

Reconfiguring Civic Identity and Civic Participation in a Christianizing World

The Case of Sixth-Century Arles

Rephrasing Collective Identities: A Late Antique Bishop Preaching

The transformation of the Western Empire into the heterogeneity of the successor kingdoms took a decisive turn in the sixth century. This process of changing and transforming polities went along with a reconceptualization of public identity in various yet closely intertwined aspects (political, social, religious, legal) of life. With the imperial acknowledgement of Christianity as legitimate religion in the course of the fourth century, the role and authority granted to ecclesiastical leaders, particularly bishops, in the Empire's administration at the local level had already augmented.¹ The subsequent growth of the Christian Church as an institution, manifest not exclusively but emphatically in the urban areas of the Empire, and the leading role of urban bishops invokes the question as to how these ecclesiastical officials influenced the processes of change and adaptation that developed in the civic realm once the Empire had come to an end in the West.

The focus of this chapter is on the role of Christianity in the rephrasing of civic identity through a specific rhetoric that approaches the Christian congregation as a new civic community. In literary and performative sources produced by

¹ Rapp, 'City and Citizenship as Christian Concepts of Community'; Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity* with further bibliography. This chapter is part of a broader investigation of civic discourses in the post-Roman Latin world, as carried out in the framework of the project NWO VICI-Rose 277-30-002 *Citizenship Discourses in the Early Middle Ages, 400–1100*, funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. I thank all participants in the CICIP workshop in Rome, 28–29 November 2018, as well as the members of the Utrecht *Citizenship Discourses* project for their helpful discussion and reflection on earlier drafts of this chapter.

Els Rose • (h.g.e.rose@uu.nl) is Professor of Late and Medieval Latin at Utrecht University.

Christian authors of the early post-Roman West, the use of terms referring to city, citizen, and belonging to a community of citizens is notable. Even when the legal implications of a distinction between those who held citizenship in the Roman world and those excluded from it gradually changed or even ceased to exist at all,² the Latin vocabulary expressing this distinction did not fall into disuse. To the contrary, it took a special place to define the character of the Christian community, the identity of its members, and their participation in urban life and religious cult. The generalization of citizenship to all free Romans after 212 created space for new legal and, especially, local interpretations of citizenship, as Cédric Brélaz points out in his contribution to the present volume. It also created space for new social and symbolic appropriations of the concept of citizenship, to delineate participation in privileges and duties that defined the boundaries of the civic community, which in the course of Late Antiquity came to overlap to an important extent with the Christian ecclesiastical congregation.³ In the present essay I shall analyse this process through the case study of the metropolitan *civitas* Arles, where the episcopacy was held by Caesarius in the first half of the sixth century (502–542).⁴

As has been highlighted by a number of studies in the past few decades, the episcopal office from Constantine the Great onwards was a dual office, in which the bishop combined his pastoral duties with civic responsibilities.⁵ The secular responsibilities of a late Roman bishop increased when the bishop became the central and often sole remaining civic official in metropolitan communities, and as such the main representative of the emperor in a local context.⁶ In the case of Arles — an imperial residence since the early fourth century and capital of the province of Gaul from 395 to 476⁷ — we see that the fifth-century cathedral was much closer to the civic centre of the ancient Roman city than its predecessor, built under Constantine, had been. The new episcopal centre was erected close to the forum which, probably until well into the 530s, remained the main public area of the city.⁸ The late Roman bishop found his office filled with the civic responsibilities traditionally held by the Gallo-Roman aristocracy. For

2 Ando, ed., *Citizenship and Empire in Europe*; Blanco-Pérez, 'Salvo iure gentium'; Mathisen, 'Peregrini, Barbari, and Cives Romani'; see also the introduction to the present volume.

3 On the legal and social impact of citizenship discourse to define the civic community as essentially Christian and orthodox, separating Christians not adhering to the Nicene Creed as well as Jews from it, see Flierman and Rose, 'Banished from the Company of the Good'.

4 On Caesarius of Arles, see Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*; Heijmans, 'Césaire d'Arles'; as well as the thematic issue Grig, 'The World of Caesarius of Arles'; on Arles in Late Antiquity, see Guyon and Heijmans, eds, *L'antiquité tardive en Provence*.

5 See for a history of scholarship Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, pp. 9–13.

6 Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, p. 277; Van Engen, 'Christening the Romans', pp. 32–33; Delaplace, 'Pour une relecture de la *Vita Caesarii*', p. 314 (Caesarius as *defensor civitatis*).

7 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, pp. xii–xiii; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 53–56.

8 Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 666–67; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 59–61.

Caesarius, these included the maintenance of the urban infrastructure, which he redesigned into 'a Christian landscape',⁹ as well as the care of the urban populace, providing the poor with the necessities of their lives.¹⁰ Caesarius is particularly well known for the specific responsibilities he took to ransom war captives, whom he rescued from enslavement with the help of money gathered by the Church through alms.¹¹ He is also known as the first bishop to give the Christian practice of charity in the form of (voluntary) almsgiving the more obligatory character of the ecclesiastical tithe.¹² As a metropolitan of the province, finally, Caesarius presided over a number of influential Church councils during the long decades of his office, to start with the Council of Agde in 506.¹³ The earliest sixth-century councils, taking place under the Visigothic rule of Provence, are the context in which we must also consider the bishop's role in the digest of earlier imperial legislation in the form of the *Breviarium* of Alaric II.¹⁴

If we look for traces of a prolonged and at the same time transformative use of vocabulary expressing and re-creating a discourse of citizenship and belonging to the civic community, one specific type of sources to look for are the sermons in which we encounter urban bishops in conversation with their congregation (though indirectly: mediated through the written account of the spoken word, in its turn transmitted in various stages of handwritten transmission).¹⁵ Preaching was one of the central tasks of a late antique bishop, and a great number of Latin sermons from Late Antiquity have survived.¹⁶ One of the most prolific urban preachers of the early post-Roman West was Caesarius.¹⁷ The homiletic corpus of (or, rather, attributed to¹⁸) Caesarius

-
- 9 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 61–62.
 - 10 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. xi; Klingshirn, 'Charity and Power'; Shuler, 'Caesarius of Arles', pp. 56f. More general studies on the role of a late antique bishop towards the poor include Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*; Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*; Allen, Neil, and Mayer, *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity*; Van Nuffelen, this volume, p. 253 and n. 14.
 - 11 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 113–17.
 - 12 Filippov, 'Legal Frameworks', pp. 76–78; Shuler, 'Caesarius of Arles'.
 - 13 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. xv; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, passim; Filippov, 'Legal Frameworks', p. 69; Delaplace, 'Pour une relecture de la *Vita Caesarii*'.
 - 14 Delaplace, 'Pour une relecture de la *Vita Caesarii*', p. 316; see also Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 95–96; Filippov, 'Legal Frameworks', p. 68.
 - 15 On this central problem in late antique and medieval sermon studies, see Kienzle, 'Medieval Sermons and their Performance'.
 - 16 'Early Latin preaching is vast': Ployd, 'Attending to the Word', p. 479; De Maeyer and Partoens, 'Preaching in Sixth-Century Arles', p. 200; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 146–47.
 - 17 The edition used throughout this chapter is Morin, CCL, 103–04. Morin's collection counts more than 240 sermons attributed to Caesarius. On the history and problematic character of Morin's attributions and on Morin as the compiler of the 'collection', which as such does not exist in the manuscript transmission, see De Maeyer and Partoens, 'Preaching in Sixth-Century Arles', pp. 206–08.
 - 18 Caesarius frequently borrowed from and reused existing sermons extensively, for which reason Morin presented a division in three classes: sermons that are largely Caesarius's own composition, sermons with extensive quotations and borrowings, and sermons that

is studied by previous scholars as a relevant source granting insight into the formation of the urban Christian community of Arles.¹⁹ Caesarius's sermons also enable us to trace the use and development of civic discourse in the process of Christianization in the context of this specific early post-Roman urban area.

