
Born in 469/70, bishop of Arles from 502 until his death in 542, Caesarius and his works have been subjects of major interest over the years. Two major biographies, by Arnold (1894) and Malnory (1894), appeared at the end of the nineteenth century; both have been recently reprinted and continue to be cited in studies of Caesarius. A full-length modern biography by Klingshirn (1994b) details the pastoral reforms which Caesarius implemented in a series of councils over which he presided between 506 and 529, and emphasizes his lasting influence on the Frankish reformers and sermon writers of the eighth and ninth centuries. A penetrating study of Caesarius’s influence on medieval Christian thought is by Daly (1970), who characterizes Caesarius as “the leading ecclesiastical statesman and spiritual force of his age” (p 5).

Caesarius’s writings include two monastic rules, a handful of letters, a treatise on the Trinity, a commentary on the Apocalypse, and well over 200 sermons, all inventoried in CPL 1008–17. Of these, at least sixty sermons, one letter, and his commentary on the Apocalypse were certainly known in Anglo-Saxon England.

Sermons: CPL 1008.

Germain Morin edited 238 sermons attributable to Caesarius which he grouped according to subject matter in the following order: Sermones de diversis seu admonitiones (1–80), Sermones de Scriptura (81–186), Sermones de tempore (187–213), Sermones de sanctis (214–32), and Sermones ad monachos (233–38). All 238 have since been re-published with French translations by Marie-José Delage, Cyrille Lambot, and Germain Morin in SChr 175, 243, 330, and 398. Morin’s original edition, published in 1937–42, was reissued in the CCSL series in 1953 in two volumes but with consecutive pagination. Almost all of the secondary scholarship on Caesarius and Old English and the editions of Old English poetry and prose published since 1953 cite the CCSL edition, which reproduces parenthetically within the text the pagination of Morin’s less accessible earlier edition. The Fontes Anglo-Saxonici database, however, cites the earlier edition by page and line number. I have chosen here to refer to the 1953 CCSL edition, identifying quotations from the sermons by sermon number and paragraph. Most of the sermons have been translated into English by Mueller (1956–73). On the manuscript transmission and early printing history of these sermons, see Morin (CCSL 103.IX–CXXII) and Delage (SChr 175.70–93).

There is no question that many of Caesarius’s sermons were known to the Anglo-Saxons. Twelve sermons (nos. 24, 25, 43, 50, 54, 87, 148, 154, 155, 179, 219, and 222) have been put forward as sources for works by ÆLFRIC, although the evidence for his knowledge and use of some of these is rather slim, and in only three cases (concerning nos. 54, 179, and 219) do the correspondences extend beyond just a few lines. Cross (1987) identified quotations or paraphrases from fifteen of Caesarius’s sermons (nos. 3, 13, 57, 146, 158, 183, 187, 188, 194, 197, 199, 202, 216, 223, and 227) within composite sermons in the version of the HOMILIARY OF SAINT-PÈRE DE CHARTRES (see HOMILIARIES) preserved in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (HG 131), copied at Bury St Edmunds in the late-eleventh century. The same
manuscript also contains complete copies of six sermons by Caesarius (nos. 16, 187, 188, 207, 208, and 227). Nine Caesarian sermons (nos. 148, 175, 203, 204, 216, 219, 227, 229, as well as the Sermo in octavis Paschae) appear in versions of Paul the Deacon’s Homiliarium copied in England in the early post-Conquest period.

Among the manuscripts produced in the region of the Anglo-Saxon missions in Germany during the late-eighth and early-ninth centuries, either by Anglo-Saxon scribes or their German students, are three manuscripts that contain varying numbers of Caesarius’s sermons. These are Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 6298 (Mainz–Fulda–Würzburg region, s. viii/ix; CLA 9.1264); Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f.28 (?Bavaria, s. vii½/iv; CLA 9.1408); and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.o.1 (southwest Germany, s. viii/ix; CLA 9.1442). For discussion and further details, see Lapidge (2006 pp 80, 160, 162, 164). In addition, Lapidge (2006 p 39) has surmised that the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon scholar-adventurer Boniface possessed a working library while in Germany that included some of Caesarius’s Sermones, although exactly how many is unknown; only two of Caesarius’s sermons (nos. 29 and 54) are quoted in Boniface’s letters, where they are both referred to as works by Augustine (cf. Levison 1946 p 140 note 7). Ogilvy’s comment (BKE p 103) that the collections of Caesarian sermons “in Munich, CLM, 6297 (CLA, IX, 10) are in A-S script of s. viii ex, probably written on the Continent, as is the similar collection in Bodl. Laud. Misc. 129 (1575),” is a mistaken reference to what should be Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 6298.

A manuscript containing several of Caesarius’s sermons once in Worcester Cathedral Library but now lost was presumably Anglo-Saxon since it was described by the seventeenth-century librarian Patrick Young as written in “charactere saxonico” (Atkins and Ker 1944 p 37 [no. 54]). Young’s itemization of the manuscript’s contents includes about fifteen sermon titles (e.g. “de calendis Januarii,” “de auguriis,” “de diligendis inimicis,” “de reddendis decimis,” “de indigna familiaritate”), which allowed Lapidge (2006 p 76) to identify them as sermons by Caesarius (the sample titles just given match up precisely with the titles often given in manuscripts for Caesarius’s Sermones 193, 54, 36, 33, and 41). On the basis of Young’s use of the term charactere saxonico to describe other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that have survived, Lapidge also speculates that the manuscript in question may have dated to the ninth century.

Gneuss’s itemization of the contents of Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 229 (SC 2120) (HG 559) indicates that this manuscript contains copies of Caesarius’s Sermones 154 and 174, but in fact only one sermon by Caesarius appears in that manuscript, his Sermo 104 [see below]. Gneuss also states that Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 63 (70) (HG 800) contains a copy of Caesarius’s Sermo 51, but the only sermon by Caesarius in that manuscript is his Sermo 54 (see below).

