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The christianization of western Europe in late antiquity and the early middle ages required, in addition to simple conversion, the widespread adoption of Christian values, practices, and beliefs. As bishop of Arles from 502 to 542, Caesarius promoted tirelessly the christianization of townspeople and peasants alike through a program of patronage, teaching, and church reform. Yet his writings also reveal the community resistance his efforts evoked, the persistence of traditional "pagan" cultural and religious practices, and the community's own efforts at self-christianization. Indeed, the transformation of Arles into a Christian community entailed the adaptation of Christianity into a community religion that respected local expectations and traditions.

Utilizing insights provided by social history, archaeology, and anthropology, this book studies the problem of christianization in late Roman and early medieval Gaul from the perspective of Caesarius's career as monk, bishop, and church reformer. Subjects of inquiry include Caesarius's own training and preoccupations; the social and cultural history of Arles; the bishop's dealings with the Visigothic, Ostrogothic, and Frankish rulers of the city; his relations with fellow bishops, including the bishops of Rome; the effects of his strategies of christianization in city and countryside; and the fate of his program of church reform and christianization under the later Merovingians and Carolingians.

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*The Making of a Christian Community
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WILLIAM E. KLINGSHIRN

The Catholic University of America, Washington D.C.



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*Dedicated to my father
Eugene Albert Klingshirn
and to the memory of my mother
Frances Mary Klingshirn*

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i> , ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin, 1972–)
Arnold	C. F. Arnold, <i>Caesarius von Arelate und die gallische Kirche seiner Zeit</i> (Leipzig, 1894)
Beck	H. G. J. Beck, <i>The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France During the Sixth Century</i> (Rome, 1950)
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1953–).
CE	<i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , ed. F. Buecheler and E. Lommatzsch, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1895–1926)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1893–)
CJ	<i>codex Justinianus</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>
CTh	<i>codex Theodosianus</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , ed. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, and H. Marrou (Paris, 1924–53)
Delage	M.-J. Delage, ed., <i>Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple</i> , 3 vols., SC 175, 243, 330 (Paris, 1971–86)
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> , ed. A. Baudrillart et al. (Paris, 1912–)
DS	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité</i> , ed. M. Viller et al. (Paris, 1937–)

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<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , ed. A. Vacant et al. (Paris, 1930–50)
Duchesne	L. Duchesne, <i>Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule</i> , 2nd edn., 3 vols. (Paris, 1907–15)
<i>FIRA</i>	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani</i> , ed. S. Riccobono et al., 3 vols. (Florence, 1940–43)
<i>FOR V</i>	<i>Forma Orbis Romani: Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine</i> , V, ed. F. Benoit (Paris, 1936)
<i>ILCV</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , ed. E. Diehl, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1961)
Jones, <i>LRE</i>	A. H. M. Jones, <i>The Later Roman Empire, 284–602</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford, 1964)
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>The Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Krusch	B. Krusch, ed., <i>Vitae Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis Libri Duo</i> , <i>MGH SRM</i> , III, 433–501
<i>LP</i>	<i>liber pontificalis</i> , ed. L. Duchesne, <i>Le liber pontificalis</i> , 2nd edn., 3 vols. (Paris, 1955–57)
Malnory	A. Malnory, <i>Saint Césaire, évêque d'Arles</i> , Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études 103 (Paris, 1894)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>Auctores Antiquissimi</i>
<i>Capit.</i>	<i>Capitularia</i>
<i>Capit. Episc.</i>	<i>Capitula Episcoporum</i>
<i>Conc.</i>	<i>Concilia</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>
<i>SRM</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scriptores</i>
Morin	G. Morin, ed., <i>Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis Opera omnia nunc primum in unum collecta</i> , 2 vols. (Maredsous, 1937–42)

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PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–64)
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , ed. A. H. M. Jones <i>et al.</i> , 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971–92)
PLS	<i>Patrologia Latina, Suppl.</i> , ed. A. Hamman (Paris, 1958–)
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. T. Klauser <i>et al.</i> (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RBen	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
REAug	<i>Revue des études Augustiniennes</i>
SC	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i> , ed. H. de Lubac <i>et al.</i> (Paris, 1942–)
Thiel	A. Thiel, ed., <i>Epistolae romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a s. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II</i> (Braunsberg, 1867)
de Vogüé and Courreau	A. de Vogüé and J. Courreau, eds., <i>Césaire d'Arles Œuvres monastiques</i> , I, <i>Œuvres pour les moniales</i> , SC 345 (Paris, 1988)
ZRG KA	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt</i>

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CONCORDANCE OF CAESARIUS'S LETTERS

This list includes letters written by and to Caesarius. It correlates the numbering system used in this book and in my *The Life, Testament, and Letters of Caesarius of Arles* with the somewhat haphazard system Morin used in *Opera omnia*, II. Letters written to Caesarius are also identified by author and edition.