From Caesarius's point of view, preaching was the best way to perform his religious authority. We find in this bishop an active promotor of the pastoral sermon, particularly in his admonition of fellow bishops to take their responsibility as preachers seriously.²⁰ In his sermons, Caesarius aimed at including the entire community of the people entrusted to his pastoral care and to communicate the Christian message to the entire, heterogeneous community of Christians in the city and wider diocese of Arles.²¹ This is shown not only by the register of Latin he chose, but also by explicit reflections on the need to include the rural and the least literate audiences in the community of attendants.²² The rhetoric of his sermons, however, is also interspersed with civic concerns and concepts. We may assume that when addressing his congregation and reminding them of their dual citizenship, both to the *patria* of their *civitas* on earth and to their heavenly fatherland, Caesarius chose a register which his audiences were able to recognize because it reflected the way they identified themselves as members of a civic community.²³ Rather than reflecting an ethereal timeless reality that exists entirely outside the civic

are the result of rewriting existing sermons; see De Maeyer and Partoens, 'Preaching in Sixth-Century Arles', pp. 214–15; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, p. 148; Ferreira, "Frequenter Legere", pp. 249–50.

- 19 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*; see also Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom*, p. 95; see further below, "Messages from the Homeland": *Patria*.
- 20 De Maeyer and Partoens, 'Preaching in Sixth-Century Arles', pp. 201–03, referring to Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 1 (pp. 1–17); on the pastoral aspects of Caesarius's episcopacy, see Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, pp. xiii–xv.
- 21 De Maeyer and Partoens, 'Preaching in Sixth-Century Arles', p. 197.
- 22 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 148–49, referring to Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 86 (pp. 353–57); see also Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 1.12–13 (pp. 8–10), where Caesarius admonishes his clergy to choose a simple register (*simplex et pedestri sermone admonitio*, 'a straightforward exhortation in simple language', c. 13, p. 10) in order to reach all; this is repeated at the end of the sermon: *Unde magis simplici et pedestri sermone, quem totus populus capere possit, debent dominici mei sacerdotes populis praedicare* ('Hence the priests should preach to the people rather in straightforward and simple language, so that the entire people can understand it'), ed. by Morin, 1.20 (p. 16). The *Vita Caesarii* reports the importance Caesarius attached to preaching and his concern that 'no one is excluded': *Vita Caesarii*, ed. by Krusch, 1. 18 (p. 463): *vide ne [...] alius forsitan secludatur*; trans. by Klingshirn, p. 18. See also Salvatore, *Sermo humilis – sermo mysticus*; Brunner, 'Publikumskonstruktionen', esp. pp. 103–06.
- 23 Conform the method chosen and explained by Filippov, 'Legal Frameworks', p. 68, with reference to his model Salvatore, 'Usò delle similitudini e pedagogia pastorale'; see also Nathan Ristuccia's work on the sermons of Petrus Chrysologus held a century earlier in the imperial residence Ravenna, interspersed with vocabulary at home in 'the language of Roman law, using images that would parallel the ordinary life experiences of his congregation'. Ristuccia, 'Law and Legal Documents', p. 125.

space, Caesarius's sermons give us insight into the congregation's understanding of their identity being reconfigured as essentially Christian, a process still and unabatedly addressing them as citizens of Arles and, therefore, affecting their civic life.²⁴

In the following, the first two sections will deal with the question to what extent Caesarius explicitly addressed his audience in terms of civic identity. To answer this question, I shall analyse Caesarius's use of *civis* and *civitas* in the second section, turning to *patria* as their most frequent co-occurrence in the third section. Caesarius's sermons also provide ample evidence of the bishop's effort to make his audience active participants in the community that he tried to model and shape in the four decades of his episcopate. The second question this chapter tries to answer relates, therefore, to the ways in which Caesarius programmatically forged this participation, both in the religious cult and in a Christian way of life, along the lines of civic discourse. The fourth section will analyse the most frequent co-occurrence of *patria*, which is *via*, interpreted also as *vita*. Caesarius refers with both lexemes to the way of life presented as characteristic of the Christian community-in-the-making. Whether we can consider the invitation to take part in this way of life as a civic participation will be discussed, finally, in the fifth section.

Civic Vocabulary in Caesarius's Sermons: *Civis* and *Civitas*

The first key-terms in Latin civic vocabulary to be addressed are *civis* and *civitas*.²⁵ The *civis* introduced by Caesarius (with ten occurrences relatively rare in Caesarius's homiletic corpus as represented by Morin's collection) seems, at first glance, to be linked to an exclusively spiritual *civitas*, as the following quotation from *sermo* 151.2²⁶ exemplifies:

Duae sunt civitates, fratres carissimi: una est civitas mundi, alia est civitas paradisi. In civitate mundi bonus christianus semper peregrinatur; in civitate paradisi *civis* esse cognoscitur. [...] Peregrini esse debemus in hoc saeculo, ut cives esse mereamur in caelo. Qui amat mundum, et *civis* esse vult in mundo, partem non habet in caelo; in hoc enim probamus, quod peregrini sumus, si patriam desideramus. Nemo se circumveniat, fratres dilectissimi, christianorum patria in caelo est, non est hic: christianorum *civitas*, christianorum beatitudo, christianorum vera et aeterna felicitas non est hic. Qui felicitatem quaerit in mundo, non illam habebit in caelo.²⁷

24 See also Brunner, 'Publikumskonstruktionen', pp. 121–22.

25 Caesarius, *Sermones* 7.2, 38.3, 151.2, 151.6, 186.2, 215.4.

26 Classified by Morin among the exegetical, New Testament sermons.

27 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 151.2 (p. 618), with an implicit reference to Philippians 3.20: *Nostra autem conversatio in caelis est*. See further below, "Messages from the Homeland": *Patria*.

[Two *civitates* exist, most beloved brethren: the *civitas* of this world and the *civitas* of paradise. In the *civitas* of the world the good Christian is always a stranger; in the *civitas* of paradise he is recognized as a citizen.²⁸ [...] We must be strangers to this world in order to be worthy to be citizens in heaven. Whoever loves the world and wants to be a citizen in the world has no part in heaven; in this we prove that we are strangers if we long for the homeland. Let no-one deceive himself, my dearest brothers: the homeland²⁹ of Christians is in heaven, it is not here: the *civitas* of Christians, the bliss of Christians, the true and eternal happiness of Christians is not here. Whoever seeks happiness in the world, shall not have it in heaven.]

The true nature of the Christian inhabitant of Arles as depicted here is that of a stranger living in a foreign country. The destiny of the ‘good Christian’ (*bonus christianus*) is to fulfil this way of living and to become a citizen (*civis*) in heaven, to obtain the heavenly *civitas*. *Civitas* in this passage seems to denote both the city and the more abstract citizenship — particularly in the final sentence where it is used together with the abstract concepts *beatitudo* and *felicitas*. Love for the world hinders belonging to the heavenly *civitas*. The heavenly citizenship is described more concretely as belonging to the heavenly Jerusalem, where the *fratres dilectissimi* are called to co-citizenship with the angels, saints, and martyrs.³⁰ This reference links sermon 151 to sermons 215.³¹ and 7.2,³² where Caesarius uses the same list of heavenly co-citizens.

This emphasis on belonging to the heavenly Jerusalem presents Caesarius’s understanding of citizenship at first glance as an exclusive and essentially

28 See also Augustine, *Sermones ad populum*, ed. by Lambot, 111 (p. 116): *Ipse est christianus, qui et in domo sua et in patria sua peregrinum se esse cognoscit* (‘For he is a Christian, who identifies himself as a stranger also in his own house and fatherland’).

29 On the various possible translations of *patria*, see Isayev, *Migration, Mobility and Place*, p. 401.

30 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 151.6 (p. 620): *Sic ergo cum dei adiutorio laborare conemur, fratres dilectissimi, et peccata repudiantes bonis nos operibus exornemus, ut nos rex noster Christus, cives nostri angeli, parentes nostri patriarchae, prophetae, apostoli, martyres, confessores et virgines, qui nos iam in civitatem nostram Hierusalem illam caelestem feliciter praecesserunt, cum gaudio et exultatione suscipiant* (‘Let us therefore, most beloved brothers, try to work with God’s help and to adorn ourselves, rejecting sin, with good works in such a way that our king Christ, our fellow citizens the angels, our parents the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, who have already joyfully preceded us into our city that heavenly Jerusalem, receive us with gladness and exultation’).