In a number of cases Caesarius’s sermons were redacted by later sermon writers, and it is the later redactions rather than Caesarius’s originals that show up in early English manuscripts. For instance, an anonymous unpublished sermon in Salisbury, Cathedral Library 9, fols 63r–64v (Salisbury, this part s. xii½) beginning “Incipit sermo sancti Cesar[ii] super salmi Vouete et reddite. Quis quod potest oueaut et reddat [. . .]” proves to be an adaptation of Caesarius’s Sermo 135 (CCSL 103.555–60; PLS 4.381–85), which seems not to have been known in England before the twelfth century. The redacted version is indexed by Machielsen as CPPM 1.4298.
The twelfth-century catalogue of the library of the Abbey of St Peter and St Hilda at Whitby includes a reference to a collection of homilies by Caesarius (Sharpe et al. 1996 p 639 no. B109.55a).

Sermo 3 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.3].  
ed.: CCSL 103.20–21.

MSS – A-S Vers none.  
Quots/Cits see below.  
Refs none.

Lines 5–6 and 9–10 of the first sermon in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (HG 131) parallel the Athanasian Creed as quoted in Caesarius’s Sermo 3. The twenty-fourth sermon in Pembroke 25 likewise quotes from Caesarius’s Sermo 3 on the Creed. See Cross (1987 pp 19, 27) for details.

Sermo 4 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.4]: CPPM 1.1084.  
ed.: CCSL 103.21–25.

Lists – Refs none.


Sermo 10 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.10]: CPPM 1.1029.  
ed.: CCSL 103.51–54.

MSS – Refs none (see below).

According to Morin (CCSL 103.50), this sermon, a commentary on the Creed, is so rare that not a single copy survives in any medieval manuscript of Caesarius’s sermons. However, a fragmentary copy does appear in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 6433 (CLA 9.1283), fol 69r–v, the manuscript containing the so-called Florilegium Frisingense, a compilation of Hiberno-Latin materials copied by the Anglo-Saxon scribe Peregrinus at Freising toward the end of the eighth century. (For studies of the manuscript and the scribe, see Wright 1993 p 56; the Florilegium itself is edited by Albert Lehner in CCSL 108D, where the full contents of the manuscript, including this sermon, are identified at p xiv). On the sermon’s relationship to early medieval commentaries on the Creed, see Westra (2002 pp
It is printed by Migne as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 244 (PL 39.2194–96) and is edited with a French translation by Delage (SChr 175.376–83).

**Sermo 13** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.13]: CPPM 1.1050, 5039.  
ed.: CCSL 103.64–68.

*MSS – A-S Vers* none.  
*Quots/Cits* see below.  
*Refs* none.

As Cross (1987 pp 27, 223) demonstrates, a passage from this sermon is loosely quoted at the beginning of item 23 in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (HG 131), which was an immediate source for Assmann Homily 12 (HomS 16, B3.2.16; ed. BaP 3). This sermon is printed by Migne as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 265 (PL 39.2237–40).

**Sermo 16** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.16]: CPPM 1.99, 1051.  
ed.: CCSL 103.76–78.

*MSS* Cambridge, Pembroke College 25: HG 131.  
*Lists – Refs* none.

A copy of this sermon on how to distinguish a good Christian from a bad one appears in Pembroke 25, fols 171v–173r. Migne prints the text as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 266 (PL 39.2240–42).

**Sermo 18** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.18]: CPPM 1.1233, 1668, 2442.  
ed.: CCSL 103.82–86.

*MSS – A-S Vers* none.  
*Quots/Cits* ALCVIN.Virt.uit. XIV.  
*Refs* none.

The indebtedness of chapter 14 of ALCuin’s De virtutibus et vitiis (at PL 101.623–24) to Caesarius’s Sermo 18.2–6 on good works is pointed out by Wallach (1959 pp 252–54). A post-Conquest copy of this sermon appears in Salisbury, Cathedral Library 9 (Salisbury, s. xii), fols 67r–68v.

**Sermo 23** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.23]: CPPM 1.1054.
A copy of this sermon on charity, which Migne prints as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, Sermo 269 (PL 39.2245–47), appears in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 9850–52, fols 140r–143r. This manuscript, which originated at the abbey of Saint-Médard in Soissons in the late-seventh or early-eighth century and was among the books donated by abbot Sæwold of Bath to the church at Saint-Vaast, Arras, ca. 1070 (CLA 10.1547a; Grierson 1940 p 107; ML 8.9; HG p 117; Lapidge 2006 p 138), preserves the oldest extant collection of Caesarius’s sermons for monks (see SChr 398.19). The copy of Sermo 23 is a late-eighth-century addition to the manuscript, perhaps from the Corbie region.

Sermo 24 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.24]: CPPM 1.890.
ed.: CCSL 103.108–11.

MSS – A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits ÆHom 25 (B1.4.25).

Refs none.

Trahern (1986 p 110) suggests that a sentence from this sermon beginning “Et ille, quamuis sedeat in caelo, tamen compatiens membris laborantibus, quia caput est membrorum et corporis uniueri . . .” (CCSL 103.109) plus a few sentences from Caesarius’s Sermo 87 are more likely sources for the first six lines of this addition to ÆLFRIC’s homily for Ascension Eve (ÆHom 25, B1.4.25; ed. Pope, EETS SS 260) than are the suggestions offered by Pope (EETS SS 260.756 note [c]). See further below under the entry for Sermo 87. A post-Conquest copy of this sermon, which Migne prints as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, Sermo 105 (PL 39.1949–51), appears in Salisbury, Cathedral Library 35 (Salisbury, s. xii\(^{1/4}\)), fols 117va–118va.

