



Figure 2. St Remi, Bishop of Reims, Eleventh-Century Ivory Diptych, from M. Rigollot's Collection, Amiens. Top: St Remi heals a paralytic. Middle: St Remi heals a sick man at the altar. Bottom: St Remi baptizing King Clovis; in Paul La Croix, *The Arts of the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance*, rev. edn (London: J. S. Virtue, 1881), p. 258.

PROLOGUE: TEACHING AND LEARNING HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL OF REIMS, C. 800–950

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A stream of historical writing poured from the church of Reims for about one and a half centuries, issuing from the pens of Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims (845–82), Flodoard, a canon of Reims cathedral (c. 893–966), Richer, a monk of Saint-Rémi (between 950/60 and c. 998), and other less-known writers. These historical works vary in genre, character, and scope. There were annals, kept by Hincmar and continued by Flodoard; a group of saints' lives; Flodoard's sombre *History of the Church of Reims* and Richer's showy, impressionistic *Histories*. The main themes of the history of Reims were passed down in the cathedral school from teacher to student, guiding the activities of the scriptorium and the collection of books and documents in the cathedral library. Hincmar prepared the ground for this series of successor-historians, writing a vast number of books, gathering historical documents, and showing how those documents could be used and understood. Beyond that, Hincmar established that the history of the Frankish kingdom could be viewed meaningfully from a 'Reims perspective'.¹ Together these historians established the pertinence and legitimacy of the independent history of Reims from its origins onward, with its royal associations: what might be called 'the historical epic of Reims'. They accomplished this in a series of historical writings that take us from the height of the Carolingian Empire to the rise of the Capetian monarchy.

A number of factors seems relevant to understanding the historical school of Reims: the resources of the scriptorium and library of Reims (especially from the

¹ Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Carolingian Kings and the See of Reims, 882–987', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. by Patrick Wormald (London: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 228–49 (p. 245).

time of Hincmar onward), the impact of teachers such as Remigius of Auxerre and Hucbald of Saint-Amand on the cathedral school and its students, and finally the royalist tradition of the great cathedral, centred around the cult of St Remigius.² In pursuing these themes chronologically through the careers of the cathedral's bishops and teachers, I hope to offer a preliminary but informative overview of the historical school of Reims.

It is often argued that our effort to identify and understand the authors of medieval histories should be dissolved into questions of social power and the institutional secretion of memory.³ The historians writing in Reims, however, tended to express their own powerful personalities, and we should take some account of these figures as individuals. Moreover, as Gadamer reminds us, there is an element of mystery in traditions like that of Reims.⁴ Books are conveyed through time by the voices of those who can read aloud, ponder, and say what the written words mean. The continued presence and impact of books rely on *traditions of explanation* lying outside of the books themselves. Traditions of explanation come to life between friends, and between teachers and students, but are also informed by books. This is a circular movement, from book to explanation and back to texts again, from thence to other texts citing textual authorities without apparently recognizing that that textual authority is based on an oral tradition, as we shall see. Thus we might first approach the problem of history writing at Reims by considering the communal setting of these acts of memory and compilation: the presence of the past at Reims.

The Historical World of Reims

Closely involved in royal affairs from the beginning of the Carolingian dynasty, the clerics (and historians) of Reims were supremely aware of the dignity of the city, and the historical role of her bishops.⁵ During the Capetian period, the

² Philippe Depreux, 'Imbuendis ad fidem prefulgidum surrexit lumen gentibus: La dévotion à saint Remi de Reims aux IX^e et X^e siècles', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 35 (1992), III–29.

³ For example, Walter Pohl, 'History in Fragments: Montecassino's Politics of Memory', *Early Medieval Europe*, 10 (2001), 343–74.

⁴ Hans-Georg Gadamer, 'Culture and the Word', in his *Praise of Theory*, trans. by Chris Dawson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 1–15.

⁵ Guillaume Marlot (d. 1667), *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims* (Posthumous edition by the Académie de Reims), 4 vols (Reims: L. Jacquet, 1843), 1, 201.

cathedral and city of Reims continued to be at the centre of royal politics, were often fought over, and were sometimes attacked by armies, as in 987 and 991.⁶ The Bishops of Reims had long laboured to establish their prominence vis-à-vis other bishops of the Frankish world. They could point, for example, to the fact that their city was really a second Rome, for Reims had been founded by Remus, the brother of Romulus. A brothers' quarrel had made Rome too small for the both of them.⁷ Along with the dignity of ancient origins went ecclesiastical prominence, with the claim that the primacy of Reims was as old as the first conversion of the Belgi by St Sixtus.

When Hincmar began to keep the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* in the 840s, relations between the Archbishop of Reims and the Carolingian king seemed to be at the core of Frankish history, since the city of Reims was clearly a major centre of the empire.⁸ The bishopric of Reims already possessed an elaborate and dense historical world, affirmed and made visible in the physical landscape and extensive properties of Reims: the Cathedral itself, dedicated to St Mary; the surrounding cities and their suffragan churches, with all their attendant chapels and monasteries; the graves of saintly men, kings, and other members of the Carolingian family; the tantalizing inscriptions, all inviting explanation by the learned.⁹ An inscription under an image of the Virgin read:

*Virgo Maria tenet hominem regemque Deumque
Visceribus propriis natum de Flamine sancto*¹⁰

⁶ McKitterick, 'Carolingian Kings', p. 245; Ferdinand Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du X^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 147 (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1903), pp. 27–28.

⁷ Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*, trans. by Patrick Geary (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 9. The story was recounted by Flodoard von Reims, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. by Martina Stratmann, MGH SS, 36 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), 1.1, pp. 61–63.

⁸ *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Felix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard, and Suzanne Clémencet, Société de l'histoire de France, 470 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964). An earlier edition, still widely used: *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1826), pp. 419–515. For a commentary and translation, *The Annals of Saint-Bertin*, trans. Janet L. Nelson, Ninth-Century Histories, 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1991).

⁹ Patrick Demouy, *Notre-Dame de Reims: Sanctuaire de la monarchie sacrée* (Paris: CNRS, 1995). Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims: Son histoire, son architecture, sa sculpture, ses vitraux* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963).

¹⁰ Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.5, p. 198 ('The Virgin Mary holds a man and a king and a God/born of her own womb from the Holy Spirit').

The words could only be fully explained and fully understood if the onlooker were told that this image and inscription were part of Hincmar's decorative program — and a feature of his general *reparatio* of the church of Reims, a restoration of everything from church fixtures to culture and learning.

There were many relics of saints in Reims, and other sacred objects from the past around which historical tradition formed, most notably the body of Remigius (d. c. 532), the founder of the see of Reims, and the Holy Ampoule, both preserved in the Abbey of Saint-Rémi. The Ampoule was held to contain oil, continuously replenished by supernatural means, from the long-ago baptism of Clovis by St Remigius, a physical guarantee and reminder of the royal dimension of Reims.¹¹

For more than a thousand years, into the eighteenth century, the archdiocese of Reims was a major centre of royal ceremonial and the place where Frankish and later French kings were crowned, anointed, and sometimes buried.¹² Reims was the 'crowning city'.¹³ After the establishment of the ritual of anointing for the Carolingian dynasty, beginning in 751 in Soissons, a Reims tradition developed that the first royal anointing had taken place much earlier, in Reims, when Remigius had baptized Clovis.¹⁴ In actuality Louis the Pious was the first king to be anointed as king in Reims. Later coronations of the Carolingian (and later Capetian) kings took place sometimes in Reims, often elsewhere. But whether the ceremony was conducted in Laon, Compiègne, Noyon, or Orléans, the presiding bishop was almost always the Bishop of Reims.¹⁵ With the help of

¹¹ Marlot, *Histoire*, I, 693.

¹² Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures, et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de la société française d'archéologie, 7 (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1975).

¹³ Jean Sainsaulieu, 'De Jérusalem à Reims: Origines et évolution des sacres royaux', in *Le Sacre des rois*, Actes du Colloque international d'histoire sur les sacres et couronnements royaux, Reims 1975 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985), pp. 17–26. Carlrichard Brühl, *Reims als Krönungsstadt des französischen Königs bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Heil, 1950). Walter Mohr, 'Reichspolitik und Kaiserkrönung in den Jahren 813 und 816', *Die Welt als Geschichte*, 20 (1960), 168–86.

¹⁴ Jean de Pange, 'Doutes sur la certitude de cette opinion que le sacre de Pépin est la première époque du sacre des rois de France', in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, ed. by Charles-Edmond Perrin (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951), pp. 557–64; see also Michael E. Hoenicke Moore, 'The King's New Clothes: Royal and Episcopal Regalia in the Frankish Empire', in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. by Stewart Gordon (New York: St Martin's/Palgrave, 2000), pp. 95–135.

¹⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *Reims, Krönungsstadt*, trans. by Bernd Schwibs; Kleine kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 58 (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1997), pp. 21–27.