31 Among the *Sermones de sanctis* this sermon is entitled *De natale sancti Felicis* but preached, according to Clare Stancliffe, at the occasion of the feast-day of Honoratus, Caesarius’s distant predecessor as Bishop of Arles: Stancliffe, ‘The Thirteen Sermons Attributed to Columbanus’, pp. 115–16; see also Mueller’s note in the same vein: Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, trans. by Mueller, p. 113 n. 1. Stancliffe follows Morin’s attribution to Caesarius rather than Engelbrecht’s attribution to Faustus of Riez (Stancliffe, ‘The Thirteen Sermons Attributed to Columbanus’, pp. 112–13).

32 An admonition to the people to spend time in spiritual reading. More on this sermon and its context below in ‘Participation’.

religious concept, located in heaven. A closer look at the semantic field in which *civis* and *civitas* operate presents the noun *patria* as the most important key to a further and more multi-layered interpretation of Caesarius's understanding of *civis*.³³ It is, therefore, essential to consider the ways in which he deploys *patria*, as will be done in the following section.

'Messages from the Homeland': *Patria*

A quantitative approach counting the co-occurrences of *civis* and *civitas* in Caesarius's sermons presents *patria* as one of the most important conceptualizations of the enjoyment and performance of citizenship and civic belonging. The word itself occurs eighty-eight times in thirty-five sermons — a comparatively frequent use of this specific term related to other citizenship terminology in the work of Caesarius.³⁴

More interesting than the relevance of frequency is the question as to which sources Caesarius relied on in his use of *patria*.³⁵ The Latin Vulgate gives a limited number of twenty-five occurrences.³⁶ Nine of these occur in the Book of Maccabees,³⁷ and four of them concern the same verse that occurs in all four Gospels.³⁸ In ancient citizenship discourse, *patria* is a central (though never univocal) concept,³⁹ particularly in the discussion about the relation between political (imperial) and local attachment, two forms of loyalty that are often closely intertwined.⁴⁰ Famous is Cicero's perception of *duae patriae*, distinguishing between *patria naturae* as the place of one's origin, and *patria civitatis* (also *patria communis*), the latter deserving the

33 For a definition of the concept 'semantic field', see Peels, *Hosios*, p. 14, n. 76.

34 The counting is based on the Brepolis Cross Database Searchtool.

35 On the limits of frequency 'as a measure for prototypicality' in a dead language, see Peels, *Hosios*, p. 21.

36 Different versions of the *Vetus Latina* would yield different numbers. One of the biblical loci of *patria* quoted many times by Augustine is Psalm 21. 28, in the Vulgate translated as *Reminiscentur et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae; et adorabunt in conspectu eius universae familiae gentium*, while the Itala version of the *Vetus Latina* translates *et adorabunt in conspectu eius universae patriae gentium*: Brepolis *Vetus Latina* Database.

37 Six occurrences in the Old Testament; one in Ecclesiasticus/Iesus Sirach; nine in the New Testament; nine in the Book of Maccabees. See for a further discussion Eichenberger, *Patria*, pp. 34–35.

38 *Non est propheta sine honore, nisi in patria sua*, Matthew 13. 57; cf. Mark 6. 4; Luke 4. 24; John 4. 44.

39 Eichenberger, *Patria*, p. 35.

40 As argued by Isayev, *Migration, Mobility and Place*, p. 401: 'There was a reciprocal relationship between local and civic patriotism', with reference to the seminal study of Bonjour, 'Terre natale'; see also Eichenberger, *Patria*, pp. 25–36. The validity of the long-held assumption that local political belonging and participation was largely swamped by Roman imperial political patriotism is contested in various publications by Cédric Brélaz: Brélaz, 'Democracy and Civic Participation'; Brélaz, 'Competing Citizenships'.

citizen's strongest loyalty and affection.⁴¹ Augustine's conceptualization of *patria* is likewise dualist, sketching a dichotomy between *patria sua* and the *patria* that is the true destiny of the Christian *peregrinus*. Augustine holds the *patria* of destination in higher esteem than the *patria* of origin:⁴² in the latter citizenship is employed (*utendum*), whereas only in the former it is truly enjoyed (*fruendum*).⁴³

Caesarius owed much to the Augustinian perception of *patria*.⁴⁴ In his understanding of the heavenly homeland, however, the present world, and life therein, is never absent. Caesarius makes an explicit distinction between, on the one hand, the common understanding of *patria* as the place of origin, which for many citizens of Arles would traditionally also have been their political attachment,⁴⁵ and, on the other, the essential homeland to which the Christian longs to return. This becomes clear from the lexical network in which *patria* occurs, first and foremost the modifiers added to *patria*.⁴⁶ The most frequent noun modifier is *paradisus*, combined ten times with *patria* either in the phrase *patria paradisi*,⁴⁷ or as *patria nostra paradisus est*.⁴⁸ Adjective modifiers include *aeterna*,⁴⁹ *caelestis*,⁵⁰ and, most frequently, *principalis*.⁵¹ The expression *patria principalis* is rare among Caesarius's contemporaries, but Caesarius uses it in a number of instances. The addition of *caelestis* or *aeterna* likewise indicates that use of the lexeme *patria* alone does not guarantee an

41 Cicero, *De legibus* 2.5, ed. and trans. by Keyes, pp. 374–76; see also Thomas, 'Origine' et 'commune patrie'.

42 Augustine also uses the notion *patria communis*, to which the Christian desires to return: *ut ad illam patriam communem aliquando redeamus: Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. by Dekkers and Fraipont, 62.6 (II, p. 797).

43 Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. by Martin, I. 4 (p. 8): *Quomodo ergo, si essemus peregrini, qui beate uiuere nisi in patria non possemus, eaque peregrinatione utique miseri et miseriam finire cupientes in patriam redire uellemus, opus esset uel terrestribus uel marinis uehiculis, quibus utendum esset ut ad patriam, qua fruendum erat, peruenire ualeremus* ('Therefore, if we were strangers, unable to live happily outside the fatherland, and if we, indeed miserable because of this same foreignhood and wishing to end that misery, wanted to return to our fatherland, we should strengthen ourselves to be able to travel with terrestrial or marine vehicles, which we use to travel home in order to enjoy that place'); see also Eichenberger, *Patria*, p. 32.

44 He was indebted to the North-African bishop in many respects, not only in the many sermons he borrowed for reworking (De Maeyer and Partoens, 'Preaching in Sixth-Century Arles', pp. 214–15; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, p. 150), but also generally in his approach to Christian (community) life and the bishop's role in its formation: Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, p. 89.

45 Eichenberger, *Patria*, p. 30: '*patria* als 'Bürgerort des Römers, jene *civitas* also, an die er durch das Bürgerrecht gebunden war'.

46 Eichenberger, *Patria*, p. 32 discusses the same regarding Augustine's use of *patria*.

47 E.g. Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 78.3 (p. 324).

48 E.g. Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 151.2 (p. 618).

49 E.g. Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 7.2 (p. 38).

50 E.g. Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 151.2 (p. 618).

51 Again Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 7.2; also 42.1, 58.5, 78.3–4, 171.1 (pp. 185, 258, 324–25, 700).

association among his audience with the *eternal* homeland. It must be modified explicitly — and Caesarius is careful in doing so.

If we further survey the nouns that appear in the semantic field of *patria*, one stands out in terms of frequency: the noun *via*, co-occurring in the same sentence with *patria* in twenty-eight different chapters. In the immediately foregoing and following sentences, *via* is the next-to-most-frequent co-occurring noun (in twelve sections), only preceded by *vita* (co-occurring with *patria* in thirteen sections). The semantic relevance of *via* in relation to *patria*, suggested by these numbers, asks for a further examination of how Caesarius stimulated or even ‘entrenched’⁵² among his audience the association of ‘homeland’ with the road leading to it, and how he ‘Christianized’ the classical model of *patria-via*.

