

PSEUDO-CAESARIUS OF ARLES

Prior to the magisterial edition of **CAESARIUS OF ARLES**'s sermons by Dom Germain Morin in 1937–42 (reprinted in *CCSL* 103–04), the closest thing to a standard edition of Caesarius's sermons was the small collection printed by Migne in *PL* 67.1041–90, where twenty-four sermons are assembled under Caesarius's name, and where the reader is referred to another sixty-seven sermons believed to be by Caesarius but separately printed under **AUGUSTINE**'s name in Volume 5 of Margarinus de La Bigne's *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (Lyon, 1677). Because Morin's edition thoroughly and authoritatively redefined the canon of Caesarius's homiletic writings, several of the sermons attributed to him in *PL* 67 are no longer believed to be his. Three of these sermons, now regarded as anonymous, have been proposed as having been known in Anglo-Saxon England, although there is firm evidence for direct knowledge of only one of them (*Sermo* 16). For indirect knowledge of another, Pseudo-Caesarius, *Sermo* 17 (*PL* 67.1079–81; *CPPM* 1.4390), see Cross (1987 pp 19, 31, 32, 166–67), who identifies passages from this text incorporated into three composite sermons (nos. 1, 30, and 34) in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25. Some of the sermons printed under Caesarius's name in *PL* 67 have since been assigned to **EUSEBIUS GALLICANUS**.

The numbering of the sermons below conforms to *CPPM* 1, which is not entirely consistent with the numbering in *PL* 67.

Sermo 13 [ANON.Serm.13/PS.CAES.ARELAT.]: *CPPM* 1.4386.
ed.: *PL* 67.1075.

MSS – A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits 1. ? *HomU* 37 (Nap 46, B3.4.37) 238.4–6.

2. ? *HomU* 44 (Nap 55, B3.4.44) 287.9–11.

Refs none.

In a note on the theme of almsgiving in **WULFSTAN OF YORK**'s *Homily* 13 (*WHom* 13; B2.3.1), Bethurum (1957 p 341 note to line 70) observes that a biblical verse quoted with great regularity in early medieval discussions of almsgiving is Ecclesiasticus 3.33: "As water quenches a fire, so do alms extinguish sin." She then adds: "Caesarius of Arles has a short homily 'Of the Twelve Remissions of Sin' (*PL* 67.1075) in which he lists the giving of alms as the third means of remission. The work was very influential in the Penitentials and found its way into homilies and into laws." As examples, she then cites two brief passages from *Napier Homily* 46 (*HomU* 37, B3.4.37; ed. Napier 1883 at p 238 lines 4–6) and *Napier Homily* 55 (*HomU* 44, B3.4.44; ed. Napier 1883 at p 287 lines 9–11), both of which quote or paraphrase this verse from Ecclesiasticus in translation. Bethurum's comment seems to imply that in both cases the Old English homilist has taken this verse not from the Bible but from the sermon on the twelve remissions of sin, which is no longer regarded as an authentic work by **CAESARIUS OF ARLES** and is classed among the Caesarian pseudepigrapha by Machielsen as *Sermo* 13 (see also the note by Morin in *CCSL* 104.980–81 identifying this text as an excerpt from a Latin translation of one of **ORIGEN**'s homilies on Leviticus). The two Old English *Napier* homilies do indeed quote the verse from Ecclesiasticus, but so far as I can see there is no connection with the Pseudo-Caesarian sermon.

For what it's worth, that same verse from Ecclesiasticus is also quoted or paraphrased in three other Old English prose texts: **ÆLFRIC**'s second series homily for the first Sunday in Lent (*ÆCHom* II, 7; B1.2.8; ed. Godden, *EETS* SS 5, at p 64 lines 115–16), where it is taken from Ælfric's main source, the Pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo de misericordia* (ed. Cross 1990, verse at p 432 lines 37–38; see Godden, *EETS* SS 18 p 398); Ælfric's homily for the nativity of the Virgin (*ÆHomM* 8, Ass 3; B1.5.8; ed. Assmann, *BaP* 3, verse at p 36 lines 304–05); and the Old English translation of

THEODULF OF ORLEANS' CAPITULA in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (*ThCap* 1; B10.6.1; ed. Sauer 1978, verse at p 381 lines 34–35).

As Bethurum notes, this Pseudo-Caesarian sermon is quoted in the prologue to **CUMMEAN'S PAENITENTIALE** (ed. Bieler 1963 pp 108–10). It is reprinted in *PLS* 4.2039–40.

Sermo 15 [ANON.Serm.15/PS.CAES.ARELAT.]: *CPPM* 1.4388.

ed.: *PL* 67.1077–78.

MSS – Refs none.

Ogilvy (*BKE* p 104) states that this Pseudo-Caesarian sermon on almsgiving (inc. “Tobias ait: *Omnibus diebus*”) was “[c]opied by two A-S homilists, Vercelli 13 and Homily 12 in Bodley 343 (2405).” However, the Latin sermon that underlies both *Vercelli Homily* 13 (*HomS* 43, B3.2.43; ed. Scragg, *EETS* OS 300) and the Bodley 343 sermon known as *Irvine Homily* 7 (*HomU* 3, B3.4.3; ed. Irvine, *EETS* OS 302) is **CAESARIUS OF ARLES, SERMO 31**, not Pseudo-Caesarius, *Sermo* 15. I am unaware of any evidence that this Pseudo-Caesarian sermon was known in Anglo-Saxon England.

Sermo 16 [ANON.Serm.16/PS.CAES.ARELAT.]: *CPPM* 1.4389.

ed.: *PL* 67.1078–79.

MSS – A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits *ÆHom* 31 (B1.4.31) 85–103.

Refs none.

This Pseudo-Caesarian sermon on tithing (inc. “Dominus dicit in euangelio: *Omnem decimationem uestram*”) is based in part on an authentic sermon by **CAESARIUS OF ARLES**, numbered 33 in Morin’s edition (*CCSL* 103.143–47). Ogilvy (*BKE* p 104) alleges that the Pseudo-Caesarian text formed the “[b]asis of parts of A-S homily in Bodl. Junius 85–86 (5196–97),” and refers to Willard (1949a) for details. What Willard in fact argues, quite clearly, however, is that it was Caesarius’s original *Sermo* 33, and not a derivative version, that was independently translated twice into Old English, once in *Blickling Homily* 4, and again in a homily in Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 86, fols 40v–61v (partially printed by Willard 1949a pp 72–78), both designated by the *DOE* short title *HomS* 14 (B3.2.14).

One Anglo-Saxon text that demonstrates familiarity with this sermon is **ÆLFRIC**’s compilation *De virginitate* (*ÆHom* 31, B1.4.31), which models its discussion of first-fruits and tithes on a passage from Pseudo-Caesarius, *Sermo* 16, as Pope shows in his edition (*EETS* OS 260.807–08 lines 85–103).

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