Sermo 25 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.25]: CPPM 1.1090.
ed.: CCSL 103.111–18.

MSS – A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits ÆCHom I, 18 (B1.1.20) 208–10.

Refs none.

A sentence from the second paragraph of this sermon (at CCSL 103.113) appears to be translated near the end of ÆLFRIC’s first series homily In Letania maiore (ÆCHom I, 18; B1.1.20; ed. Cleomees, EETS SS 17), which is otherwise based largely on AMALARIUS and AUGUSTINE. See Godden (EETS SS 18.153).
Sermo 29 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.29]: CPPM 1.892.  

MSS – A-S Vers none.  
Quots/Cits 1. BONIF.Epist. 104.21–23.  
2. HomS 35 (Tristr4, B3.2.35).  
Refs none.

As first noted by Levison (1946 p 284), a quotation which BONIFACE attributes to AUGUSTINE in his Epist. 104 to the archdeacon Gemmulus (ed. Tangl, MGH ES 1.228) is in fact a quotation from this sermon by Caesarius on exhibiting charity to one’s neighbor and on loving one’s enemies. The image of the ungreased taper from this sermon (at CCSL 103.127) is discussed by Bazire and Cross (1981 p 68 and note 5) as a source for lines 155–64 of their Homily 5, which is also edited by Tristram (1970 pp 173–85) and which appears in the DOE List of Texts as HomS 35 (Tristr4, B3.2.35). Other possible echoes of Caesarius within Bazire and Cross Homily 5 are mentioned by the editors at the same place.

Sermo 31 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.31]: CPPM 1.1091, 1670.  
ed.: CCSL 103.133–38.

MSS – A-S Vers none.  
Quots/Cits 1. HomS 43 (VercHom 13, B3.2.43) 19–34.  
2. HomU 3 (IrvHom 7, B3.4.3) 1–21.  
3. HomU 20 (BlickHom 10, B3.4.20).  
Refs none.

In discussing the list of sins in the second paragraph of Vercelli Homily 13 (HomS 43, B3.2.43), Scragg (EETS OS 300.236 note to line 18), citing Cross (1957), notes that “some of the specific sins were suggested by comments in Caesarius (in a different context), but the list is a traditional one and there is no close verbal parallel with Caesarius.” Irvine (EETS OS 302.183), likewise citing Cross (1957), offers a detailed examination of the first part of her Homily 7 (HomU 3, B3.4.3) and its extensive debt to Caesarius’s Sermo 31. She also notes (pp 183, 197) brief echoes of a later rendering of Caesarius in PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 66 AD FRATRES IN EREMO (PL 40.1352–53). The adaptation of the speech of the dry bones in Blickling Homily 10 (HomU 20, B3.4.20) is the least direct borrowing from Caesarius noted here, but Cross (1957) presents convincing evidence to suggest the homilist was influenced by a version of Caesarius’s Sermo 31. See also Dalbey (1969) and Trahern (1976).
Sermo 33 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.33]: CPL 223 (sermo 26); CPPM 1.1062.
ed.: CCSL 103.143–47.

Lists – A-S Vers  none.
Quots/Cits 1. ANON.Leg.Athel. 1.3.
2. HomS 14 (BlickHom 4, B3.2.14).
3. WVLFST.Can. B.111.
Refs  none.

Willard (1949a pp 72–78) demonstrates through the use of parallel texts the extensive influence of Caesarius’s Sermo 33, a sermon on tithing, on the homily that occurs both as Blickling Homily 4 (HomS 14, B3.2.14) and as a homily in Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 86, fols 40v–61v (partially printed by Willard 1949a pp 72–78). See further Dalbey (1969) for an analysis of the Blickling homilist’s use of Caesarius.

An article in Archbishop WULFSTAN OF YORK’s canon law collection concerning the practice of tithing comprises four sentences adapted from Sermo 33 (see Cross and Hamer 1999 p 142). Likewise, a passage from the laws of King Athelstan (I Athelstan 3, ed. Liebermann 1903–16 1.146) on the dire consequences of not paying tithes likewise derives ultimately from this sermon, although the passage was probably mediated through a tract on tithing that had absorbed a passage from Caesarius. For this sermon’s influence on Anglo-Saxon tithing legislation, see Kottje (1970 pp 62–63) and Wormald (1999 p 306).

A modified version of this sermon with an added paragraph authored probably by Archbishop Wulfstan appears in Copenhagen 1595, fols 43r–45v (see Hall 2004 pp 97, 99–100). Two twelfth-century copies of this sermon, which Migne prints as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 277 (PL 39.2266–68), appear in Cambridge, St John’s College 42 (?Worcester, s. xii [post 1123]), fol 116r–v (see Cross 1991 p 215); and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 451 (Winchester, s. xii1/4), fols 109v–110v (see Hall 2005 p 213).

Sermo 43 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.43]: CPL 223 (sermo 27); CPPM 1.1074.
ed.: CCSL 103.189–94.

MSS – A-S Vers  none.
Quots/Cits  ÆHom 20 (B1.4.20).
Refs  none.

Pope (EETS OS 260.627) suggests that lines 102–04 of ÆLFRIC’s De doctrina apostolica, item 19 in Pope’s supplementary series (ÆHom 20, B1.4.20), are indebted to a passage in the second paragraph of Caesarius’s Sermo 43, on conjugal chastity, but Cross (1970 p 570), in a review of Pope’s edition, points to a closer source in paragraph 5 of this same sermon (at CCSL 103.192). Two articles in Archbishop WULFSTAN OF YORK’s canon law collection, on maintaining one’s virginity until after marriage and on prohibiting men from taking concubines, are based on the COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS,
which for these details itself relies on two passages in Caesarius’s *Sermo* 43 (see Cross and Hamer 1991 p 145 art. B.123 and pp 152–53 art. B.136).