Archbishop Hincmar, Charles the Bald could draw on the royal connotations of Reims to provide a source of legitimacy for his rule. He was anointed in Metz in 845 in a ceremony conducted by Hincmar and designed to hearken back to the ancient baptism of Clovis by Remigius.¹⁶

The historicity of Reims also took the form of a legal tradition reflecting the governing role of her bishops over the centuries, and the rich record of their legislation. Some thirty-seven councils had been held in Reims before the year 1000, while many additional councils had been held under the authority of the Bishops of Reims in other places such as Troyes.¹⁷ Conciliar records were a cumulative body of law connecting the work of recent local councils to the distant past of the ecumenical councils of the early Church. These councils were part of the basic framework of history, and Hincmar, Flodoard, and Richer all took care to record them.¹⁸

Reims was thus a royal and priestly city. The historical writing undertaken in Reims was an effort to engage this massive archaeological and mental landscape of law and letters, monuments and records, ancient bones and ancient buildings, and to find in them a basis for understanding urgent daily happenings. At the centre of efforts to record and make sense of this 'landscape of memory' were the scriptorium and library of Reims.

The Library of Reims

In studying a tradition such as that of Reims, we are led to consider the meaning of its books and to ask how a group of themes could give compelling interest, and a sense of urgency, to its tradition of historical writing. Like botanical line-drawings, the histories written in Reims highlighted only the most meaningful features of the city's densely layered and interwoven *lieux-mémoires*.

The tradition was centred in the library and scriptorium of the cathedral, and in the other scriptoria that served it: at Saint-Nicaise, Saint-Denis, Saint-Rémi,

¹⁶ Philippe Depreux, 'Saint Rémi et la royauté carolingienne', *Revue Historique*, 578 (1991), 235–60.

¹⁷ Pietro Palazzini, *Dizionario dei concili*, 6 vols (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII, 1963–67), IV (1966), 85–107.

¹⁸ Wilfried Hartmann, 'Konzilien und Geschichtsschreibung in karolingischer Zeit', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 32 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 481–98.

Saint-Thierry, and Hautvilliers. While some three hundred manuscripts can be identified as coming from Carolingian Reims, little is known of the early history of the library, although it was certainly already active during the rule of Archbishop Tilpin (753–800). Much more can be said about the library and scriptorium beginning with the episcopacy of Hincmar (845–82). Nearly half of Flodoard's *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* is devoted to the time of Hincmar, in part because of the massive documentation then available for his archiepiscopacy.¹⁹ At that time the library came to house a collection of history books ranging from Ammianus Marcellinus to medieval narratives such as Gregory of Tours's *Ten Books of Histories*, alongside collections of annals and a vast archive of ecclesiastical records, charters, forgeries, letters of Reims's bishops, letters of the popes, and other documents of historical significance.²⁰ The library and its archives burgeoned to document Hincmar's relations with the court of Charles the Bald, his complex and bitter struggles to defend his position as archbishop against other bishops and against the king himself.²¹ Hincmar's own writings, many of them produced in the course of these controversies, also added to the depth and character of the library.²² The archive and library thus became the literate repository of the memory of Reims, possessing all the resources required to make it a major intellectual centre.²³

The aims of the historical tradition of Reims shaped the very gathering of its books and documents. Hincmar's legal expertise, for example, found its reflection in the many compilations of law gathered in the library of Reims: Gallican councils and papal letters, the canons of Dionysius Exiguus, along with volumes of Visigothic and Frankish law, the letters and homilies of Pope Leo, and a copy of Charlemagne's Capitularies.²⁴ The library cannot be reconstructed with

¹⁹ Frederick M. Carey, 'The Scriptorium of Reims During the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845–882 A.D.)', in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. by Leslie Webber Jones (Freeport: Books for Libraries, 1938), pp. 41–60.

²⁰ Michel Sot, *Un historien et son église au X^e siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), pp. 69–77.

²¹ Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims, 845–882*, 3 vols, *Travaux d'histoire ethico-politique*, 29 (Geneva: Droz, 1975).

²² From among his extensive writings, see for example Hincmar of Reims, *Opusculum in causa Hincmari Laudensis*, *PL* 126, cols 279–647; and his *Expositiones pro ecclesiae libertatum defensione*, *PL* 125, cols 1035–70.

²³ Le Goff, *Reims*, p. 31.

²⁴ Manuscripts identified by the marks of a thirteenth-century librarian: Carey, 'Scriptorium of Reims', pp. 45–47, 56.

precision, but one could probably also find at Saint-Rémi the commentaries by Augustine on the Gospel of John and the Psalms, and Isidore's *Etymologiae*. There were also historical works of Bede, Cassiodorus, Einhard, Eusebius, Prosper of Aquitaine, and Suetonius.²⁵

This library at that time held a small collection of works from classical antiquity such as Cicero, Juvenal, Lucretius, and Seneca, thus reflecting the cultural aims of the Carolingian Renaissance. It was a collection designed not for leisurely pursuits, outside of holy leisure. According to Flodoard, Hincmar took great care in promoting learning in the cathedral and monasteries of Reims. He was perhaps aware of the importance of his own boyhood education in Saint-Denis under Abbot Hilduin. When Saint-Denis showed signs of decline, Hilduin had sought to restore the monastery to its former cultural brilliance.²⁶ Many of the volumes surviving from the church of St Mary had once been given to the library by Archbishop Hincmar. Flodoard especially noted the deluxe codices, Gospels with gem-encrusted covers and gold lettering, with which Hincmar endowed the library of Reims.²⁷ Thus the purpose and significance of the library came into focus during the episcopacy of Hincmar, his own *Nachlass* one of the most significant sections of the archive. Likewise the history of Reims came into focus. The possibility emerged in Hincmar's hands of viewing the city's history as the coherent unfolding of its significance from Antiquity.

Despite this emphasis on historical studies, the cultural activity and scholarly interests of Reims place its cathedral school in the mainstream of the Carolingian education program. Reform initiatives of kings and bishops alike had attempted to guarantee a high level of clerical education since the time of Charlemagne, who issued laws and expended royal resources on behalf of the project. Before returning to the historical work of Hincmar, let us glance at one prominent expression of Carolingian ideals of scholarship and learning, by the scholar Hraban Maur.

Clerical Education and the Study of History

Hraban Maur (780–856), a monk of Fulda and later Archbishop of Mainz, was one of the most learned men of his age. Later commemorated as the Teacher of

²⁵ Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 69–70.

²⁶ Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.1, pp. 190–91.

²⁷ 'Evangelium aureis argenteisque describi fecit litteris': Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.5, p. 198; Carey, 'Scriptorium of Reims', p. 44.

Germany (*Praeceptor Germaniae*) for his many works of erudition, he was devoted to the high Carolingian project of clerical education and reform.²⁸ Hraban was also known and admired in Reims. Hincmar thought highly of Hraban's works, for example his popular *Enarrationum in epistolas S. Pauli*, which Hincmar collected for the cathedral library.²⁹

Hraban's views on education may be found in his lengthy handbook of ecclesiastical institutions, which detailed all the responsibilities, activities, dress, and practices of clerics and laid out an educational program to train such men. The title of the work, *De Clericorum institutione*, might be translated as *On the Formation of Clerics*.³⁰ True to the spirit of the *Admonitio generalis*, Hraban believed that education of the clergy should be bent only towards the purposes of divine learning, scriptural study, and the proper functioning of the liturgy. The *Formation of Clerics* offers a general guide to such studies, covering topics such as the importance of pronunciation and intonation for conveying the sense of Bible readings,³¹ the times and duration of fasting,³² the hierarchy and orders of clerics, and a lengthy disquisition on the symbolic meaning and biblical origin of priestly vestments.³³ This range of concerns may be traced directly to the reform program of the *Admonitio generalis*, and the later reform efforts of Louis the Pious, such as the Council of Aachen, held in 816.³⁴

As ritual experts overseeing the cult, priests needed a detailed understanding of ecclesiastical rituals and the liturgical year.³⁵ Such duties required them to be

²⁸ For a sketch of Hraban's concerns and accomplishments, see Franz Brunhölzl, 'Zur geistigen Bedeutung des Hrabanus Maurus', in *Hrabanus Maurus: Lehrer, Abt, und Bischof*, ed. by Raymund Kottje and Harald Zimmermann, Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Einzelveröffentlichung, 4 (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, 1982), pp. 1–18.

²⁹ This copy is manuscript Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 308.

³⁰ Hraban Maur, *De Clericorum institutione ad Heistulphum Archiepiscopum libri tres*, *PL* 107, cols 293–420.

³¹ Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, cols 363B–364D.

³² Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, col. 339A,B.

³³ Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, cols 298–309.

³⁴ Hans-Christoph Picker, *Pastor Doctus. Klerikerbild und karolingische Reformen bei Hrabanus Maurus*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für abendländische Religionsgeschichte, 186 (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2001), pp. 41–52.