The combination of *via* and *patria* in Caesarius’s sermons is commented upon by Clare Stancliffe in her discussion of *sermo* 215, where she singles out the theme of life on earth as ‘but a roadway (*uia*) to our true *patria* which is above.’⁵³ It is true that Caesarius presents *patria* and *via* in a hierarchical relation in *sermo* 215. The sermon celebrates Honoratus of Lérins († 429) as ‘a martyr without having fulfilled the suffering of martyrdom.’⁵⁴ Caesarius admonishes his audience to use earthly life, in a mimetic imitation of Honoratus, as a laboratory to work in, in order to gain the fruits of this labour in the life hereafter: ‘*Non quaeras in via, quod tibi servatur in patria*’ (Do not try to find on your way what may be presented to you once you will have reached home).⁵⁵ The call to imitation is followed by the list of heavenly co-citizens, also occurring in sermons 7 and 151 already discussed.⁵⁶ The locus where this co-citizenship is enjoyed is conceptualized by Caesarius as the *principalis patria*, the principal homeland.⁵⁷ The idea of a principal homeland, next to which the Christian’s dwelling *in hoc mundo* is of secondary importance, is confirmed in the sermon’s final section:

Nos vero, fratres carissimi, quantum possumus dei misericordiam deprecemur, ut nobis ita amorem vitae aeternae inspirare dignetur, ut plus patriam velimus amare quam viam.⁵⁸

[Let us pray, most beloved brethren, as much as we can for God’s mercy, so that he deigns to inflame us to such love of eternal life that we will love the homeland more than the road to it.]

52 The image is used by Evens and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, pp. 16–17.

53 Stancliffe, ‘The Thirteen Sermons Attributed to Columbanus’, pp. 116 and 115 respectively.

54 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 215.1 (p. 856): *indubitanter credimus eum inplesse etiam non inpleta passione martyrium*. On the notion of bloodless martyrdom, see Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, pp. 70–71; Rose, *The Gothic Missal*, p. 128.

55 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 215.3 (p. 857).

56 See ‘Civic Vocabulary in Caesarius’s Sermons: *Civis* and *Civitas*’ above.

57 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 215.4 (p. 857).

58 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 215.5 (p. 858).

The contrast with other potential places of belonging from which *via* must lead the Christian away is expressed by (*hic*) *mundus, exilium, or lacrimarum vallis*, used as the main antonyms of *patria* in *sermo* 7.2:

Quando enim peccavit Adam, tunc in ipso velut in exilium huius mundi proiecti sumus: sed quia rex noster plus quam cogitari vel dici potest pius et misericors est, scripturas divinas velut invitatorias ad nos per patriarchas et prophetas dignatus est mittere, quibus nos ad aeternam et principalem patriam invitaret.⁵⁹

[For when Adam sinned, we were in him as it were driven out into the exile of this world, but because our king is loving and merciful more than can be thought or expressed, he deigned to send us the divine Scriptures by way of invitation to us through the patriarchs and prophets, with which he invited us to the eternal and principal homeland.]

The way from exile into *patria* is not without labour, as Caesarius expresses repeatedly. In *sermo* 150, likewise mentioning Adam's expulsion from paradise into a state of *labor* (Genesis 3. 17⁶⁰), the labour of the way (*laborem* [...] *in via*) is contrasted with the promised reward: *patria*.⁶¹ An additional example is found in *sermo* 231.6, where Caesarius stresses that the laborious road (*in via* [...] *laborare*) will only take a short time, while the eternal joy *in patria* will last.⁶²

The co-occurrence of *patria-via* in its turn forms semantic networks with other nouns. Most frequent among them is *vita*, co-occurring with *patria* and *via* within the same sentence in nine sermon sections. This threefold semantic network uncovers the ambiguity of the Christian's *peregrinatio*, sojourning as a stranger in this terrestrial life. A first, negative approach to *via-vita*, in which the latter is understood as 'this perfunctory life', is found in *sermo* 186, an *exhortatio ad populum* through an exegesis of 1 John 5.1: 'Everyone who believes that Jesus is the Christ has been born of God' (NRSV). Caesarius

59 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 7.2 (p. 38).

60 *in laboribus comedes eam cunctis diebus vitae tuae*.

61 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 150.3 (p. 615). The notion of *labor* on the way to *patria* is also found frequently in Augustine, e.g. *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. by Dekkers and Fraipont, 102.17 (III, p. 1468): *oportet in via laborare, ut in patria gaudeamus* ('we must work on our way in order to rejoice in the fatherland'); Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, ed. by Willems, 124.5 (p. 685): *duas vitas* [...] *praedicatas* [...] *novit ecclesia: una in labore, altera in requie, una in via, altera in patria* ('the Church knows [...] two lives [...] preached to her: one in labour, the other in rest, one under way, the other in the fatherland').

62 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 231.6 (p. 918): *melius est nobis in via brevi tempore laborare, ut postea in patria possimus ad aeternum gaudium feliciter pervenire* ('it is better for us to labour for a short time on our way, so that we will afterwards be able to come to the fatherland and to eternal joy'). This sermon is, according to Morin's introduction, a reworked sermon first authored by Augustine.

describes his audience as ‘foreigners and strangers in this world’, for whom life is merely the way to *patria*.⁶³ Just as in *sermo* 215, Caesarius urges his flock not to love the road but to focus on the goal: *patria*.⁶⁴ The road is here purely instrumental (*currendo per viam*). Yet it is not neutral: the road to *patria* is a dangerous obstacle. Love for the road, found among lovers of *luxuria* and hindering the arrival *ad patriam*, equals love for this terrestrial life.⁶⁵ The danger of fulfilment sought for in this life will take away the longing for eternal life.⁶⁶

At the same time, and here lies the ambiguous tension, a *peregrinus* without *via* is no less lost, as is expressed in *sermo* 190.3 for Christmas.⁶⁷ Here, the road to *patria* is understood as the incarnate Christ himself, who is *via, veritas et vita* (John 14. 6⁶⁸):

Venit ergo, carissimi, ad errantes via [...] Quare? Quia sine via redire ad patriam non poterat peregrinus [...]. Habemus ergo in via reditum [...]. Descendit ad nos via, per quam possumus ascendere.⁶⁹

[For, my most beloved, the road has come to those who err [...] Why? Because without a road a traveller cannot come home [...]. Therefore, we have in our road a way back home [...]. The road descended to us, through which we may ascend.]

-
- 63 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 186.3 (p. 759): *Nos vero, fratres carissimi, qui peregrini et advenae sumus in hoc saeculo, debemus intellegere adhuc nos in via esse, nondum in patria. Vita enim ista via est* (‘We therefore, most beloved brothers, who are strangers and residents in this world, we must understand that we are still underway, not yet in the fatherland. For this life indeed is the road’).
- 64 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 186.3 (p. 759): *Qui ergo sapiunt [...] non amant viam; sed currendo per viam, desiderant patriam* (‘Those who know [...] the way do not love it, but by running over it they long for the fatherland’).
- 65 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 186.3 (p. 759): *Amatores vero luxuriae [...] via diligunt; et dum volunt in via gaudere, non merentur ad aeternam patriam pervenire* (‘However those who love luxury [...] love the way; and while they want to rejoice in the way, they do not deserve to reach the eternal fatherland’).
- 66 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 186.3 (p. 759): *quando viam vitae huius ita perverso ordine et amore diligimus, ut pervenire ad patriam non desideremus* (‘when we love the road of this life with such a distorted approach and with love, that we do not desire to arrive in the fatherland’).
- 67 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 190.3 (p. 777): *quia sine via redire ad patriam non poterat peregrinus* (‘for without a road the traveller cannot reach the fatherland’). Morin describes this sermon as ‘largely copied from an unknown source’, but he recognizes Caesarius particularly in the final chapters 3 and 4, under discussion here: Morin, p. 775. Mueller points to Dekker’s attribution of the sermon to Sedatus of Nîmes (c. 500); Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, trans. by Mueller, III, p. 21, n. 1. On *peregrinus* as the pre-eminent antonym of *civis* in Roman and early medieval law, see Schipp, ‘Römer und Barbaren’; Coşkun, ‘Griechische polis und römisches Reich’, pp. 102–03.
- 68 The pericope is quoted in sermons 97.1, 100.3, 100A.3, 149.3; see Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, p. 1005.
- 69 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 190.3 (p. 777).