A post-Conquest copy of this sermon, which Migne prints as *PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE*, **SERMO 289** (*PL* 39.2291–94), occurs with substantial omissions in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 451 (Winchester, s. xii^1/4^), fols 98r–99r (see Hall 2005 p 212). Additional copies in continental homiliaries are noted by Grégoire (1980 p 421).

*Sermo 44* [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.44]: *CPPM* 1.1077.


*MSS – AS Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* ? *ÆHomM* 8 (AssHom 3, B1.5.8) 302b–05.

*Refs* none.

Clayton (1986, 1990) identifies a single sentence from this sermon on conjugal chastity as a probable source for *ÆLFRIC*’s Homily on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (*ÆHomM* 8, B1.5.8; ed. *BaP* 3), but the only point of contact is a biblical verse (Ecclesiasticus 3.33), which *Ælfric* would certainly have known from other sources, including the Bible. For other Anglo-Saxon texts that quote or translate this verse, see the entry below for *PSEUDO-CAESARIUS*, **SERMO** 13.

Migne prints this sermon as *PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE*, **SERMO** 292 (*PL* 39.2297–2301).

*Sermo 46* [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.46]: *CPPM* 1.1079.

ed.: *CCSL* 103.205–11.

*MSS – AS Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* *HomS* 16 (AssHom 12, B3.2.16).

*Refs* none.

Jost (1932 pp 307–09) demonstrates that the author of *Assmann Homily* 12 (*HomS* 16, B3.2.16; ed. *BaP* 3) made extensive use of *PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE*, **SERMONES** 294 and 295, which we now know as Caesarius’s *Sermones* 46 and 47, both admonitions against drunkenness. Joan Turville-Petre (1963) argues that the opening of the Assmann homily is indebted to Caesarius’s *Sermo* 13, but the correspondence does not appear close enough to record. Cross (1987 p 220), expanding on Jost’s analysis, notes that “drunkenness is castigated at length, the English author weaving together statements from selected paragraphs within two forceful sermons by Caesarius of Arles. . . . The order of the selections . . . indicates conscious choice of material . . . and some adaptation, e.g. where Caesarius’s *Sermo* 46.8 addresses clerics, the Anglo-Saxon generalizes to ‘every man.’”

Post-Conquest copies of this sermon, which Migne prints as *PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE*, **SERMO** 294 (*PL* 39.2303–06), appear in Cambridge, St John’s College 42 (?Worcester, s. xii
[post 1123]), fols 73r–74r (see Cross 1991 p 206); and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 451 (Winchester, s. xii1/4), fols 101r–102v (see Hall 2005 p 212).

Sermo 47 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.47]: CPPM 1.1080.
ed.: CCSL 103.211–15.

MSS – AS Vers none.
Quots/Cits HomS 16 (AssHom 12, B3.2.16).
Refs none.

On the influence of this sermon against drunkenness on lines 51–56 of Assmann Homily 12 (HomS 16, B3.2.16; ed. BaP 3), see the comments by Jost (1932) and Cross (1987) cited in the entry for Sermo 46 above. A post-Conquest copy of this sermon, which Migne prints as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, Sermo 295 (PL 39.2307–10), appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 451 (Winchester, s. xii1/4), fols 102v–104r (see Hall 2005 p 212).

Sermo 48 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.48]: CPPM 1.1081.
ed.: CCSL 103.216–21.

MSS – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits Vainglory (Vain, A3.10).
Refs none.

Trahern (1976 p 175) identifies this sermon on humility as the source for lines 57–74 of the Exeter Book poem Vainglory (Vain, A3.10; ed. ASPR 3). See also under Sermo 233 below.

Sermo 50 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.50]: CPPM 1.1712.
ed.: CCSL 103.224–27.

MSS – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits 1. ÆCHom I, 31 (B1.1.33) 303–34.
2. ÆLS Auguries (B1.3.18) 105–09, 123–28.
Refs none.

The closing section of ÆLFRIC’s first-series homily for St Bartholomew’s day (ÆCHom I, 31; B1.1.33; ed. Cleomnes, EETS SS 17) includes several references to idolatrous practices such as seeking healing through charms and witchcraft that are reminiscent of superstitious practices described in the opening paragraph of Caesarius’s Sermo 50, though fuller and more direct correspondences can be found in Caesarius’s Sermo 54 (for details, see Godden, EETS...
Meaney (1985 pp 486, 492) sees the first paragraph of Caesarius’s *Sermo 50* as a likely source for lines 123–28 and as a possible source for lines 105–09 of Ælfric’s sermon *On Auguries* (*ÆLS Auguries*, B1.3.18; ed. Skeat, *EETS OS* 76, 82, 94, 114). The principal source for Ælfric’s *On Auguries* is Caesarius’s *Sermo 54*, discussed below.

**Sermo 54** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.54]: *CPPM* 1.1063.


* MSS  Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 63 (70): HG 800.

* Lists – A–S Vers  none.

* Quots/Cits  1. *ÆCHom* I, 31 (B1.1.33) 303–34.
   2. *ÆLS Auguries* (B1.3.18).
   3. BONIF.Epist. 50.8–13.

* Refs  none.