³⁵ Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, cols 343–61.

literate and learned, first of all in what might be called ‘sacred lore’ — thus a discussion of the books of the Bible and its authors and languages leads directly to the topic of blessings, the Symbol, and a catalogue of heresies that must have had little practical relevance to the world of ninth-century Mainz.³⁶ In all of this, compendious rote learning is implied, although when Hrabán turns to the question of clerical education, it becomes clear that the knowledge and moral rectitude of clerics were to form a single project. Learned clerics who do not lead good lives are ‘like sheep who muddy with their feet the waters they drink’.³⁷ Thus the key is to produce men capable of right living (*vitae rectitudo*).³⁸ According to Hrabán, a correct and holy type of learning is paramount for clerics, because of their special cultural and religious role, ‘in order that they might judge between the just and the unjust and discriminate between the sacred and the profane, the polluted and the clean, and so that they might teach the people of God all the laws and all the precepts He has established for them.’³⁹

Although it has been suggested that *On the Formation of Clerics* was written in a monastic setting, perhaps reflecting Hrabán’s concerns as Abbot of Fulda,⁴⁰ the work is clearly concerned above all with secular clergy, taking the bishop as the pre-eminent figure who establishes the other orders of clerics, and who sees to it that they are well educated.

A cleric should be trained to leadership and be able to preach well, but the heart of clerical education was to read, explain, and internalize Scripture. All other purely human disciplines, such as mathematics, medicine, and astrology, knowledge of plants, stones, and geography, while in some cases useful, are to be taken up in clerical education only as aids in the understanding of Scripture: *ad aenigmata Scripturarum solvenda*.⁴¹ For this purpose grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric were the most crucial disciplines. On the other hand, Hrabán’s view of the importance of the ‘profane sciences’ gave them a firm place in his educational

³⁶ The discussion of heresies occurs at Hrabán, *De Clericorum institutione*, PL 107 cols 371–78.

³⁷ ‘Aquam scilicet eorum pedibus turbatam oves bibunt’: Hrabán, *De Clericorum institutione*, PL 107, col. 378.

³⁸ Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, p. 50.

³⁹ ‘Ut judicent inter justum et injustum, et discernant inter sanctum et profanum, inter polutum et mundum, doceantque populum Dei omnia legitima ejus et praecepta quae mandaverat ad eos’: Hrabán, *De Clericorum institutione*, PL 107, cols 297D–298A.

⁴⁰ Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, pp. 223–24.

⁴¹ Hrabán, *De Clericorum institutione*, PL 107, col. 394A.

program.⁴² Thus while the study of history had only a minor role in Hraban's educational program, he confirmed its importance, along with the 'art of governing', vindicating all such studies by connecting them to the central religious task of education.⁴³ The highest education, in some sense, would be the education of the ruler. Hraban was acutely interested in the relevance of biblical history for contemporary events and the guidance of rulers, offering his political wisdom to Louis the Pious in the form of biblical exegeses.⁴⁴ This concern was shared by Hincmar, who held strong views on the nature of kingship and wished to instruct his king by promoting a correct understanding of history. Thus Hincmar's historical writings were shaped by an ideal of education close to that of Hraban Maur.

Hincmar (845–882): Reims and Royalty

With Hincmar the resources of the archiepiscopal library were turned towards historical writing in a way that would also foster the work of later historians: here history was pursued both as the documentation and the deepening of the record of the past. Past reality was unveiled by books and documents, and one's hold on the past was authenticated through reading and writing. This is certainly true of Hincmar's *Life of Remigius*.⁴⁵ At the outset Hincmar gestured to the existence in Reims of a living oral tradition (*vulgata receptio*) concerning Remigius, the founder of the see. He was engaged in establishing and explaining the mythic origins of Reims's role in history.⁴⁶ Hincmar's book was intended to fill the strange lacuna that no book then existed to tell about the life of a figure so important for the history of Reims. Nevertheless, the stories told about Remigius by the clerics in Reims were said to go back ultimately to a mysterious book of impressive size, 'written in an ancient hand', concerning the life, deeds, and death of Remigius. The ancient tome, according to Hincmar's informants, could

⁴² Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, pp. 219–20.

⁴³ Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, PL 107, cols 393–95.

⁴⁴ Mayke De Jong, 'The Empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *historia* for Rulers', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 191–226.

⁴⁵ *Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis auctore Hincmaro*, ed. by Bruno Krusch in MGH SSRM, 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), pp. 239–341.

⁴⁶ Depreux, 'La dévotion à saint Remi', p. 119.

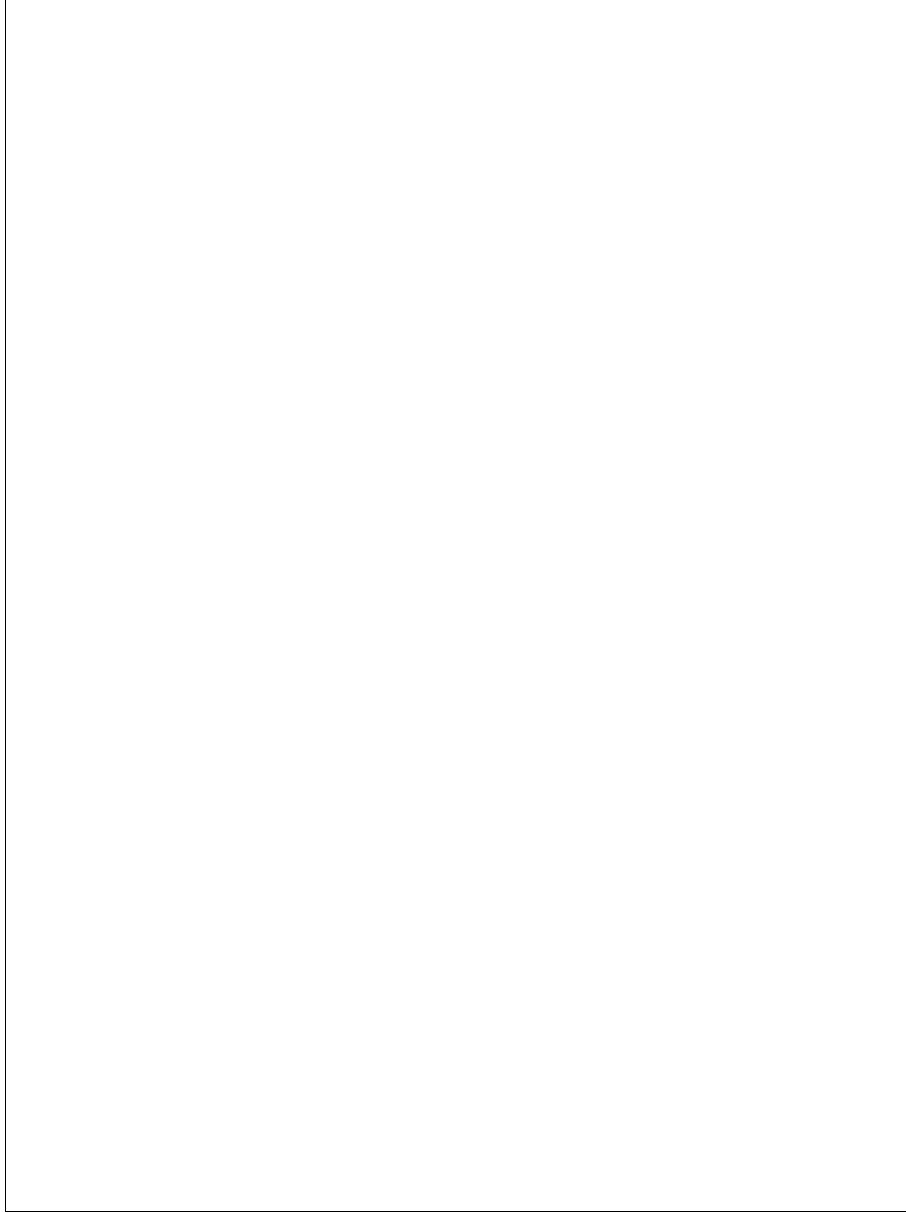


Figure 3. Ninth- or Tenth-Century Miniature, after The Gospels of Charlemagne, Louvre Library, from Paul La Croix, *The Arts of the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance*, rev. edn (London: J. S. Virtue, 1881), p. 350.

still be seen in the time of Bishop Tilpin.⁴⁷ It was Hincmar's book, however, that was truly massive. The tradition of explanation, in other words, preferred to have its roots in a book, even if a lost book. Thus Hincmar's act of history writing was presented as the rewriting of a book from the past. Almost poignantly, Hincmar places this 'lost life of Remigius' in the ranks of other great, lost books, such as the *Wars of the Lord* (mentioned in Numbers), the writings of the prophet Nathan (mentioned in I Samuel) and the many other 'volumes which are known to have been written, but which today are no longer extant'.⁴⁸

In 'rewriting' the *Life of Remigius*, Hincmar could draw on some surviving items in the cathedral library such as the verse life of Remigius by Fortunatus (*Carmina* 3). Other 'documents' had to be improvised, such as a spurious letter from St Benedict to Remigius. When he drew upon records actually preserved in the library at Reims, Hincmar also guided the later historians of Reims. For example, Hincmar quoted a letter of Pope Hadrian to Bishop Tilpin on the reception of the pallium by Bishop Abel, Tilpin's predecessor.⁴⁹ The letter was still available for Flodoard to use in his *History of the Church of Reims*.⁵⁰

One of Hincmar's chief aims in writing the life of Remigius was to clarify and document the royal character of Reims.⁵¹ The baptism of Clovis forms the climax of the work, with Remigius kneeling in prayer because the ampoules of holy oil were empty, 'but rising up from his prayer [. . .] he found them full'.⁵² The *Life of Remigius* thus helped explain and confirm one of Reims's most precious possessions, the constantly renewed oil of the Holy Ampoule. More than that, by playing such a crucial role in establishing the Christian kingship of the Franks,

⁴⁷ 'Eos vidisse librum maxime quantitatis manu antiquaria scriptum de ortu ac vita et virtutibus atque obitu beati Remigii sanctissimi patroni nostri' ('They had seen an extremely largely book written in an ancient hand about the birth and life and virtues and death of blessed St Remigius, our patron'): Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, p. 250, following the correction in the notes of the MGH of *patroni* in place of *patronis*.