<i>Klingshirn</i>	<i>Morin</i>	<i>Letters to Caesarius</i>
<i>ep. 1</i>	<i>ep. 1, Morin II, 3–4</i>	Ennodius, <i>ep. IX. 33</i> (Hartel)
<i>ep. 2</i>	<i>ep. 2, Morin II, 4–5</i>	Avitus, <i>ep. 11</i> (Peiper)
<i>ep. 3</i>	<i>ep. 3, Morin II, 5–7</i>	
<i>ep. 4</i>	<i>ep. 4, Morin II, 7–8</i>	Ruricius, <i>ep. II. 33</i> (Engelbrecht)
<i>ep. 5</i>	<i>ep. 5, Morin II, 8</i>	Ruricius, <i>ep. II. 36</i> (Engelbrecht)
<i>ep. 6</i>	<i>ep. 6, Morin II, 9–10</i>	Pope Symmachus, <i>ep. Arel. 25</i>
<i>ep. 7a</i>	<i>ep. 7, exemplum libelli petitorii, Morin II, 12</i>	
<i>ep. 7b</i>	<i>ep. 7, Morin II, 10–11</i>	Pope Symmachus, <i>ep. Arel. 27</i>
<i>ep. 8a</i>	<i>ep. 8, exemplum libelli petitorii, Morin II, 13–14</i>	
<i>ep. 8b</i>	<i>ep. 8, Morin II, 13</i>	Pope Symmachus, <i>ep. Arel. 29</i>
<i>ep. 9</i>	<i>ep. 9, Morin II, 14</i>	Pope Hormisdas, <i>MGH Ep., III, 42</i>
<i>ep. 10</i>	<i>ep. 10, Morin II, 14–17</i>	Pope Hormisdas, <i>ep. Arel. 30</i>
<i>ep. 11</i>	<i>ep. 11, Morin II, 17–18</i>	Pope Felix IV, <i>ep. Arel. 31</i>
<i>ep. 12</i>	<i>ep. 12, Morin II, 18–19</i>	Pope John II, <i>ep. Arel. 32</i>
<i>ep. 13</i>	<i>ep. 13, Morin II, 19–20</i>	Pope John II, <i>ep. Arel. 33</i>

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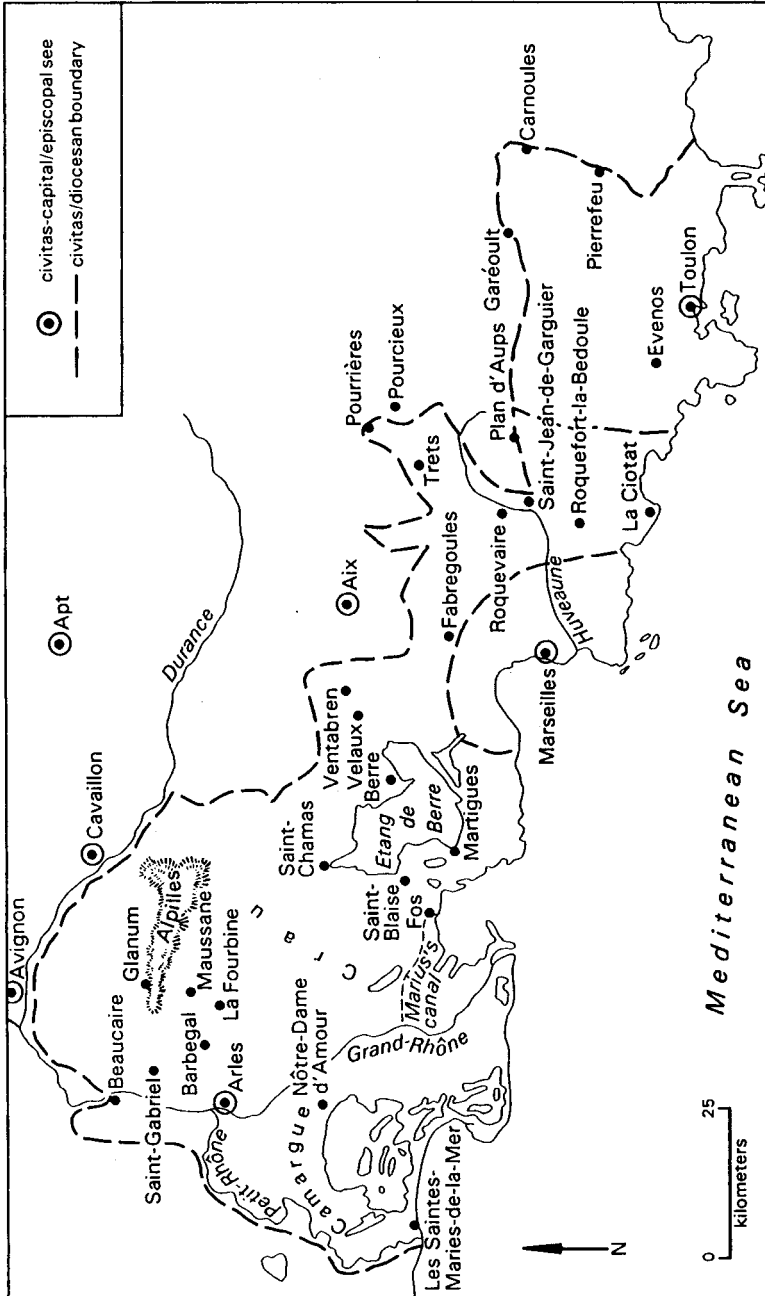
<i>ep.</i> 14a	<i>ep.</i> 14, Morin II, 20–22	Pope John II, <i>ep. Arel.</i> 34
<i>ep.</i> 14b	<i>ep.</i> 14, Morin II, 22–28	
<i>ep.</i> 15	<i>ep.</i> 15, Morin II, 28–29	Pope Agapitus, <i>ep. Arel.</i> 36
<i>ep.</i> 16	<i>ep.</i> 16, Morin II, 29–31	Pope Agapitus, <i>ep. Arel.</i> 37
<i>ep.</i> 17	<i>ep.</i> 17, Morin II, 31–32	Pope Vigilius, <i>ep. Arel.</i> 38
<i>ep.</i> 18	Morin II, 125–27	Pope Hormisdas, Thiel I, 988–90
<i>ep.</i> 19	Morin II, 65–66	
<i>ep.</i> 20	Morin II, 67–70	Pope Boniface II, <i>CCSL</i> 148A, 66–69
<i>ep.</i> 21	Morin II, 134–144	