As noted in the entry for *Sermo 50* above, the closing section of Ælfric’s first-series homily for St Bartholomew’s day (*ÆCHom* I, 31; B1.1.33; ed. Clemoes, *EETS SS* 17) includes several references to sorcery and witchcraft that closely parallel portions of Caesarius’s *Sermo 54*, a famously influential treatment of this topic (see Godden, *EETS SS* 18.265–66). Förster (1906 pp 307–08) demonstrates that a substantial portion of Ælfric’s homily *On Auguries* (*ÆLS Auguries*, B1.3.18; ed. Skeat, *EETS OS* 76, 82, 94, 114) is a close translation of Caesarius’s *Sermo 54*, which Förster knew as *PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 278* (*PL* 39.2269–71). This homily represents Ælfric’s most extensive use of Caesarius. Meaney (1985) offers a penetrating study of the sources of this homily, both Caesarian and otherwise, and she argues convincingly that Ælfric, while using Caesarius’s *Sermo 54* extensively, has rearranged the homily according to a plan of his own. She demonstrates, moreover, that Ælfric’s firm control over his material should allow us to “accept what he has to say about idolatrous practices as referring to things current in the society that he knew. There would have been little point in his trying to combat superstitions which posed no danger to the souls of the ‘foolish men’ and ‘witless women’ whom he was addressing” (p 495).

In a much-discussed letter written in 742 to Pope Zacharias (*Epist. 50*, ed. Tangl, *MGH ES* 1.80–86), BONIFACE quotes from this sermon (which he attributes to *AUGUSTINE*) for support in his denunciation of pagan practices among the Franks. For discussion, see Klingshirn (1994b pp 273–74).

Copies of this sermon appear in Boulogne-sur-Mer 63, fols 29r–31r, a manuscript closely associated with Ælfric (see Raynes 1957 p 71), and in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 451 (Winchester, s. xii^1^d), fols 96v–98r (see Hall 2005 p 212).

**Sermo 55** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.55]: *CPPM* 1.1713.

ed.: *CCSL* 103.240–44.
MSS – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits ChrodR 1 (B10.4.1).
Refs none.

Trahern (1976 pp 113–14) demonstrates that this sermon against drunkenness accounts for better than twenty percent of chapter 60 of the Old English version of **CHRODEGANG’s REGULA CANONICORUM**, which Napier prints in both the Latin and English versions (ChrodR 1, B10.4.1; ed. Napier, EETS OS 150.73 lines 16–25). Trahern notes that Caesarius’s text is almost identical with the Latin of the *Regula*, the only notable difference being that Caesarius, after condemning those who lead others into drink, adds “etiam aliqui clericci hoc faciunt,” which would be out of place in Chrodegang’s text, addressed exclusively to the clergy. The same passage appears in Caesarius’s *Sermo 55A* (ed. CCSL 103.246; CPPM 1.2167), a text derivative of *Sermo 55*.

**Sermo 57** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.57]: CPPM 1.4719, 6422. ed.: CCSL 103.250–54.

MSS – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits 1. *Christ III* (ChristC, A.3.1) 1379–1523.
   2. HomS 3 (VercHom 8, B3.2.3) 44–77.
   3. HomS 32 (BazCrossHom 10, B3.2.32) 100–17.
   4. HomM 13 (VercHom 21, B3.5.13) 84–100.
Refs none.

Cook (1900 p 210) first pointed out the debt of Christ’s speech to sinners in lines 1379–1523 of the Exeter Book poem *Christ III* (ChristC, A3.1; ed. Cook 1909) to Caesarius’s *Sermo 57*, a somber meditation on Doomsday. The correspondences, as well as the departures from Caesarius, have since been further explored by Irving (1957 pp 594–95) and Biggs (1986 pp 30–33). The relationship of this sermon to lines 44–77 of *Vercelli Homily 8* (HomS 3, B3.2.3; ed. Scragg, EETS OS 300) was first established by Willard (1927) and explored more fully by Irving (1957 pp 593–95), but see now Scragg (EETS OS 300.139–42); see also under *Sermo 58* below, another source for *Vercelli Homily 8*. A portion of *Sermo 57* is also paraphrased in lines 100–17 of *Bazire-Cross Homily 10* (HomS 32, B3.2.32; ed. Bazire and Cross 1982). Bazire and Cross (1982 p 126), citing Raynes (1955 p cxxxi), note that the English homilist “frequently omits phrases, makes two small additions, translates freely on occasions, and rearranges the order of ideas in his source.” Szarmach (1970 and 1981) demonstrates the indebtedness of lines 84–100 of *Vercelli Homily 21* (HomM 13, B3.5.13; ed. Scragg, EETS OS 300) to Caesarius’s *Sermo 57*. See now, however, Cross (1987 p 155), who traces the more immediate source to the Saint-Père homiliary (Cambridge, Pembroke College 25), which depends on Caesarius at this point. In his analysis of the contents of the Pembroke 25 homiliary, Cross (1987 pp 26, 27, 32, 167, 168) identifies three short passages within items 18, 24, and 34 of that collection as coming from Caesarius’s *Sermo 57*, and he prints (at pp 166–70) the full text of item 34 to show how closely it parallels portions of *Vercelli Homily 21* (HomM 13, B3.5.13; ed. Scragg, EETS OS 300); see especially Cross (p 167 note to lines
32–40). This sermon is printed by Migne as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 249 (PL 39.2206–08)**.

**Sermo 58** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.58]: *CPPM* 1.895, 4720, 4748.
   ed.: *CCSL* 103.254–58.

*MSS – A-S Vers* none.

   2. *HomS 3* (VercHom 8, B3.2.3) 14–32.

*Refs* none.

Irving (1957 pp 590–91) points out that lines 1312–31 of the Exeter Book poem *Christ III* (*ChristC*, A3.1; ed. Cook 1909) are indebted to Caesarius’s *Sermo 58* as well as to *Sermo 57*, discussed above, and notes other resemblances between poem and sermon which might be overlooked but for the indisputable instance of borrowing noted here. He adds (p 588 note 3) that this sermon also exists attributed to **FAUSTUS OF RIEZ** (*PL 58.887–90*) and that Morin suggests that the portions of the sermon under discussion here were possibly borrowed by Caesarius from **EUSEBIUS GALLICANUS**. *Sermo 58* is also closely translated in lines 14–32 of *Vercelli Homily 8* (*HomS 3*, B3.2.3; ed. Scragg, *EETS* OS 300). See the references to *Vercelli Homily 8* under the entry for *Sermo 57* above. For a fuller discussion of the relationship between *Vercelli Homily 8* and *Sermo 58* and some problems of transmission, see Trahern (1976 pp 109–11) and Scragg (*EETS* OS 300.139–43 and notes to lines 11–14, 66).