⁴⁸ 'Volumina, quae Scriptura quidem fuisse probat, sed hodie constat non esse': Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, pp. 252–53.

⁴⁹ Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, p. 251.

⁵⁰ Flodoard, *Historia*, 2.16, pp. 166–67.

⁵¹ J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 97–105; see also his 'History in the Mind of Archbishop Hincmar', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to R. W. Southern*, ed. by R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 43–70.

⁵² 'Surgens autem ab oratione [. . .] plenas invenit': Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, p. 290.

Reims and her bishops were shown to be instrumental in bringing about the reign of Christ.

Flodoard would also make the conversion of the Franks and the baptism of Clovis a major theme of his history, similarly establishing the connection of Reims to kingship at the very outset of his narrative. Unlike Hincmar, Flodoard was able to document these events by referring to an *existing* major book on the topic: Hincmar's *Life of Remigius* itself. Thus the tradition of explanation continued to make its circular movement from spoken word to text and back again.

In writing the *Life of Remigius*, Hincmar also drew upon the library's rich holdings of historical texts, in particular royal histories, thus allowing the hallowed connection between Reims and Frankish royalty to be highlighted. Towards the end of the work, Hincmar quoted extensively from the *Ten Books of Histories* by Gregory of Tours, the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, and the *Royal Frankish Annals*. By drawing upon such histories in his *Life of St Remigius*, Hincmar sought to connect the founding saint of Reims to the greater historical and political horizon of Frankish royal history.

Hincmar also maintained an annal, but its style and substance was closer to the royal annals than to ecclesiastical annals, and Flodoard would later follow Hincmar's model. Traditionally the annals maintained in a church or monastery comprised brief annual records of events or prodigies in the neighbouring region.⁵³ Some more ambitious ecclesiastical annals, as at Fulda, Lorsch, and Metz, could also incorporate events from across the kingdom and tended to keep the king in view.⁵⁴

The Carolingian kings, for their part, had been eager to control the memory of royal activity through the writing of histories.⁵⁵ The *Royal Frankish Annals*⁵⁶

⁵³ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'L'Historiographie en France aux X^e et XI^e siècles (France du Nord et de l'Est)', in *La Storiografia altomedievale*, Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 17 ([**DAO**1] 1970), II, 793–850.

⁵⁴ *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. by G. H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, MGH SSRG in usum scholarum, 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891); *Annales Laureshamenses*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1826); *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. by B. von Simson, MGH SSRG in usum scholarum, 10 (Hannover: Hahn, 1905).

⁵⁵ Stuart Airlie, 'Narratives of Triumph and Rituals of Submission: Charlemagne's Mastering of Bavaria', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 9 (1999), 93–119. Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 1–20.

⁵⁶ *Annales regni francorum*, ed. by Reinhold Rau, Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte, 1 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), pp. 10–155. One should still

is a record of such major historical events compiled by well-placed men, probably clerics at the court of the Carolingian kings, covering events from 741 to 829.⁵⁷ For these participant-observers, the rise of a Frankish empire was the meaningful unfolding of a divine plan. It was this larger scale and narrative conception that Hincmar followed in his own annalistic writing.

Hincmar continued the *Royal Frankish Annals* in the *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, one of our most important sources of information for the period from 830 to 882. Following an earlier continuation by Prudentius, the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* continued to comprise a close and highly informed record of royal affairs, but it also now reflected the interests of the see of Reims and the deeds of Hincmar himself as a great representative of archiepiscopal power. The theme of Reims's involvement in royal affairs became a continual leitmotif of the *Annals*.⁵⁸ Hincmar's account shows a marked interest in royal garments and ceremonial, such as the moment in 834 when Louis the Pious was restored to power and was allowed to wear his royal vestments again.⁵⁹ He offered detailed information about rites of anointing and crowning, such as that of Charles the Bald in 848.⁶⁰

With even more detail he describes his own anointing and crowning of Charles in 869 as King of Lotharingia, in the special ceremony based on his understanding of Remigius and his 'anointing' of Clovis, now developed as a political symbol and inscribed with care in historical memory.⁶¹ Major turning points of royal history were thus pictured as blossoming like a flower out of Reims cathedral. Hincmar's social ideal was a calm and dignified relation between court and cathedral. The archbishop should propound the truths of cosmic and social order, and the king should help establish and defend this order. This was not a static picture of the world but a flexible vision suited to

consult: *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. by G. H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, MGH SSRG in usum scholarum, 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1895).

⁵⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, 'Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography', in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 162–74.

⁵⁸ Janet L. Nelson, 'Hincmar of Reims on King-making: The Evidence of the *Annals of St Bertin*, 861–882', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. by János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 16–34. See also Nelson, 'Kingship, Law and Liturgy in the Political Thought of Hincmar of Reims', in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), pp. 133–71.

⁵⁹ *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, annal 834, p. 12.

⁶⁰ *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, annal 848, p. 49.

⁶¹ *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, annal 869, pp. 157–64.

Hincmar's active and tireless personality and his daily involvement in political change and struggle. During the period of some twenty years in which Hincmar was Charles's advisor, he used the annal entries to record his criticisms, better judgements, and second thoughts regarding the king's actions.⁶²

Hincmar's annal was also detailed in its presentation of his own role in history, as a representative of Reims and its unrivalled primacy. The terrible battles that ensued when Charles the Bald decided to give his palace chaplain Ansegis primatial powers over the entire Frankish church show Hincmar in splendid displays of rage, rich garments, and ceremonial.⁶³ It can be said that because of Hincmar's participation in major affairs of the kingdom and his close connection to the court of Charles the Bald, but also in his historical writing, the ancient glory of Reims became visible. This was a legacy that Hincmar was at pains to preserve and teach, not merely to students and clerics but to kings and judicious readers as well. As Janet Nelson puts it, 'Hincmar, as a thoroughly ninth-century figure, saw History as counsel' — a form of counsel given publicly for the instruction of kings, specifically Charles the Bald, and a form of counsel that Charles, the king and emperor, was ready to hear, though not always to accept.⁶⁴

It was mentioned earlier that Hincmar, a generous patron and careful overseer of the library and scriptorium of Reims, ensured that education continued at a high level in the diocese. Borrowing, copying, and producing new books for the library put books firmly at the centre of all such cultural activity and education, and here too Hincmar was active. The school of Reims would in turn focus on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic: as in other Carolingian schools, education in the school of Reims was directed towards understanding words and the use of words. History was not customarily a part of the curriculum, but was, like biblical exegesis, a field for more advanced scholars.⁶⁵ The historian, like the exegete, would attempt to understand the world around him or judge the activities of the powerful, and thus his work might easily seem subversive. At Reims,

⁶² Janet L. Nelson, 'History-Writing at the Courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Scharer and Scheibelreiter, pp. 435–42.

⁶³ *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, annal 876, pp. 201–05.

⁶⁴ Nelson, 'History-Writing', p. 442.

⁶⁵ David Ganz, 'Book Production in the Carolingian Empire and the Spread of Carolingian Minuscule', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), II, 786–808.

however, the historian Hincmar and his relation to King Charles the Bald had put historical studies at the forefront of scholarly activity.⁶⁶

The School of Reims

It would seem that the disruptions of political struggle and invasion during the last years of Hincmar's episcopacy and through the end of the ninth century were difficult times for the library and community of Reims. From the earliest entries Flodoard's *Annals* are emotionally haunted by the Vikings, perceived as enemies of the Frankish order and of all cultural accomplishment. Indeed, Viking raids had reached inland to Reims by the death of Hincmar in 882. Flodoard makes clear that in his view it was because of the Vikings that scholarship fell into a steep decline during the last few years of Hincmar's reign, a decline that continued at first under the episcopate of Fulk (882–900), Hincmar's successor. Nevertheless, there were still scholars to be found in Reims in this period.

Almannus (c. 830–89) was a historian who helped to set the tone of scholarly life in Reims, one of the intellectual lights still burning in Reims at the end of Hincmar's episcopate and the beginning of Fulk's tenure. According to Flodoard, Almannus was a monk and presbyter of Hautvilliers who had turned away from his involvement in secular affairs (*negotia secularia*) to lead a life of reading and prayer.⁶⁷ Almannus wrote a lamentation on the model of Jeremiah about the destruction of his monastery by the Vikings, so his work also reflects the sense of anxious gloom we find in Flodoard.⁶⁸ Almannus also wrote a life of St Nivard, an early Bishop of Reims and contemporary of Childeric. The *Life of Nivard* places Almannus in the tradition of the historical school of Reims and its cultural aspirations.⁶⁹

According to Almannus, Bishop Nivard was himself a learned man: his parents had sent him off 'to be imbued with the study of letters'.⁷⁰ Nivard

⁶⁶ Janet L. Nelson, 'Charles le Chauve et les utilisations du savoir', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre: De Murethach à Rémi, 830–908*, ed. by Dominique Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1990), pp. 37–54.