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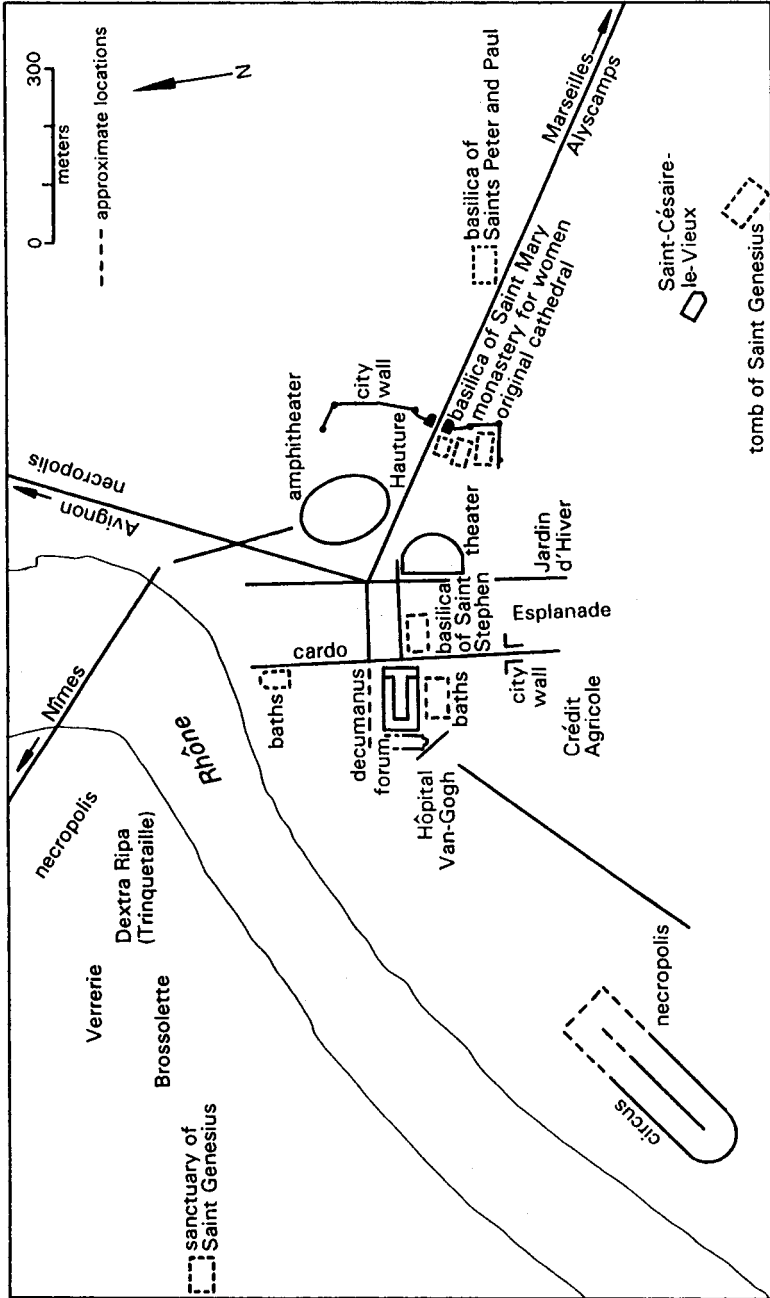


Map 1 The diocese of Arles and environs (c. 500). Source: based on A. L. F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis: Southern France in Roman Times* (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1988), 204, and M. Chalon and M. Gayraud, "Notes de géographie antique, II," *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 15 (1982), 399-406: 403.

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Map 2 The city and suburbs of Arles (c. 530). Source: based on C. Sintès, "L'évolution topographique de l'Arles du Haut-Empire à la lumière des fouilles récentes," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 (1992), 130-47; 134, and *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule*, ed. N. Gauthier and J.-Ch. Picard, III, *Provinces ecclésiastiques de Vienne et d'Arles* (Paris: de Boccard, 1986), 75.