In this Christmas setting the sacred character of the road to *patria*, depicted as Christ, comes to the fore. Likewise, in *sermo* 210.5 *via* and *patria* together present Christ's dual nature: the road his humanity, *patria* his divinity.⁷⁰ The latter sermon also presents the way out of this tension: the road will be safe when it is travelled in faith and while doing good works.⁷¹ The same is expressed in *sermo* 171.1 (a homily on John 5. 2–9). For the sinners, rejected from the homeland of paradise, the road of justice is a way back home.⁷² The narrow road even becomes *planam* if the traveller, instead of collecting treasures for himself underway (*sermo* 151.8), is willing to give alms to the poor (*sermo* 8.1).

In the last sermon to be discussed here, the Christian life to which Caesarius invites his audience to participate acquires a civic dimension. In the Epiphany sermon 194, Caesarius presents the magi, urged in a dream not to return via Jerusalem and a second visit to Herod but to take another way home, as a model for the faithful of Arles to change their life in order to arrive in their true homeland. The faithful are urged spiritually (*spiritaliter*) to change their route (*viam*), that is, their *conversacionem*.⁷³ *Conversatio*, used here to explain *via* spiritually, basically means 'way of life'.⁷⁴ Relatively rare among classical authors,⁷⁵ it is appropriated by early Christian authors to indicate the Christian way of life tout court.⁷⁶ Yet in one of the most famous applications, namely in Paul's letters to the Ephesians (2. 12) and Philippians (3. 20), *conversatio* is used in direct relation to citizenship. In the Vulgate, it translates the Greek words πολιτεία (Ephesians 2. 12, addressing the 'commonwealth

-
- 70 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 210.5 (p. 840). Similarly in Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, ed. by Willems, 28.5 (p. 279): *patria est vita Christi, via est mors Christi; patria est mansio Christi, via est passio Christi* ('our fatherland is the life of Christ, our way is the death of Christ, our fatherland is the dwelling of Christ [in the flesh], our way is the passion of Christ'); Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. by Dekkers and Fraipont, 123.2 (III, p. 182.6): *rex patriae nostrae dominus Iesus Christus, et ibi veritas, hic autem via* ('the king of our fatherland is the Lord Jesus Christ, and there is truth, here however is the way').
- 71 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 210.5 (p. 840): *Si fideliter curris, per ipsum vadis, et ad ipsum pervenis. [...] deprecemur, ut nobis fidem rectam et intellectum sibi placitum ad exercenda opera bona concedat* ('If you run faithfully, you will run through him, and you will reach him. [...] Let us pray, that he will grant us the right faith and the understanding that pleases him in order to fulfil the good works').
- 72 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 171.1 (p. 700).
- 73 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 194.3 (pp. 787–88): *Mutemus viam, si pervenire optamus ad patriam, utique ad patriam caelestem. [...] Illud autem quod ait evangelista [Matthew 2. 12], magos admonitos esse in somnis, ne redirent ad Herodem, sed per aliam viam ad regionem propriam remearent, hoc etiam nobis spiritualiter praecipitur, ut per aliam viam, id est, per aliam conversacionem revertamur ad patriam* ('We must change our way if we wish to arrive in the fatherland, indeed the heavenly fatherland. [...] What the Evangelist tells us, namely that the magi were admonished in a dream not to return to Herod but to travel back home via another way, is for us a spiritual order, namely that we return via another way, that is, via another *conversatio* to our fatherland').
- 74 Just as the Greek verb as used in Philippians 1. 27.
- 75 Mohrmann, 'La langue de St Benoît', p. 341.
- 76 Hoppenbrouwers, 'Conversatio'.

of Israel', NRSV) and *πολίτευμα* (Philippians 3. 20: translated in the NRSV as 'our citizenship is in heaven').⁷⁷ The context of use, especially Ephesians 2. 19 where Paul addresses the Christians of Ephesus as 'no longer strangers and aliens, but (fellow) citizens with the saints' (NRSV, adapted),⁷⁸ makes it rather unlikely that *conversatio* was not used to transpose any (political) associations with citizenship.⁷⁹ Other early Christian Latin authors also use the word *conversatio* in the context of citizenship. Jerome uses it to translate the Greek *πολιτείαν*, with reference to the political structure of the *res publica*.⁸⁰ Elsewhere, Jerome uses the word to refer to the just (*iusti*), who are strangers (*advena*) and foreigners (*peregrinus*) on earth and have their *conversatio*, their true citizenship, in heaven.⁸¹ Jerome uses *conversatio* also to refer to the way of life in urban communities (*civitates*).⁸² The same choice of words is already found in Tertullian, who uses *municipatus* to translate *πολίτευμα* in Philippians 3. 20, thus presenting *municipatus* as a synonym for *conversatio*.⁸³

Returning now to Caesarius, we may assume that he knew the biblical meaning of *conversatio* very well. Philippians 3. 20 is among the most frequently quoted biblical verses in his sermons.⁸⁴ With his use of the same word in the context of describing the way to the heavenly homeland, Caesarius suggests that the change of life (*mutemus vitam*) he urges his audience to accept also includes a change of civic identity. How this civic identity is confirmed by participation in the Christian way of life, and whether this is a civic participation, is discussed in the next session.

Participation

Despite Caesarius's exclusive focus on heaven as the place where the Christian finds home, happiness, and destiny, this heavenly homeland is not reached by escaping worldly life. Especially where *patria-via-vita* co-occur, Caesarius

-
- 77 A better translation would perhaps be 'community', as suggested by Brélaz, *Philippes, colonie romaine d'Orient*, pp. 243–44, with bibliography that further contextualizes the original Greek passage.
- 78 *ergo iam non estis hospites et advenae sed estis cives sanctorum et domestici dei*.
- 79 As suggested by Hoppenbrouwers, 'Conversatio', p. 52.
- 80 Hieronymus, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. by De Lagarde, p. 144: *Corinthum, conuersationem eorum, quam significantius graeci πολιτείαν uocant, hoc est administrationem rei publicae*.
- 81 Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, ed. by Adriaen, VIII. 26. 20–21 (p. 342): *Porro iusti, licet uidentur in terra, tamen conuersatio eorum in caelis est, qui possunt dicere: aduena ego sum in terra, et peregrinus sicut omnes patres mei*.
- 82 Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, ed. by Adriaen, VII. 17. 2 (p. 268).
- 83 Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, ed. by Kroymann, III. 24. 3 and v. 20. 7 (pp. 542 and 725 respectively); Tertullian, *De corona*, ed. by Kroymann, XIII. 4 (p. 1061); Tertullian, *De resurrectione mortuorum*, ed. by Borleffs, XLVII. 15 (p. 986).
- 84 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, p. 1009.

depicts the road to this homeland as a way of life in which the Christian is invited to participate. The road to paradise becomes concrete in specific actions. These are sometimes indicated in general terms as acts of *caritas* or good works, sometimes described concretely, particularly when it comes to giving alms. The question raised in this section is the extent to which participation in this way of life is framed as *civic* participation. To answer this question, I shall discuss three domains of participation in the following: charity, liturgy, and spiritual reading, guided by the question as to what extent these 'acts' are related to the terms *civis*, *civitas*, or *patria*.

Charity

There is a direct link between civic vocabulary and charity in Caesarius's sermons. This becomes clearer through an examination of the nuclei *caritas-civis* and *caritas-patria*.

caritas-civis

Among the occurrences of *civis* in Caesarius's homiletic corpus, one stands out in relation to charity, namely in *sermo* 186:

Cum enim videris hominem caritatem habere, aeternum audium quaerere, invenisti civem, civem angelorum.⁸⁵

[When you will perceive a person who has charity, one who seeks eternal joy, you will have found a citizen, a co-citizen of the angels.]

This passage modifies the spiritual understanding of the *civis* as conceptualized by Caesarius in the sources discussed in 'Civic Vocabulary in Caesarius's Sermons: *Civis* and *Civitas*'. The *civis* Caesarius has in mind is a person who performs charity. It is *caritas* which makes a Christian a true citizen (*civem*), granting citizenship in the heavenly Jerusalem and defining the co-citizen of the heavenly denizens. Caesarius stresses the public character of this performance of charity, and in this respect, he makes charity look like the ancient model of public gift-giving rather than the Christian model of charity done 'in secret' (Matthew 6. 1–6).⁸⁶ The fact that we find this citizen-profile in an 'exhortation to the people'⁸⁷ indicates how much Caesarius aims at bringing his entire congregation to the programme of Christian life. The remainder of this sermon concentrates on the link *patria-via* and indicates

85 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 186.2 (p. 758).