⁶⁷ Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.28, p. 357.

⁶⁸ Marlot, *Histoire*, II, 675.

⁶⁹ *Vita Nivardi episcopi Remensis auctore Almanno monacho Altvillarensi*, ed. by B. Krusch and W. Levison in MGH SSRM, 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1910), pp. 157–71.

⁷⁰ 'Litterarum studiis imbuendus': [DAO2] *Vita Nivardi episcopi*, p. 160.

represented the educational aims of the school of Reims and, no doubt, Almannus's own ideals of scholarship. Flodoard would probably have mentioned it if Almannus had taught in the cathedral school. But Almannus certainly sounds like a schoolteacher when he tells us that Bishop Nivard 'reached the pinnacle of knowledge because of his diligent reading'.⁷¹ A familiarity with the work of John Scotus Eriugena can be detected in the writings of Almannus, and as we shall see, this also seems to connect him to the milieu of the court of Charles the Bald and to the cathedral school of Reims.

What I have called the tradition of explanation can thus be illustrated in regard to Almannus and his *Life of Nivard*. In composing the work, Almannus was able to draw on charters and privileges to be found in the archives of Reims and Hautvilliers. Later on Flodoard could make use of Almannus's *Life of Nivard* when he recounted the early history of Reims, and then go on to place Almannus himself at a later point in the same history.⁷² Almannus was trying to explain the origins of learned culture at Reims, or the origins of the ability to explain.

Despite the presence of a learned figure like Almannus, the last years of Hincmar's life were remembered as a time of crisis in which Viking and Magyar raids made the peaceful pursuits of culture fall into decline. The sense of emergency continued under Hincmar's successor Fulk.⁷³ During the reign of King Odo (888–98) 'the cruelty of the Norsemen grew, devastating the lands of the Franks'.⁷⁴ Odo and Count Baldwin of Flanders also threatened Reims, and Fulk proved himself to be a militarily competent ruler of his see, fending off all these threats for a time and refurbishing the city walls of Reims.⁷⁵

When Fulk succeeded Hincmar as archbishop in 882, he had found the school for canons and the school for rural clergy in disarray. In 893 he sought to restore learning in Reims by bringing in two highly accomplished scholars, Hucbald of Saint-Amand and Remigius of Auxerre, each the representative of a major school, able to bring considerable expertise along with their own traditions.⁷⁶

⁷¹ 'Legendi sedulitate scientie culmen studiis adquisivit': *Vita Nivardi episcopi*, pp. 160–61.

⁷² Flodoard, *Historia*, 2.7, p. 103 (on Nivard, following Almannus); 3.28, p. 357 (regarding 'Altmanno monacho atque presbitero').

⁷³ G. Schneider, *Erzbischof Fulco von Reims 883–900 und das Frankenreich* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1973).

⁷⁴ 'Grassante Nordmannorum crudelitate terrasque Francorum vastante': Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.9, p. 400.

⁷⁵ McKitterick, 'Carolingian Kings', p. 230.

⁷⁶ Marlot, *Histoire*, II, 673–75.

That Fulk was able to secure the help of these men for Reims was a genuine coup: Hucbald was a pre-eminent exponent of Carolingian reform ideal, with its focus on the reform of schools, the correction of books, and the reform of chant; Remigius, for his part, was a master of the traditional liberal arts. Let us look at each man in turn.

Hucbald (c. 850–c. 930) was a scholar of wide interests ranging from musical theory and composition to commentaries and hagiography. He was a monk of Saint-Amand, where he studied under the learned poet and grammarian Milo. Milo (c. 810–c. 872), in turn, was the author of a book on the virtues, the *Librum sobrietatis*, which he dedicated to Charles the Bald. The relations between the court and the school of Saint-Amand were close. Milo, for example, had been put in charge of the early education of Charles's sons Pepin and Drogo. He wrote a life of St Amand, the founder of his monastery in Elnone (near Lille). Hucbald likewise dedicated a rather fussy poem to Charles, each word of which began with the letter C.⁷⁷ The school of Saint-Amand thus sought to express its close relations to the court. When Milo died in 871 or 872, Hucbald succeeded him as master of the school at Saint-Amand.

As mentioned earlier, the library of Reims held few works of Greek and Roman antiquity in the time of Hincmar. It has been described as a business-like collection, and the business was legal struggle and the context of contemporary events and royal power.⁷⁸ The monastery of Saint-Amand, on the other hand, was far more oriented towards classical scholarship. According to a library catalogue for the period of Milo and Hucbald, Saint-Amand was unusually well supplied with such works: Macrobius, Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Sallust, Aristotle's *Categories*, Cicero, Donatus, Juvenal, Lucan, Terence, and Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics* rested beside Boethius and Cassiodorus.⁷⁹ In the twelfth century a shelf list of books written by Hucbald, or which he had copied, shows the range of his interests. Here his own works of music and hagiography (*Passio SS. Cyrici et Iulittae martyrum*, written sometime before 900) were complemented by 'A Letter of Hincmar on Ecclesiastical History', Hraban Maur's *Super Genesim*,

⁷⁷ For Hucbald's writing, one may usefully refer to Julia M. H. Smith, 'The Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 35 (1995), 517–42.

⁷⁸ Carey, 'Scriptorium of Reims', pp. 43–44.

⁷⁹ Yves Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand: Les compositions et le traité de musique*; Cahier d'études médiévales, cahier spécial, 5 (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1995), pp. 337–40.

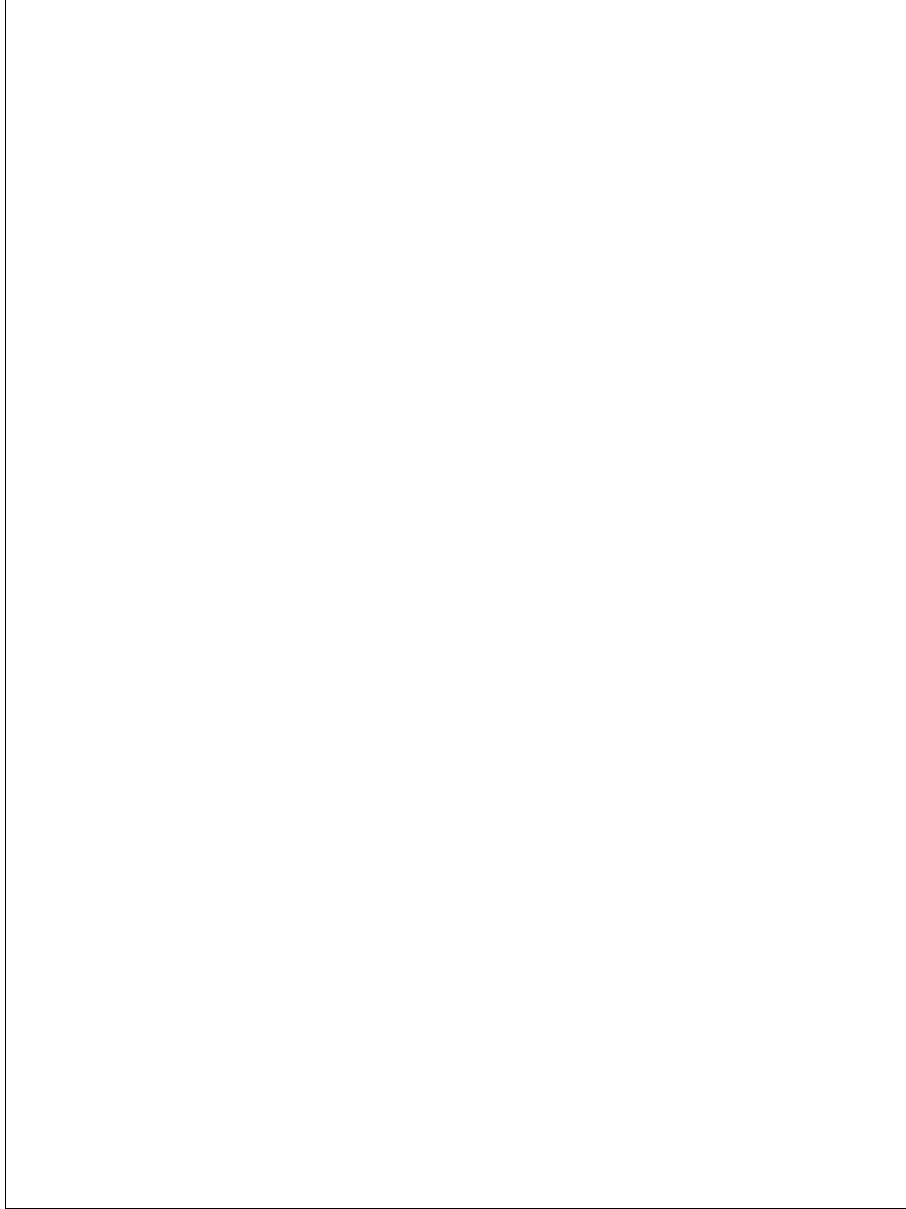


Figure 4. Panel of a Ninth-Century Book Cover, Bas-Relief in Gold Repoussé, in the Louvre Library, from Paul La Croix, *The Arts of the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance*, rev. edn (London: J. S. Virtue, 1881), p. 373.