**Sermo 87** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.87]: *CPPM* 1.796.
   ed.: *CCSL* 103.357–61.

*MSS – A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* *ÆHom* 25 (B1.4.25).

*Refs* none.

Trahern (1986 p 110) demonstrates that the third paragraph of this sermon on Jacob’s ladder (at *CCSL* 103.358) is a source for the third of three additions to **ÆLFRIC**’s *In Letania maiore, Feria IV*, for Ascension Eve (*ÆHom* 25, B1.4.25; ed. Pope, *EETS* OS 260.756–57).

**Sermo 100** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.100]: *CPPM* 1.806.


*Lists – Refs* none.
Copies of this sermon on the ten commandments and the ten plagues, which Migne prints as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 21 (PL 39.1783–86)**, appear in Oxford, Trinity College 28, fols 89v–91r; and Vatican Reg.lat. 338, fols 88v–89v. Two early twelfth-century copies appear in Cambridge, Jesus College Q. G. 4 (52) (s. xii\(^1\), Durham), fols 39–44 (see Gameson 1999 p 66 [no. 103]), and Rochester, Cathedral Library, A.3.16 (s. xii\(^1\) [pre ?1124], Rochester) (Gameson p 147 [no. 817]). Copies of an unidentified sermon on the ten commandments and the ten plagues, in all likelihood this one by Caesarius, are attested in the twelfth-century catalogues of the libraries of the Abbey of the B.V.M. at Reading and of Rochester Cathedral priory (Sharpe et al. 1996 p 434 no. B71.92d and p 473 no. B77.9d).

**Sermo 139** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.139]: CPPM 1.843.

**ed.**: CCSL 104.571–76.

**MSS** – **A-S Vers** none.

**Quots/Cits** BEDA.Collect.opusc.

**Refs** none.

Fransen (1955 pp 263–64) shows that **BEDE**’s unpublished florilegium of Augustinian texts on the Pauline epistles, known as the **COLLECTIO EX OPUSCULIS SANCTI AUGUSTINI IN EPISTULAS PAULI APOSTOLI** (**CPL** 1360; **RBMA** 1619–31), includes a section on Galatians 3.27–28 drawn from Caesarius’s **Sermo 139**, which is a sermon on the Old Testament prefigurations of the Christian Church based largely on **AUGUSTINE**’s **SERMO 37**. This sermon is printed by Migne as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 58 (PL 39.1854–55)**.

**Sermo 146** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.146]: CPPM 1.848, 4725.

**ed.**: CCSL 104.599–602.

**MSS** – **A-S Vers** none.

**Quots/Cits** ÆHom 31 (B1.4.31).

**Refs** none.

For a discussion of the influence of this sermon and Caesarius’s **Sermo 155** on lines 55–74 of **ÆLFRIC**’s compilation **De virginitate** (**ÆHom** 31, B1.4.31; ed. Pope, **EETS OS** 260), also known as Pope 30, see Trahern (1976 pp 105–07). In his analysis of the contents of the Pembroke 25 homiliary, Cross (1987 p 26) identifies a passage from item 19 of that collection as coming from Caesarius’s **Sermo 146.1–3**. This sermon also circulated as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 63 (PL 39.1864–66)**.

**Sermo 148** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.148]: CPPM 1.851.
The influence of this sermon on lines 88–97 and 186 of Ælfric’s homily for the fifth Sunday after Pentecost, item 13 in Pope’s supplementary series (ÆHom 14, B1.4.14; ed. Pope, EETS OS 260), is demonstrated by Pope (pp 495 and 501 note to lines 88–97). Pope (pp 530 and 538 note to lines 170–72) also proposes that the same sermon furnished Ælfric with a single line adapted from 2 Timothy 4.2 in his homily for the seventh Sunday after Pentecost, item 15 in the supplementary series (ÆHom 16, B1.4.16; ed. Pope, EETS OS 260). This sermon circulated as Pseudo-Augustine, Sermo 66 (PL 39.1871–73) and as Homilia 162 in the late version of the Homiliarium of Paul the Deacon printed by Migne (see PL 95.1363). A copy appears in the late-eleventh-century version of Paul the Deacon’s Homiliary in Salisbury 179, fols 67v–68r.


Pope (EETS OS 260.604) identifies Caesarius’s Sermo 154 on the Gospel reading Matthew 24.19 (“Vae pregnantibus et nutrientibus”) as the source for lines 320–25 of Ælfric’s Sermo de die iudicii, item 18 in Pope’s supplementary series (ÆHom 19, B1.4.19), and adds: “In the preceding section of the sermon Caesarius quotes from Augustine an imaginary instance of someone who covets his neighbour’s property and is tempted to take unfair advantage of him. Hence perhaps Ælfric’s ‘unwrencum’” in line 324 (note to lines 320–25). A copy of this sermon, which Migne prints as Pseudo-Augustine, Sermo 75 (PL 39.1889–91), appears in Bodley 229, fols 57v–59v. A post-Conquest copy appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 451 (Winchester, s. xii1/4), fols 99v–101r (see Hall 2005 p 212).


Quots/Cits ÆHom 14 (B1.4.14) 88–97, 186. 2. ÆHom 16 (B1.4.16) 170.
In a discussion of the Ælfrician compilation known as *De virginitate*, item 30 in Pope’s supplementary series (*ÆHom* 31, B1.4.31; ed. Pope, *EETS* OS 260), Trahern (1976 p 107) identifies Caesarius’s *Sermo* 155 on the ten wise and foolish virgins as a source for lines 8–15 of ÆLFRIC’s text and notes that Ælfric’s attribution of this passage to AUGUSTINE is understandable since much of Caesarius’s work passed under Augustine’s name. For further Caesarian influence on Ælfric’s *De virginitate*, see the entry for *Sermo* 146 above.