86 On charity as a Christian duty for bishops and individuals, see Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, pp. 223–26; on the relation to euergetism, Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, esp. pp. 83–88.

87 The title is found in BnF, MS lat. 2768A, where the sermon is part of a series of fifteen sermons copied on fols 110^r–145^v; Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, pp. li–lii and 757.

that the road to *patria* is travelled on two feet: the love for God and the love for one's neighbour.⁸⁸

caritas-patria

Caritas is, then, an important road map to *patria*. In *sermo* 29, focusing on one of the 'two feet', namely love for one's neighbour, Caesarius even shortens the distance between *caritas* and *patria*: '*caritas, fratres, [...] est [...] errantibus via, peregrinantibus patria*' (Charity, my brethren, [...] is [...] a road for those who err, a homeland for foreigners').⁸⁹ What does *caritas* as love for one's neighbour entail in Caesarius's understanding? Following again the co-occurrence *patria-via*, references to Christian virtues further explain *via*. The way to go is made explicit in *sermo* 149.6, where several such virtues are listed: giving alms as well as performing humility and charity.⁹⁰ The performance of good works in various expressions is thus explicitly embedded in the civic vocabulary of *patria*, particularly when this is linked to *via*. Does this make the performance of charity a civic value? A similar question can be asked when dealing with the celebration of the Christian cult, or liturgy.

Liturgy

In Caesarius's perspective, access to the liturgical celebration of the Christian community is open to all. All Christians were expected to attend Mass on Sundays and feast-days, those not yet baptized at least until the beginning of the Eucharist.⁹¹ Caesarius repeatedly urges the faithful to attend the sacred ritual of Mass, including participation in the offering of the gifts and the consecration of Christ's body and blood.⁹² His admonition gains momentum when he tragically depicts himself as a lonely priest, reciting his parts of the Eucharistic prayer and the Pater Noster and finding no people (*populus*) left to respond.⁹³ Caesarius essentially envisages the celebration of Mass as a corporate ritual, in which all Christians, male and female, religious and lay, priests and faithful, participate.⁹⁴

The two sermons in which exhortations to attend Mass are central (73 and 74) do not explicitly link church attendance to civic vocabulary. The celebration of the liturgy emphatically takes place *in ecclesia* (73.4–5; 74.4), that is, in

88 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 186.3 (p. 759).

89 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 29.4 (p. 129).

90 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 149.6 (pp. 611–12).

91 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 73.1 (p. 306).

92 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 73.2 (p. 307). On the reception of the Eucharist by the faithful (both men and women), see Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 78.2 (p. 324); see also Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 155–56.

93 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 73.2 (p. 307); see also Rose, *The Gothic Missal*, pp. 70–71.

94 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 80.1 (p. 329).

the confined space of the church building. However, in these same sermons and elsewhere (e.g. 78.5), Caesarius addresses the entire civic community of Arles through the faithful who do come to Mass when he urges the latter to spread what they have heard in church, particularly in the sermons, to their neighbours and relatives who did not come with them. Thus, Caesarius aims at a mediated way of making public what is proclaimed in church.

This proclamation of the inner ecclesiastical experience to the public realm is implied even more strongly by sermons 52.2 and 192.3, where Caesarius emphasizes the need for the *civitas*, to be understood in its double meaning of the city and its community,⁹⁵ to be cleansed from non-Christian religious customs. In *sermo* 52, Caesarius signals with horror that the custom to keep the Thursday as a day of rest in honour of Jupiter is not only still pervasive in other places, but *etiam in hac ipsa civitate*.⁹⁶ In *sermo* 192 Caesarius fights against the ‘deplorable habit’ to celebrate the Kalends of January.⁹⁷ It is not enough when Christians abstain from such ancient religious customs. Caesarius urges his audience to help him to eradicate these remnants of ancient cults from the entire community, for they might spread and contaminate others, as Caesarius implies with an appeal to the apostle Paul: ‘A little yeast leavens the whole batch of dough’ (Galatians 5. 9).

One domain of the Christian cult that links directly and in a more positive way to *civitas* is the (liturgical) cult of the saints. In *sermo* 215 discussed above, Caesarius presents the martyrdom of his predecessor Honoratus as an event that relates to the *civitas* as a whole:

Inter quos praecipuam ac praeclaram lucernam sanctae recordationis domnum Honoratum huic civitati pietas divina concessit, eumque supra candelabrum huius ecclesiae, ut omnibus luceret, elevare dignatus est.⁹⁸

[Among [the saints], God’s love granted to this city as an important and bright light of holy memory the lord Honoratus, and he deigned to place him high on the chandelier of this church, so that he would shine for everyone.]

95 See Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. by Lindsay, 15. 2. 1: *Civitas est hominum multitudo societatis unculo adunata, dicta a ciuibus, id est ab ipsis incolis urbis [...]* Nam *urbs ipsa moenia sunt, civitas autem non saxa, sed habitatores uocantur* (‘A city [*civitas*] is a multitude of people united by a bond of community, named for its “citizens” [*civis*], that is, from the residents of the city [*urbs*]. [...] Now *urbs* (also “city”) is the name for the actual buildings, while *civitas* is not the stones, but the inhabitants’, trans. by Barney and others, p. 305).

96 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 52.2 (p. 230); see Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, p. 213.

97 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 192.3 (p. 781). On the Kalends of January in and beyond the Roman Empire, see Meslin, *La fête des Kalendes de janvier dans l’empire romain*; Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East*.

98 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 215.1 (p. 855).

Not the Christian community but the civic community (*civitas*) is mentioned as the prime beneficiary of the glory of Honoratus's good works. Likewise in *sermo* 214.2 the body that carries the patronage (*patrocinium*) of the martyr is *civitas*,⁹⁹ which, again, we may understand as the civic community of Arles. Caesarius's emphasis on the relevance of martyrdom and saints' cult to the entire civic community is in line with early Christian conceptualizations of the beneficial presence of a saint (also after death) in a city. Avitus of Vienne represents this thought when he expresses the idea that mere towns grow into *urbes* thanks to the presence of a saint's cult.¹⁰⁰ Within this civic outlook on Honoratus's relevance as a saint, Caesarius presents Honoratus as an example of *contemptus mundi*,¹⁰¹ and admonishes his audience to focus likewise entirely on the *patria principalis*.¹⁰² The object of the saint's cult is to transform the entire *civitas* into a crowd of *peregrini* on their way home.¹⁰³

Spiritual Reading

As we have seen in "Messages from the Homeland": *Patria*, the road to *patria* is Christ himself. Where to get the roadmap is explained by Caesarius when he brings into focus the importance of getting acquainted with Holy Scripture as the core of the Christian religion-of-the-book.

The importance of spiritual reading is first and foremost a matter of inner-ecclesiastical cult-bound custom, given the central role of Scriptural readings in the liturgy of Mass and daily office. Caesarius addresses this matter in *sermo* 78, apparently performed in the setting of a vigil (78.5).¹⁰⁴ Caesarius admonishes his flock to maintain a reverential physical posture when listening to the readings, also if some of them, such as the *passiones*, are lengthy (78.1). The young women are Caesarius's special target of reproach: they have no physical impediments to justify their choice to lay down during the readings, nor is there any reason for them to talk and gossip while Holy Scripture is being recited.¹⁰⁵ Caesarius urges his audience not to consider God's word less important than the body of Christ, which the recipients also prepare to receive with reverence, taking care that no crumb will fall on the ground when they receive it with their hands (78.2). Caesarius compares the liturgical readings

99 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 214.2 (p. 854).

100 Avitus of Vienne, *Homiliae III*, col. 295D: *fiunt urbes ex oppidis*; see Saucier, *A Paradise of Priests*, pp. 11–12.

101 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 215.1 (p. 855).

102 Caesarius, *Sermones* 215.4, discussed above in "Messages from the Homeland": *Patria*.

103 As is made explicit in *sermo* 233.2, 'In natale martyrum', Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, p. 882, where Caesarius urges all to imitate the saints' example of living *iuste et caste* and performing *caritatem*.