Martianus Capella, and Plato's *Timaeus* with the commentary of Chalcidius.⁸⁰ One can detect in these lists a certain interest in Platonism and neo-Platonism. This would fit with Chartier's suggestion that Hucbald might have left the school of Milo at a certain point because of his desire to learn Greek, perhaps with John Scotus Eriugena, then directing Charles the Bald's palace school.⁸¹

The monastery of Saint-Amand had its own historical tradition, as expressed, for example, in the *Annals of Saint-Amand*.⁸² Although best known for his musical works, Hucbald also had historical interests, producing a number of saints' lives. He wrote a *vita* of Rictrude, for example, in which his elegant Latinity and love of scholarship were on display. In the prologue he directed his work to the attention of other scholars,⁸³ presenting it as a deliberate attempt to overcome the destructive impact of the Norsemen on scholarship.⁸⁴ Historical and ethnographic interests were meanwhile uppermost in his *Life of Lebuin*, with its detailed information about the Saxons whom Lebuin had attempted to convert.⁸⁵

Remigius (c. 841–c. 908) was also a major exponent of another important school, that of Auxerre, with its impressive succession of teachers spanning the ninth century: Murethach, Haimo, Heiric, and Remigius himself.⁸⁶ Remigius wrote a commentary on Martianus Capella⁸⁷ and on the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boethius.⁸⁸ His master at Auxerre, Heiric, was a disciple of John Scotus Eriugena. He wrote a metrical life of St Germanus, patron of Auxerre, that was

⁸⁰ Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald*, pp. 335–37.

⁸¹ Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald*, p. 8.

⁸² P. Grierson, *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand* (Brussels: Commission royale d'histoire, 1937).

⁸³ *Vita Rictrudis sanctimonialis Marcianensis auctore Hucbaldo, Prologus*, ed. by B. Krusch and W. Levison in MGH SSRM, 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1913), pp. 91–94.

⁸⁴ *H*aec quae referebant eadem olim tradita litteris fuerint, sed insectatione Northmannicae depopulationis deperierint' ('The things reported here were once handed down in writings, but they have been lost because of the invasion and plundering of the Northmen'): Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, p. 93.

⁸⁵ *Vita S. Lebuini*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1829), pp. 360–64.

⁸⁶ John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁸⁷ *Remigii Autissiodorensis commentum in Martianum Capellam*, ed. by Cora E. Lutz (Leiden: Brill, 1962–65).

⁸⁸ Diane K. Bolton, 'Remigian Comments in the Consolation of Philosophy and their Sources', *Traditio*, 33 (1977), 381–93.

accompanied by glosses drawn from Eriugena's *Periphyseon*.⁸⁹ Later scholars at Auxerre devotedly recorded the scholarly lineage of Remigius in the margins of a copy of Remigius's commentary on the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius: 'Heiric was the teacher of Remigius' (*Eiricus fuit Remigii praeceptor*).⁹⁰ In a copy of the pseudo-Augustinian *Categoriae decem*, a lineage is given for a gloss: 'Heiric the teacher of Remigius made these glosses.'⁹¹ Thus the chain connecting teacher to teacher was carefully recorded, and was thought to shed further light on the explanations of the gloss. Here we have a further example of a tradition of explanation.

Remigius succeeded his mentor Heiric as master of the school of Auxerre in 876. By the time Fulk called him to Reims in 893 he was already an accomplished philologist and grammarian, the author of commentaries on biblical, classical, and philosophical works.⁹² Like Hucbald of Saint-Amand, therefore, he was in a position to elevate some disciplines that had not been stressed in Hincmar's Reims. A survey of Remigius's work reveals the range of these interests: commentaries on Genesis and Matthew, his enormously influential Psalms commentary, his *Expositio Missae*, and a commentary on the works of Boethius. He wrote commentaries on grammatical works both ancient and medieval: Donatus, Priscian, Phocas, and Bede. In addition to Martianus and Boethius, he also commented on Arator, Persius, Sedulius, Juvenal, and Virgil.⁹³ The scriptorium of Auxerre supported such work, producing many classical texts in the second half of the ninth century.

To revive the cathedral school of Reims, therefore, Fulk had called upon two of the foremost intellectual centres of the late Carolingian world. Both Auxerre and Saint-Amand were centres of grammatical expertise and knowledge of the classics. Something else shared by these schools, and their scholars, was the closeness of their traditions to the court of Charles the Bald. In the happy phrase of Janet Nelson, the court 'was a frame of mind': one could be in touch with the palace and orient oneself towards it even when distant.⁹⁴ This was equally true

⁸⁹ Édouard Jauneau, 'Heiric d'Auxerre disciple de Jean Scot', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 353–70.

⁹⁰ As reported by Colette Jeudy, 'Notice biographique', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 459–60.

⁹¹ Jauneau, 'Heiric d'Auxerre', p. 355.

⁹² Cora Elizabeth Lutz, *Schoolmasters of the Tenth Century* (Hamden: Archon, 1977).

⁹³ Colette Jeudy, 'L'Oeuvre de Remi d'Auxerre: État de la question', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 373–97.

⁹⁴ Nelson, 'History-Writing', pp. 438–39.

of the palace school and its impact on monasteries and schools around the kingdom that were connected with it, usually by training and individual scholars.

The tone of the palace school was set by the dominance there of John Scotus Eriugena, the witty and brilliant Irish scholar. Remigius of Auxerre, Hucbald of Saint-Amand, and Almannus of Hautvilliers all read and used Eriugena's *De Divisione naturae*, written between 864 and 866.⁹⁵ Eriugena had been placed at the head of Charles the Bald's palace school sometime before 847, where he had joined with Hincmar in the battle against Gottschalk. One further connection to the see of Reims can be mentioned. Eriugena, in his *Expositiones super ierarchiam caelestem sancti Dionysii*, translated and commented on the *Celestial Hierarchies* of pseudo-Dionysius, a work that had first been translated into Latin by Hilduin, Hincmar's teacher at Saint-Denis. The influence of Eriugena was pervasive at Auxerre.⁹⁶ The Irish scholar also wrote annotations on Martianus Capella and commentaries on Boethius. These concerns of Eriugena were closely emulated by Remigius of Auxerre, who also wrote commentaries on Martianus Capella and Boethius, as mentioned earlier.⁹⁷

It is impossible to say whether the young Flodoard began his studies as a child under Remigius and Hucbald in the renovated school of Reims. He recalled Remigius as a master of rhetoric and the other liberal arts, placed in charge of the younger clerics, and 'set them to meditate on wisdom and reading'.⁹⁸ Hucbald of Saint-Amand he recalled as an erudite philosopher, illuminating the school of Reims with noble doctrine.⁹⁹ As for his own early education, he mentions someone named Gundacer as his *nutritor*.¹⁰⁰ To Flodoard, Fulk's episcopacy was a period of restoration and a return to religious and cultural norms in the face of political disasters and the threat of Viking raids. So closely associated with the Carolingian cause, Reims seemed destined to share the fate of the last

⁹⁵ René Roques, 'Jean Scot (Érigène)', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, 11 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932–95), VIII (1972), 735–61.

⁹⁶ Claudio Leonardi, 'Une école au carrefour de la culture carolingienne', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 445–53.

⁹⁷ René Roques, *Libres sentiers vers l'érigénisme*, *Lessico intellettuale europeo*, 9 (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1975).

⁹⁸ 'Lectioni ac meditationi sapientie operam dedit': Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.9, p. 402; see also Marlot, *Histoire*, p. 674.

⁹⁹ Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.9, p. 402.

¹⁰⁰ Sot, *Un historien et son église*, p. 46.

Carolingians during the crisis of the tenth century.¹⁰¹ After the death of King Odo in 898, Fulk encouraged the Carolingian Charles the Simple to resist the effort of Count Baldwin II of Flanders to take control of the monastery of Saint-Vaast. Count Baldwin had Fulk assassinated, suffering no ill consequences for his shocking act. Perhaps it can be said that the pressure of Viking raids gave an aggressive edge to the political climate, while fierce competition for rank and property encouraged scepticism towards traditional pieties.

It was a tragic moment, and led to the break-up of the illustrious school Fulk had assembled. Both Remigius and Hucbald went off to teach in Paris. There Remigius taught Odo, the future Abbot of Cluny (927–42), drawing a new line between the Carolingian ideals of the cathedral schools of Auxerre and Reims and yet another important cultural and historical force, the future Cluniac reform.¹⁰²

Flodoard (c. 894–966): The Epic of Reims

But it was under Fulk's successor, Archbishop Heriveus (900–22), that Flodoard would come to maturity and begin his historical writing. Like his predecessor Fulk, Heriveus was an intense competitor in the field of politics and staunch defender of Reims.¹⁰³ Flodoard was born in 893 or 894, perhaps in Épernay. He was educated in the cathedral school as re-established by Remigius and Hucbald, but certainly it was Hincmar who became Flodoard's hero and intellectual model.¹⁰⁴

Flodoard went on to compose two major historical works, the *Annals* and the later *History of the Church of Reims*. Flodoard maintained the *Annals* for much of his life, from about the age of 25, in 919, until his death in 966. These writings display his knowledge of authors such as Livy, Caesar, Sallust, and Eutropius, and thus the prominence of classical studies at Reims.¹⁰⁵ Knowledge of the

¹⁰¹ See the account in [DAO3]McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 310–13.