**Sermo 156** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.156]: *CPPM* 1.861.
ed.: *CCSL* 104.635–641.

*MSS – A-S Vers* none.
*Quots/Cits* *Vainglory* (*Vain*, A3.10) 23–27.
*Refs* none.

Trahern (1975 p 170) sees lines 23–27 of the Exeter Book poem *Vainglory* (*Vain*, A3.10; ed. *ASPR* 3), characterizing the proud man as “filled with the flying darts, with the deceitful craft of the devil,” as reminiscent of a sentence in Caesarius’s *Sermo* 156, which refers to the proud as “pharetrae sagittis diaboli plenae” (*CCSL* 104.639). Other arguable Caesarian influences on *Vainglory* include his *Sermones* 48 and 233.

**Sermo 157** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.157]: *CPPM* 1.862.
ed.: *CCSL* 104.641–45.

*MSS – A-S Vers* none.
*Quots/Cits* ? *HomS* 3 (B3.2.3).
*Refs* none.

Trahern (1976 p 111) points to an isolated possible borrowing from this Rogationtide sermon in lines 39–42 of *Vercelli Homily* 8 (*HomS* 3, B3.2.3; ed. Scragg, *EETS* OS 300), which refers to unbelievers not coming to judgment because they are judged already. As noted above, other major sources for *Vercelli Homily* 8 are Caesarius’s *Sermones* 57 and 58. A post-Conquest copy of Caesarius’s *Sermo* 157, which Migne prints as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, *SERMO* 77 (*PL* 39.1895–97), appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 451 (Winchester, s. xii1/4), fols 107v–109v (see Hall 2005 p 213).

**Sermo 158** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.158]: *CPPM* 1.863.
In a discussion of the contents of Vercelli Homily 21 (HomM 13, B3.5.13; ed. Scragg, EETS OS 300), Szarmach (1981 p 88) cautiously suggests that this homily’s teaching on almsgiving in lines 26–37 “seems to be indebted in a general way to two passages from Caesarius of Arles in Sermo 158 and 199.” See now, however, Cross (1987 pp 144–45) and Scragg (EETS OS 300.363 note to lines 33–45), who argue that the author of Vercelli 21 came to Caesarius’s Sermo 158 only indirectly through the extracts from this sermon incorporated into the Pembroke 25 homiliary. A twelfth-century copy of this sermon appears in Cambridge, St John’s College 42 (?Worcester, s. xii [post 1123]), fol. 95v–96r (see Cross 1991 p 210).

Sermo 174 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.174]: CPPM 1.4369.
   ed. CCSL 104.708–09.

MSS – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits ALCVIN.Virt.uit. VI.
Refs none.

Olivar (1962 p 170 note 89) points out that chapter 6 of ALCUIN’s DE VIRTUTIBUS ET VITIIS (at PL 101.617) reproduces phrases from Caesarius’s Sermo 174.

Sermo 175 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.175].
   ed. CCSL 104.709–12.

Lists – Refs none.

Copies of this sermon on Christ’s post-Resurrection appearance to his disciples through closed doors appear in two versions of PAUL THE DEACON’s HOMILIARIUM produced in England in the early post-Conquest period: Harley 652, fol. 46v–47r; and Worcester F.93, fol. 86v–87v.

Sermo 177 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.177]: CPPM 1.2183.
   ed.: CCSL 104.716–21.

MSS – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits BEDA.Collect.opusc.
Fransen (1955 p 264) shows that BEDE’s unpublished florilegium of Augustinian texts on the Pauline epistles known as the **Collectio ex opusculis sancti Augustini in epistulas Pauli apostoli** (CPL 1360; RBMA 1619–31) includes a section on 1 Corinthians 15.56 that quotes directly from Caesarius’s *Sermo* 177, which is a sermon on original sin based largely on AUGUSTINE’s *Sermo* 151.

**Sermo 179** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.179]: CPPM 1.889.


**Lists – A-S Vers** none.

**Quots/Cits**ÆCHom II, 40 (B1.2.49) 258–87.

**Refs** none.

In a discussion of the sources of ÆLFRIC’s second series homily for the dedication of a church (*ÆCHom* II, 40; B1.2.49; ed. Godden, *EETS* SS 5), Cross (1961–62 pp 12–14) identifies a number of “passages revealing stronger or fainter verbal echoes” of Caesarius’s *Sermo* 179, suggesting that Ælfric is recalling from memory rather than consulting Caesarius directly here, but Trahern (1976 p 115) asserts that the evidence for the influence is abundantly clear. Godden (*EETS* SS 18.668–69) demonstrates the debt to Caesarius beyond a doubt. Copies of *Sermo* 179 appear in Bodley 572, fols 36v–39v, where it is introduced by the rubric “Incipit epistola Augustini de igne purgatorio,” and in Brussels 8558–63, fols 77v–79v.

An eighth- or ninth-century booklist written in Anglo-Saxon half-uncial added to the first folio of Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal.lat. 210 (CLA 1.84; not in HG), a manuscript from the Low Countries, includes an item “De igni purgatorio,” which Gorman (2004 p 58) identifies as Caesarius’s *Sermo* 179. On this booklist see further Lapidge (2006 pp 83, 153–54), who speculate that it may be associated with the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibrord and may have been written at Echternach.

