made reference to the Remi, but instead chose them with care. He left out the passage which referred to the Remi acting as guides and extra mounted troops for the Romans, since the leader of the Remi was slaughtered when they gave chase to the enemy who had attacked the convoy they were escorting: “As it chanced, the blow fell upon the Remi, to whom the performance of duty for that day had been allotted. When they suddenly remarked the enemy’s horsemen, and in their superiority of numbers despised the scanty force, they pursued too eagerly and were surrounded by footmen on every side. They were more speedily thrown into confusion by this occurrence than is usually the case in a cavalry combat, and retired with the loss of Vertiscus, a chief of their state and commander of the horse”.⁵⁰ Although Caesar then went on to praise their leader’s determination to take part in any battle despite really being too old for it, the whole incident had ended in confusion and with the death of the leader of the Remi only due to the naivety of the Remi and their lack of training. In this perhaps they were viewed by Caesar as being typical barbarians, hasty and undisciplined, unlike the more rational, self-controlled and well-trained Roman troops. Conceivably this was also why Flodoard did not include this passage, for it deflected from his presentation of the Remi being similar to the Romans through having distant kinship with them. This was a memory which he did not want to record or perpetuate, because it did not fit with his presentation of the past.

In Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, Flodoard refers to a passage which stated that the Remi excelled in hurling javelins, a reference to their fighting and hunting skills which would have been of use to the Romans under Caesar when they came to their territory: “Gone are the soldiers who held the region of the Nemes and banks of the Atyrus, where the Tarbellians hem in the sea that beats lightly against the winding shore. The departure of their foe brings joy to the Santoni and Bituriges; to the Suessones, nimble in spite of their long spears; to the Leuci and Remi who excel in hurling the javelin, and to the Sequani who excel in wheeling their bitted steeds”.⁵¹ He mentioned this passage because it was a flattering portrait of his ancestors, even though this passage is concerned with the joy that the various tribes felt after the Romans had temporarily left, although the quotation Flodoard gave did not make this apparent. Given the close association the Remi are presented as having had with the Romans, it seems unlikely that this was the case for them, although the other tribes were consistent in their hostility to the Romans. This passage was quoted by Flodoard for it provided extra evidence to confirm his claim that the Remi were useful, indeed essential, to the Romans.

The specific extract Flodoard chose from Orosius was that concerning the role of the Remi as auxiliary troops for the Romans, a role which unfortunately led to the deaths of many of the Remi.⁵² The evidence from Orosius accordingly added proof to the earlier quotations from other sources regarding the nature of the Remi, and their assistance for the Romans.

The use Flodoard made of written authority in the form of classical authors was usual in works of the Middle Ages.⁵³ Their inclusion in his work was a way to reinforce the memories of Reims and its past. Consequently, while Flodoard may have respected these writers, he did not hesitate to adapt their accounts to better suit his needs. His desire was to prove the ancient and strong links between

⁵⁰ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* VIII, 12, ed. Edwards 532 and 534: *Cuius mali sors incidit Remis, quibus ille dies fungendi muneris obvenerat. Namque hi, cum repente hostium equites animadvertissent ac numero superiores paucitatem contempserant, cupidius insecati peditibus undique sunt circumdati. Quo facto perturbati celerius quam consuetudo fert equestris proeli se receperunt amisso Vertisco, principe civitatis, praefecto euitum.*

⁵¹ Lucan, *Pharsalia* I, lines 419–426 (ed. James D. Duff, Loeb Classical Library, London/Cambridge-Mass. 1928) 34–35: *Rura Nemetis| Qui tenet et ripas Satyre, qua littore curvo| Molliter admissum claudit Carbellicus equor,| Signa movet gaudetque amoto Santonus hoste;| Et Bitures leves Santonus in armis,| Optimus excusso Leucus Remusque lacerto,| Optima gens flexis in girum Sequana frenis,| Et docilis rector monstrati Belgaco vinci.* Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 2, ed. Stratmann 65f.

⁵² Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, VI, 11 (ed. Carl Zangemeister, CSEL 5, Leipzig 1882) 206.

⁵³ Natalia Lozovsky, ‘The Earth is Our Book.’ *Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca. 400–1000* (Ann Arbor 2000) 7.

Reims and Rome, and so he made use of all the classical sources available to him which might help with this. Yet despite his efforts, those he found proved of little use when seeking to establish how his town and church were founded, because none of these writers showed any awareness of the foundation traditions of Reims. The only source to mention at any length Reims and the Remi was the *Bellum Gallicum* of Caesar, and even he, despite having spent time with the Remi, showed no knowledge of their ancestral claims and ties to Rome. Indeed, many of the classical written sources Flodoard used had no useful information about Reims at all, and much of their evidence went against the foundation myths of Reims current in the tenth century. What he was unable to find in the textual sources he supplied through the monumental physical remains of Reims, as is shown by his use of the gate of Mars. In Flodoard, it was not just texts that provided the means by which the past was remembered and understood, for certain objects also had symbolic status. Instead of the classical authors, it was the Roman arch, the gate of Mars with its symbolic carvings, which was the piece of solid evidence that Flodoard used to demonstrate the truth in the image of their past. This arch was the relic which proclaimed the distant origins and past of the Remi, while also preserving it. This was not the true history of the monument, yet it was the version of their past that at least some of those in tenth century Reims preferred. His treatment of the case of Remus (his denial, supported by the classical sources, that Reims was founded by Remus) would give the impression that he was faithful to the sources that he used, and it is likely that this was the impression which Flodoard wished to portray. Yet, as this paper has sought to show, Flodoard used the classical sources less for their content than for the authority they bestowed upon his work, and therefore upon his agenda. In Flodoard's *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, thanks to his skills in uniting and editing the disparate sources available to him, he managed still to retain this myth of a heroic foundation, and the link to Rome.