¹⁰² Jeudy, 'Notice biographique', pp. 459–60. See Johannes, *Vita S. Odonis* 1.3 and 1.19, *PL* 133, cols 43–86 (cols 45 and 52); and the edition in *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. by M. Marrier and A. Duchesne (Paris: Sumptibus Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1614; repr., Macon: Protat, 1915), pp. 13–56.

¹⁰³ Gerhard Schmitz, 'Heriveus von Reims (900–922): Zur Geschichte des Erzbistums Reims am Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts', *Francia*, 6 (1978), 59–105.

¹⁰⁴ For a sketch of Flodoard's life, see Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 44–53.

¹⁰⁵ [DAO4]Ph. Lauer, *Les Annales de Flodoard* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1905), [DAO5] *Annales de Flodoard*, Intro., p. xiv.

classics was a mark of erudition. Unlike Hincmar, whose annals served to defend his own honour as the Archbishop of Reims and to record every misstep of the powerful, Flodoard's *Annals* form a brooding record of severe and often brutal events surrounding the Bishops of Reims and their involvement in the political struggles of their day.

An anxious, urgent tone of the annals is announced with accounts of raids of Norsemen and Hungarians from the very beginning.¹⁰⁶ In the *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, Hincmar followed the historical methods of the *Royal Frankish Annals* by using a narrative style in place of the clipped, unreflective statements of the traditional monastic annals. This is even more pronounced in the case of Flodoard's *Annals*.¹⁰⁷ The 'poetry' of the earlier annal form was here turning into the 'prose' of a more narrative record, with long entries from year to year and with the pursuit of certain stories over many years.

Flodoard thus stands apart from contemporary writers of annals in his continued interest in royal affairs and in looking past the horizon of his region, even though his information is sometimes limited. Other annalists of the period reflect much more the '*compartimentage territorial*' of the tenth century.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, according to Georges Duby, annalistic writing became more limited and scarce approaching the year 1000.¹⁰⁹ With Flodoard this took the form of recording the deeds of the Bishops of Reims as they undertook to defend the Church's property, as did Heriveus in untangling some disputed benefices in 920.¹¹⁰

It was Bishop Heriveus who had recognized Flodoard's talent, and as a result the Bishop's own deeds were carefully compiled in Flodoard's *Annals*, his involvement in property disputes and his participation in councils carefully recorded, and also his association with kings. Flodoard also included in his account a record of the deeds of the suffragan bishops of Tongres and of Sens, the great competitor of Reims. His annals would also serve Flodoard as a basis for his later historical writings. The *Annals* of Flodoard do not have the calm, reflective, and didactic tone of Hincmar's annals, but are a more anxious record of dangerous events. These are the wary observations of a minor participant, watching with interest or alarm the involvement of Reims in the political struggles of the last

¹⁰⁶ *Annales de Flodoard*, annal 919, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 85–102.

¹⁰⁸ Bautier, 'L'Historiographie en France', p. 807.

¹⁰⁹ Georges Duby, *L'an mil* (Paris: Collection 'Archives', 1967), p. 18.

¹¹⁰ *Annales de Flodoard*, annal 920, p. 2.

Carolingians, the Robertians and the Counts of Flanders, the outcome of which Flodoard could not see or predict. These *Annals* are thus more private than those of Hincmar. There was little prospect that this young canon of Reims cathedral would educate the king.

Perhaps drawing upon some earlier *gesta* of the church of Reims, but certainly making extensive use of the archives and letters left behind by Hincmar, Flodoard composed his *History of the Church of Reims* in four books which told the story of the city and its bishops from the age of Remigius to his own time.¹¹¹ According to Rosamond McKitterick, faced with a series of bishops who tended to be military and political figures more than religious men, Flodoard took as his hero the corporate identity of Reims in which success meant the acquisition and defence of church property.¹¹² But this analysis would seem to reduce the meaning of Flodoard's text. One should additionally consider Flodoard's *History* as a formulation of the memory of Reims. The life of St Baldric, for example, recorded in Book Four, tells of the founding of the monastery of Saint-Germain in Montfaucon.¹¹³ The places associated with St Baldric are explained as part of the archaeology of the current monuments of Reims.¹¹⁴ Baldric thus takes his place in what I earlier called the 'historical world of Reims'. The tale of Baldric could only be recounted with the help of an older life of the saint in the library of Reims, thus bringing together traditions of explanation, monuments, and texts.

Hincmar's role as a model and mentor for Flodoard is very clear in this work, and also for the preparatory work that is evident in it. Hincmar had greatly enlarged the library and archives of Reims and had shown how valuable such records could be in historical research. He also vastly enlarged the library and archives with the records of his own active episcopacy and of course with his own collection of books. This was also the case with the works of Almannus, whose lives of Nivard and Sindulf Flodoard could draw upon in the same way. It may well have been Flodoard himself who made sure that the practice of compiling and ordering the documents of each successive episcopal reign was continued after Hincmar. Thus the letters, acts of councils, and charters of Bishops Fulk

¹¹¹ Bautier, 'L'Historiographie en France', p. 815.

¹¹² Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Church', in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by McKitterick, III, 130–62. See [DAO6] also pp. 146–48.

¹¹³ Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.38–40, pp. 439–41.

¹¹⁴ For example, 'ubi nunc habetur altare in honore sancti Petri apostoli' ('where it now is held at the altar dedicated to St Peter'): Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.39, p. 440.

and Heriveus were ready to hand when Flodoard wrote his history.¹¹⁵ A dossier of such materials, seemingly compiled to illustrate the rule of Bishop Heriveus, made its way into the Vatican Library.¹¹⁶ The assassination of Fulk in 900 may have impressed on Flodoard's mind that the continuity of the see of Reims could not rely on individuals, but rather only on the greater historical purpose of the city and its preserved memory.

The *History of the Church of Reims* is largely a record of the Bishops of Reims, and yet the model of the *Liber Pontificalis* and similar *Gesta episcoporum* would not serve for a work whose aim was also to encompass neighbouring bishoprics and monasteries under the umbrella of an archiepiscopal see.¹¹⁷ This larger vision, which builds directly on the achievement of Hincmar, might be called the 'Epic of Reims', especially by connecting Reims to the larger scene of royal power. The view could be quite extensive from the library of Reims. Here Flodoard could find letters from Archbishop Fulk to Charles the Simple and King Odo. Here was a letter to King Alfred, to congratulate and thank the Anglo-Saxon king for appointing a good and devoted man to the see of Canterbury.¹¹⁸ The historical achievement of Reims was impressive, especially as the theme of the church's royal character was carried across the dangerous gulf between the last Carolingians and the rise of Hugh Capet. Flodoard was able to convey much of this story, and thus we are able to see how Reims, as a centre of historical learning and a repository of memory, could help establish the coherence of the Carolingian past with the Capetian present.¹¹⁹ The legend of the 'anointing of King Clovis' proved durable and convincing as a symbol for concepts of kingship under the Capetians as well.¹²⁰

When Hugh Capet was crowned by Adalbero of Reims in 975, the city was thus assured of a continued role as a centre of royal and episcopal contact and cooperation. Meanwhile the new line of kings found a stable and eminently suit-

¹¹⁵ Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 157–65; for Heriveus, p. 219.

¹¹⁶ R. H. Bautier, 'Un recueil de textes pour servir à la biographie de l'archevêque de Reims Hervé (X^e siècle)', in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Perrin, pp. 1–6.

¹¹⁷ Reinhold Kaiser, 'Die Gesta episcoporum als Genus der Geschichtsschreibung', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Scharer and Scheibelreiter, pp. 459–79.

¹¹⁸ Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.5, p. 386.

¹¹⁹ Le Goff, *Reims*, pp. 24–25.

¹²⁰ Philippe Gabet, 'Constantin et Clovis, développements et transformations rémois aux IX^e et X^e siècles', in *Clovis, histoire et mémoire*, dir. by Michel Rouche, 2 vols (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), II, 73–81.

able place in which their memory could be laid down. Flodoard's account also allows one to see clearly the continued pre-eminence of Reims and how it had been defended and secured, from the old battles of Hincmar with his nephew Hincmar of Laon¹²¹ to the exchange of letters on this topic between Fulk and Pope Stephen VI.¹²² Flodoard's living teachers, the literary and historical traditions of the cathedral school, and the established cathedral archive and library all worked together to the benefit of Flodoard's achievement. They also offered this learned cleric a means of orientation (from the library of Reims looking outward) in a world where the cathedral city and its clerics were often threatened.