104 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 78 (pp. 254–58).

105 See also Brunner, 'Publikumskonstruktionen', pp. 113–14. On the inclusiveness of the vocative *fratres karissimi*, and the broader question of those present in church, see Filippov, 'Legal Frameworks', pp. 74–76.

with beautiful ornaments in which, as he supposes, the female attendants among his audience have a keen interest:

Velim tamen scire, si ab illa hora, qua verbum dei coeperit praedicari, semper pretiosissimas gemmas et inares vel anulos aureos erogare vellemus, utrum stare aut accipere vellent filiae nostrae. Sine ulla dubitatione cum grandi ambitione quae illis offerrentur acciperent. Nos vero, quia ornamenta corporalia offerre nec possumus nec debemus, ideo non libenter audimur. Sed non est iustum, ut spiritalia ministrantes superflui iudicemur. Qui enim verbum dei libenter audit, inares animae de patria paradisi transmissas se suscepisse non dubitet.¹⁰⁶

[I would like to know if, when from the moment that God's Word is being proclaimed, we were to hand out precious gems and earrings or golden rings, our young women would stand up to receive them. I am sure that they would accept with great eagerness what is offered to them. I however, as I do not and cannot offer corporeal ornaments, am not eagerly listened to. But we who serve spiritual matters do not deserve to be considered superfluous. Whoever listens gladly to God's Word will doubtlessly receive earrings for the soul sent from the homeland of paradise.]

Caesarius compares himself as preacher to a mother adorning her daughter (78.4). The spiritual ornaments are the ornaments of good works (78.3), spiritual gems coming from the homeland of paradise and given for free (*absque ullo pretio*).¹⁰⁷

From Caesarius's point of view, the act of spiritual reading is not to be confined to the liturgical setting of Mass and daily office in church. In three sermons (6, 7, 8) he stresses the importance of spending time in spiritual reading also at home: *in domibus et in conviviis vestris*.¹⁰⁸ *Sermo* 6 is held outside the city of Arles during a site visit of the bishop. Caesarius addresses his audience in rural metaphors, taking account of their daily life and sorrows and, at the same time, trying to change and adapt their habits to the programme of Christian values he preaches. Caesarius discusses the tendency he perceives among this specific audience to neglect spiritual reading by lack of time or ability to read (6.1). Both objections are brushed aside by Caesarius: time is plenteous, particularly during the long winter nights, and those who cannot read themselves should hire someone to read to them, just as illiterate businessmen hire someone to do the reading and writing for them (*litterarios mercenarios*).¹⁰⁹ If time and means fail, there is always memory, in which so many secular songs are apparently stored; cannot the farmers also remember

106 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 78.3 (p. 324).

107 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 78.4 (p. 325).

108 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 7.1 (p. 38).

109 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 6.2 (p. 31).

the Creed, the Our Father, some chants, and at least Psalms 50 and 90? *Si velis, et poteris*.¹¹⁰ To stress the urgency of this practice, Caesarius compares spiritual reading as care for the soul with the cultivation of the land. Thus, he relates directly to the daily occupation of his audience, whose responsibility it is to provide the metropolitan area of Arles with food.

The two sermons 7 and 8 are likewise entirely focused on the importance of reading. Of these *sermo* 7 is most relevant here, because it links this practice to discovering the way to *patriam*. This sermon, like *sermo* 78, presents the holy writings as the ornaments preparing the appearance before the heavenly judge. They deserve earnest attention, for the divine Scriptures are like letters sent to find the way back to *patriam*.¹¹¹ Caesarius presents these messages from home as means of liberation, offered to establish deliverance from 'the tyranny of diabolical pride'.¹¹² Those who accept to read prepare themselves to receive the eternal reward; those who refuse will refrain from the award and will give up liberty (7.3).

Caesarius admonishes his flock to read divine Scripture in order to spread the Christian message also outside the church building and throughout the city and urban area of Arles.¹¹³ Metaphorically, Caesarius presents reading divine Scripture as the pre-eminent way of belonging to the Christian community here and hereafter: spiritual reading is like reading a letter from the lost homeland and is a means to find the way back home. Thus, Caesarius embeds the act of spiritual reading in his attempt to redefine the civic community as a Christian community in two ways: first, through his attempt to spread knowledge about the Christian message outside the confined community of the church, and, secondly, by his conceptualization of this Christian literature as both messages from and invitations to return to the principal and eternal *patria*.

Conclusion

The analysis of the urban cathedral sermon as a Christian source with strong Roman civic roots¹¹⁴ from the perspective of civic discourse highlights the importance within this kind of source of a specific ancient vocabulary related to the city, citizen, and belonging to the body of citizens. The terms in this semantic field are reused, as *spolia* supporting the construction of a Christian civic discourse. While previous scholars depicted the process of Christianization in Arles during Caesarius's pontificate as a process of

110 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 6.3 (p. 32).

111 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 7.2 (p. 38).

112 Caesarius, *Sermones*, ed. by Morin, 7.2 (p. 38): *de potestate etiam antiqui hostis et de superbia diaboli liberare*.

113 On the Roman custom of *domus* and domestic cultic practice as a model for the city, see Isayev, *Migration, Mobility and Place*, p. 409.

114 Perrin, *Civitas confusionis*, pp. 287–88.

'de-romanization',¹¹⁵ the consistent use of ancient Roman civic discourse in his sermons seems to shed a different light on the relation Caesarius maintained with the Roman heritage. Rather than avoiding all vocabulary that his audience could associate with their civic identity in a Roman city, he uses such vocabulary strategically by providing core terms of Roman citizenship (*civis, civitas, patria*) and classical co-occurrences (*patria-via-vita*) with new, Christian meaning. The focus here seems to be more on the Christianization of a Roman environment than active de-romanization.¹¹⁶ The Christian identity that Caesarius envisages for his parishioners is not primarily and entirely un-Roman. The character of the Christian community of Arles, though ultimately oriented towards the heavenly afterlife, includes and affects civic identity in the earthly city of Arles, as the Christian programme, leading the way to a world to come, includes specific forms of civic participation in the terrestrial world.

William Klingshirn, in his classic study of Caesarius as the 'maker' of Christian Arles, has already pointed at the way Caesarius copies Augustine's rendition of Christian life as 'a social life'. Choosing Arles, Caesarius presented his own city as the terrestrial space in which the crowd of Christians, while heading heavenward, were urged to live their life meanwhile as perfectly as possible in the temporary world.¹¹⁷ Klingshirn argues that Caesarius modelled his urban audience on the monastic (ascetic) lifestyle that he himself had learned to practice during his founding years at Lérins.¹¹⁸ Others have emphasized the community model under aristocratic rule as the leading model in Caesarius's interpretation of community and leadership.¹¹⁹ The close examination of civic vocabulary in Caesarius's sermons shows how Caesarius set the Christian community-in-the-making in the context of the civic community of Arles. Rather than blotting out its civic character, Caesarius aimed at changing this civic identity into a Christian civic identity.

Works Cited

Manuscript Sources

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 2768A

-
- 115 As he seemed to be doing in a physical sense by replacing typically Roman uses of public space by Christian ones: 'a larger process of "de-romanization"'. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 175–76.
- 116 See Van Engen, 'Christening the Romans'.
- 117 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, p. 181.
- 118 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, pp. 181–86; see also Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, pp. 162–64.
- 119 Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom*, p. 95; see also Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making*, p. 44.

Primary Sources

- Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. by Joseph Martin, CCSL, 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962)
- , *Enarrationes in psalmos*, ed. by Eligius Dekkers and Jean Fraipont, CCSL, 38–40, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956)
- , *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, ed. by Radboud Willems, CCSL, 36 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954)
- , *Sermones ad populum*, ed. by Cyrille Lambot, ‘Le sermon CXI de saint Augustin,’ *Revue Bénédictine*, 57 (1947), 109–16
- Avitus of Vienne, *Homiliae III in restauratione baptisterii in civitate sua Vienna, PL*, LIX, cols 295D–296B
- Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, ed. by Germain Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, CCSL, 103–04 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953)
- , *Sermones*, trans. by Mary Magdeleine Mueller O. S. F., *Saint Caesarius of Arles Sermons*, vol. III: 187–238, *The Fathers of the Church*, 66 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1972)
- Cicero, *De legibus*, ed. and trans. by Clinton Walker Keyes, LCL, 213 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 296–517
- Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, ed. by Marc Adriaen, CCSL, 73 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963)
- , *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. by Paul De Lagarde, CCSL, 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959)
- Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. by Wallace M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911); trans. by Stephen Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, ed. by Emil Kroymann, CCSL, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), pp. 437–726
- , *De corona*, ed. by Emil Kroymann, in CCSL, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), pp. 1037–65
- , *De resurrectione mortuorum*, ed. by Jan W. Ph. Borleffs, in CCSL, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), pp. 919–1012
- Vitae Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis libri duo*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici et antiquiorum aliquot*, vol. 1, MGH, SRM, 3 (Hanover: Hahn, 1896), pp. 433–501; trans. by William E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, TTH, 19 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), pp. 9–65

Secondary Works

- Allen, Pauline, Bronwen Neil, and Wendy Mayer, *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Realities*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte*, 28 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2009)
- Ando, Clifford, ed., *Citizenship and Empire in Europe, 200–1900: The Antonine Constitution after 1800 Years*, *Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge*, 54 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016)

- Blanco-Pérez, Aitor, 'Salvo iure gentium: Roman Citizenship and Civic Life before and after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*', *Al-Masāq*, 32 (2020), 4–17
- Bonjour, Madeleine, 'Terre natale: Études sur une composante affective du patriotisme romain' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Lille III, 1976)
- Brelaz, Cédric, 'Competing Citizenships in the Greek-Speaking Provinces of the Roman Empire: *Communis patria* vs Local *patris*', unpublished Utrecht Centre for Medieval Studies Lecture, 25 October 2018
- , 'Democracy and Civic Participation in Greek Cities under Roman Imperial Rule: Political Practice and Culture in the Post-Classical Period', *Center for Hellenic Studies Research Bulletin*, 4.2 (2016), <<https://research-bulletin.chs.harvard.edu/2016/11/01/democracy-civic-participation/>>
- , *Philippe, colonie romaine d'Orient: Recherches d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale* (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 2018)
- Brown, Peter, *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015)
- , *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012)
- Brunner, Karl, 'Publikumskonstruktionen in den Predigten des Caesarius von Arles', in *Sermo doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Maximilian Diesenberger and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 99–126
- Coşkun, Altay, 'Griechische polis und römisches Reich: Die politische und rechtliche Stellung Fremder in der Antike', in *Fremd und Rechtlos? Zugehörigkeitsrechte Fremder von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Ein Handbuch*, ed. by Altay Coşkun and Lutz Raphael (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014), pp. 85–120
- De Maeyer, Nicolas, and Gert Partoens, 'Preaching in Sixth-Century Arles: The Sermons of Bishop Caesarius', in *Preaching in the Patristic Era: Sermons, Preachers, and Audiences in the Latin West*, ed. by Anthony Dupont and others, *A New History of the Sermon*, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 197–231
- Delaplace, Christine, 'Pour une relecture de la *Vita Caesarii*: Le rôle politique de l'évêque d'Arles face aux représentants des royaumes burgonde, wisigothique et ostrogothique', *Annales du Midi*, 124.279 (2012), 309–24
- Eichenberger, Thomas, *Patria: Studien zur Bedeutung des Wortes im Mittelalter (6.–12. Jahrhundert)* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991)
- Evens, Vyvyan, and Melanie Green, *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2006)
- Ferreiro, Alberto, "'Frequenter Legere': The Propagation of Literacy, Education, and Divine Wisdom in Caesarius of Arles", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43 (1992), 249–59
- Filippov, Igor, 'Legal Frameworks in the Sermons of Caesarius of Arles', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 58 (2014), 65–83
- Flierman, Robert, and Els Rose, 'Banished from the Company of the Good: Christians and Aliens in Fifth-Century Rome', *Al-Masāq*, 32 (2020), 64–86

- Graf, Fritz, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era. Greek Culture in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Grig, Lucy, ed., 'The World of Caesarius of Arles', special issue, *Early Medieval Europe*, 26.1 (2018)
- Guyon, Jean, and Marc Heijmans, eds, *L'antiquité tardive en Provence (IV^e – VI^e siècle): Naissance d'une chrétienté* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2013)
- Heijmans, Marc, 'Césaire d'Arles, un évêque et sa ville', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 87 (2001), 5–25
- Hoppenbrouwers, H. A. M., 'Conversatio: Une étude sémasiologique', in *Graecitas et latinitas christianorum primaeva: Studia ad sermonem christianum primaevum pertinentia supplementa fasciculus*, vol. 1, ed. by Christine Mohrmann and others (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1964), pp. 45–95
- Isayev, Elena, *Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)
- Kienzle, Beverly, 'Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 89–124
- Klingshirn, William, *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994)
- , *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- , 'Charity and Power: Caesarius of Arles and the Ransoming of Captives in Sub-Roman Gaul', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 75 (1985), 183–203
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Markus, Robert, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Mathisen, Ralph, 'Peregrini, Barbari, and Cives Romani: Concepts of Citizenship and the Legal Identity of Barbarians in the Later Roman Empire', *American Historical Review*, 111 (2006), 1011–40
- Meslin, Michel, *La fête des Kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain: Étude d'un rituel de nouvel an* (Brussels: Latomus, 1970)
- Mohrmann, Christine, 'La langue de St Benoît', in Christine Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, vol. II (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1961), pp. 325–45
- Moore, Michael E., *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of Frankish Kingship, 300–850* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011)
- Peels, Saskia, *Hosios: A Semantic Study of Greek Piety*, Mnemosyne Supplements 387 (Leiden: Brill, 2016)
- Perrin, Michel-Yves, *Civitas confusionis: De la participation des fidèles aux controverses doctrinales dans l'Antiquité tardive (début III^e s. – c. 430)* (Paris: Nuvis, 2017)

- Ployd, Adam, 'Attending to the Word: A Concluding Look at Latin Patristic Preaching and a Vision for the Way Forward', in *Preaching in the Patristic Era: Sermons, Preachers, and Audiences in the Latin West*, ed. by Anthony Dupont and others, *A New History of the Sermon*, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 478–97
- Rapp, Claudia, 'City and Citizenship as Christian Concepts of Community', in *The City in the Classical and Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity*, ed. by Claudia Rapp and Harold A. Drake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 153–66
- , *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, *The Transformation of the Classical Heritage*, 37 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)
- Ristuccia, Nathan, 'Law and Legal Documents in the Sermons of Peter Chrysologus', *Journal of Late Antiquity*, 4 (2011), 124–56
- Rose, Els, *The Gothic Missal*, CCT, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017)
- Salvatore, Antonio, *Sermo humilis – sermo mysticus: Esegisi e linguaggio da Paolino di Nola a Cesario di Arles* (Naples: Loffredo, 1995)
- , 'Usò delle similitudini e pedagogia pastorale nei sermoni di Cesario di Arles', *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*, 9 (1967), 177–225
- Saucier, Catherine, *A Paradise of Priests: Singing the Civic and Episcopal Hagiography of Medieval Liège* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014)
- Schipp, Oliver, 'Römer und Barbaren: Fremde in der Spätantike und im Frühmittelalter', in *Fremd und Rechtlos? Zugehörigkeitsrechte Fremder von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Ein Handbuch*, ed. by Altay Coşkun and Lutz Raphael (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014), 121–51
- Shuler, Eric, 'Caesarius of Arles and the Development of the Ecclesiastical Tithe: From a Theology of Almsgiving to Practical Obligations', *Traditio*, 67 (2012), 43–69
- Stancliffe, Clare, 'The Thirteen Sermons Attributed to Columbanus', in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. by Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 93–203
- Thomas, Yan, 'Origine' et 'commune patrie': *Étude de droit public romain (89 av. J.-C. – 212 ap. J.C.)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 221 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1996)
- Van Engen, John, 'Christening the Romans', *Traditio*, 52 (1997), 1–45
- Wickham, Chris, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)