Richer (950/960–c. 998): Personal History in an Epic Context

Born sometime between 950 and 960, Richer studied with Gerbert of Aurillac in the recently renovated cathedral school and began his work while Gerbert was Archbishop of Reims (after 991).¹²³ At this point Gerbert was caught up in the ambiguous and dangerous political world of the Capetians and their counts, although as a notary of Hugh Capet, Gerbert had been close to the new dynasty at the outset.¹²⁴ Fulk and Heriveus had also served as royal notaries, so such connections were something of a tradition at Reims and thus provided another connection to royal power.¹²⁵ Richer began his histories by signalling his knowledge and inheritance of (but also his independence from) the historical traditions of Hincmar and Flodoard.¹²⁶ Indeed, his *Histories*, written between 991 and 998, take considerable liberties with the past, not bound by chronology and no longer enduring the patient archival work of his predecessors.¹²⁷

¹²¹ See Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.21, pp. 269–86.

¹²² Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.1, p. 363.

¹²³ Though many of these basic biographical details have been questioned by Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). See also his article in this volume.

¹²⁴ Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet*, pp. 20–21.

¹²⁵ Sot, *Un historien et son église*, p. 86.

¹²⁶ Richer von Saint-Rémi, *Historiae*, ed. by Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH SS, 38 (Hannover: Hahn, 2000), prologue, p. 35.

¹²⁷ Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die Historien Richers von Saint-Remi', *Deutsches Archiv*, 54 (1998), 445–521.

The historical writing of Richer, however, is an authentic part of the rich historical tradition of Reims, arising out of the repositories of memory in the Reims archive and library, now considerably deepened and ordered by the work of Flodoard to cover a span of many centuries. But Richer approached these repositories with a sense of freedom. He recorded the death of Fulk (in 900), but in doing so, made use of some phrases of Hincmar drawn from an entirely different context, an annal entry of 876.¹²⁸ The account is further transformed by Richer's desire to write with the brevity and tension of Sallust. In a similar vein, he recorded the accession of Hugh Capet, and thus continued the tradition of connecting Reims to royalty. Richer's Hugh Capet was a unifying figure, elevated as king in Noyon with the 'consensus of all' and later crowned in Reims, but the account is so compressed as to lack clarity.¹²⁹ Richer's procedure may seem to depart from the careful work of the earlier historians of Reims, who compiled their picture of the historical past while preserving and ordering its documents with a concern for authenticity. But Richer's writing also reflects the triumph and ease of a secure tradition: his sense of freedom in regard to the historical traditions of Reims and the confidence with which he combines the classical tradition with the writings of Hincmar and Flodoard are the mark of someone happily in possession of an intellectual tradition.

Richer preferred the bold, angular statement over simple recording. In this regard, Claudio Leonardi compares Richer to Liudprand of Cremona (c. 920–72) because of his similarly idiosyncratic, personal approach to the past. With a customary flourish and oblique classical reference, Richer commends Flodoard's *History of the Church of Reims* to anyone who wishes to learn how religion has flourished in that city. He describes Flodoard's book as commencing 'from the founding of the city' (*ab urbe condita*) — the title of Livy's massive history of Rome — thus making at once a comparison between Flodoard and Livy, Reims and Rome.¹³⁰

We can see here the effect of the revival of the school of Reims under Remigius of Auxerre and Hucbald of Saint-Amand with a greater level of classical knowledge and availability of classical texts than in the time of Hincmar. Richer was also the beneficiary of a further phase of renovation and promotion of learning under Archbishop Adalbero (969–88) in a Reims whose outlook was brighter

¹²⁸ Richer, *Historiae*, 1.17, pp. 53–55.

¹²⁹ Richer, *Historiae*, 4.12, pp. 239–40.

¹³⁰ Richer, *Historiae*, 1.19, p. 56.

than it had been since the time of Hincmar. He records that Adalbero reintroduced a rule for the cathedral canons, promoted the activity of the scriptorium, and began to build up the cathedral library in a way not seen since the days of Hincmar.¹³¹ Gerbert of Aurillac, one of the most learned men of his day, was made master of the cathedral school and would later succeed Adalbero as Bishop of Reims. This Gerbert was Richer's teacher.¹³² It is not surprising, therefore, that Richer was so eager to reveal his mastery of Sallust and Julius Caesar, as well as of Sulpicius Severus and Isidore of Seville.¹³³

Richer thus followed his own path in taking part in the traditions of explanation offered by the historians of Reims, and wrote a deeply personal style of history. As we have seen, Hincmar and Flodoard were also quite distinctive in their approach to historical writing, and made the history of Reims serve as the orientation of their personal standpoint. Like Hincmar and Flodoard before him, Richer was engaged in establishing Reims as a repository of memory and a place where the history of the Frankish kingdom, especially the history of its kings, could be intellectually grasped and made secure.¹³⁴ For these reasons, the Carolingian, and later Capetian, kings willingly participated in the 'historical epic of Reims'.

Adhémar of Chabannes, a monk of Saint-Martial and a similarly idiosyncratic historian, offered a delightful and somewhat fanciful genealogy of thinkers (*translatio studii*) in which the teaching traditions of the great court scholars of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald were made to flow into the traditions of Auxerre and Saint-Amand:

Rabanus of Mainz (Hraban Maur) the very learned monk who wrote under that emperor a very amazing book on the theology of the Holy Cross, was the teacher of Alcuin. Now Bede taught Simplicius, and Simplicius taught Hraban Maur; who was taken up from across the water by our lord Emperor Charles and made a bishop in Francia. He taught Alcuin and Alcuin educated Smaragdus. Smaragdus for his part taught Theodulph, Bishop of Orléans; Theodulph indeed [taught] Helias the Scot,

¹³¹ Richer, *Historiae*, 3.24–30, pp. 181–84. For a fuller account of Richer's use of Flodoard's work than was possible at the time of the composition of this article, one might consult with profit Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*.

¹³² Though Glenn suggests in the next article in this collection that it is possible Richer and Gerbert had a collegial relationship more than a master-teacher relationship.

¹³³ Bautier, 'L'Historiographie en France', p. 830.

¹³⁴ Hoffmann, 'Die Historien Richers', pp. 480–82.

Bishop of Angoulême, Helias [taught] Heiric, and Heiric left Remigius and Hucbald the Bald as heirs of his philosophy.¹³⁵

From there, as we have seen, this tradition flowed into Reims. Thus the historian Adhémar tried to imagine the relationship and origin of the great scholars of whom he knew as a single tradition coursing through time by solid connections.¹³⁶ At the end we find Remigius and Hucbald, representatives of the two school-traditions that made their way in 893 to Reims and her historians: such an admired chain of teachers and students could offer intellectual moorings in the present and a scholarly grasp of the past. The concept of a *translatio studii* could explain how knowledge and truth had come down through time and arrived in a certain place, although such imagined lineages were often anachronistic and inaccurate.¹³⁷

The scholarly connection to teachers of the past was the source of the ability to know and explain things — including the truth about the past — in a tradition of explanation. This was the legacy of Hincmar: he had preserved and explained texts from the past in a way that made sense of the historical world of Reims, its monuments, and its scattered traditions. The royalist message of the Reims school helped explain the world of power and the role of Reims in history. These traditions gave Flodoard a place to stand when confronting a world so ‘devastated with rapine and fire’, as we read in the last, dire entry of his *Annal*, for the year 966.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ ‘Imperatori ipsi porrexit librum valde mirabilem de theologia sanctae crucis Rabanus Magnentius, monachus doctissimus, magister Alcuini. Beda enim docuit Simplicium, et Simplicius Rabanum, qui a transmarinis oris a domno imperatore Karolo susceptus est, et pontifex in Francia factus, Alcuinum docuit, et Alcuinus Smaragdum imbuit, Smaragdus autem docuit Theodulfum Aurelianensem, Theodulfus vero Heliam Scotigenam Engolismensem episcopum, Helias autem Heiricum, Heiricus Remigium et Ucbaldum Calvum monachos heredes philosophiae reliquit’: Adhémar of Chabannes: *Ademari Historiarum Libri III*, ed. by G. H. Waitz in MGH SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 3.5, p. 119.

¹³⁶ On Adhémar, see remarks and bibliography in Edmond-René Labande, ‘L’Historiographie de la France de l’ouest aux X^e et XI^e siècles’, in *La Storiografia altomedievale*, II, 751–91.

¹³⁷ Louis Holtz, ‘L’école d’Auxerre’, in *L’École carolingienne d’Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, [DAO7] (p. 131).

¹³⁸ ‘Et ipse comes loca quaedam ejusdem episcopii cum suis pervadens, rapinis incendiisque devastat’: *Annales de Flodoard*, annal 966, p. 158 (‘And the count with his men attacks and devastates with rapine and fire certain of the bishop’s properties’).

Appendix*Archbishops of Reims (800–1000)*

Tilpin [**DAO1**](c. 753–c. 800)

Vulfarius (804–816)

Ebbo (816–845)

Hincmar (845–882)

[**DAO2**]Fulco (882–900)

Heriveus (900–922)

Seulf (922–925)

Hugh (925–932; 940–948)

Artald (932–940; 948–961)

Odalric (962–969)

Adalbero (969–988)

Arnulf (988–991; 996–1021)

Gerbert (991–995)