A copy of this sermon is attested in a twelfth-century catalogue of the library of the Abbey of the B.V.M. at Reading (Sharpe et al. 1996 p 427 no. B71.48b). Two twelfth-century copies appear in Cambridge, St John’s College 42 (‘?Worcester, s. xii [post 1123]), fol 74r (see Cross 1991 p 206), and London, BL Harley 3061 (‘?Abingdon, s. xiiim”), fols 58v–61v. In addition, a composite sermon in Salisbury, Cathedral Library 179 (Salisbury, s. xiex; HG 753), fols 44v–46r, includes a long passage at fols 45r25–46r taken from *Sermo* 179. This sermon also circulated as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, *Sermo* 104 (*PL* 39.1946–49).

**Sermo 183** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.183]: CPPM 1.1072.
As Cross (1987 pp 26, 196, 201) demonstrates, a passage from this sermon is loosely quoted within item 20 in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (HG 131), which was an immediate source for Assmann Homily 11 for the third Sunday in Lent (HomS 13, B3.2.13; ed. BaP 3). This sermon is printed by Migne as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 287 (PL 39.2287–88).

Sermo 187 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.187]: CPL 223 (Sermo 1); CPPM 1.78, 900, 4708, 5543, 5933.
   ed.: CCSL 104.763–66.

Lists – Refs none.


Sermo 188 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.188]: CPL 223 (sermo 3); CPPM 1.146, 901, 4759, 5544, 5935.
   ed.: CCSL 104.767–69.

MSS Cambridge, Pembroke College 25: HG 131.
Lists – Refs none.

A copy of this Advent sermon, which Migne prints as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 116 (PL 39.1975–77), appears in Pembroke 25, fols 9r–10v (see Cross 1987 p 20). In addition, two short passages within the second and twenty-first items in Pembroke 25 quote from this sermon (see Cross 1987 pp 20, 26). This sermon was included in the eighth-century HOMILIARIUM of ALAN OF FARFA (AF II.85: Hosp 1937 p 238; Grégoire 1966 p 65, 1980 p 183).
Sermo 194 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.194]: CPPM 1.4716, 6420.
ed.: CCSL 104.786–88.

MSS – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits see below.
Refs none.

A short passage at the end of item 13 in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (HG 131) quotes from this sermon for Epiphany (see Cross 1987 p 24).

Sermo 197 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.197]: CPPM 1.4723.
ed.: CCSL 104.794–98.

MSS – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits see below.
Refs none.

Trahern (1976 pp 111–12) notes that in addition to substantial use of Caesarius’s Sermo 199 in Assmann Homily 11 (HomS 13, B3.2.13; ed. BaP 3) (see the entry for this sermon below), there appears to be a “recollection” of Caesarius’s Sermo 197 in lines 79–81 of that anonymous homily for the third Sunday in Lent. Cross (1987 pp 199, 210–11) demonstrates, however, that the phrase in question instead directly translates lines 36–37 of the twenty-first item in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (HG 131), which is itself based on Caesarius’s Sermo 199.2, though perhaps also distantly echoing Sermo 197. Cross is correct, however, that Pembroke 25 item 21 is a more likely immediate source for Assmann 11 than is Caesarius. In addition, two short passages within item 18 of Pembroke 25 quote from this sermon (see Cross 1987 p 26).

Sermo 198 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.198]: CPPM 1.84, 926, 4724, 5551.
ed.: CCSL 104.799–802.

MSS Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.30: HG 189.
Lists – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits HomS 10 (BlHom 3, B3.2.10).
Refs none.

Förster (1893 p 180) demonstrated that the last half of Blickling Homily 3 (HomS 10, B3.2.10; ed. Morris, EETS OS 58, 63, 73) is based largely on GREGORY THE GREAT’s Homilia 16 in Evangelia but that a passage on proper fasting has been interpolated into the Gregorian portion. Dalbey (1968 pp 46 and 53 note 12) calls a portion of this passage “a general eschatological commonplace” but cites as a possible source PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 141 (PL 39.2020–22). Trahern (1976 p 108) adds that “almost the
whole of the interpolation is from this sermon (which is Caesarius’s 198) though the sentences are somewhat reordered.” There are no complete copies of Caesarius’s Sermo 198 surviving in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, but a freely redacted and incomplete version appears in Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.30 (Canterbury, St Augustine’s Abbey, primarily s. xmed; HG 189), fol 172r–v, which has been edited and discussed by Hall (2006).

**Sermo 199** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.199]: CPPM 1.85, 927, 4733, 5304, 5553.  
ed.: CCSL 104.803–07.  
  
*MSS – A-S Vers*  none.  
*Quots/Cits*  see below.  
*Refs*  none.

Joan Turville-Petre (1960) noted that some passages in a homily in the Old Icelandic Homily Book run parallel to Assmann Homily 11 (HomS 13, B3.2.13; ed. BaP 3) and that the Old English and Old Icelandic each show independent contact with Caesarius’s Sermo 199, although she does not specify the points of contact between Caesarius and the Old English homily. Trahern (1976 pp 111–12) clarified the relationship between Caesarius and the Old English homily by identifying numerous specific correspondences between Caesarius’s Sermo 199 and lines 80–84, 95–97, and 107–11 of Assmann 11. However, Cross (1987 pp 198, 209–13) later showed that Assmann 11 directly translates item 21 in the Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 homiliary, which is confected from several Latin texts including Caesarius’s Sermo 199, so it turns out that the correspondences between Assmann 11 and Caesarius are mediated by the Pembroke 25 homiliary. In addition, a short passage in item 29 in Pembroke 25 quotes from this sermon as well (see Cross 1987 p 30).

**Sermo 202** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.202]: CPPM 1.934, 5040.  
ed.: CCSL 104.814–17.  
  
*MSS – A-S Vers*  none.  
*Quots/Cits*  see below.  
*Refs*  none.

A short passage within item 29 in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (HG 131) quotes from this sermon on the Lord’s Supper (see Cross 1987 p 30), which Migne prints as PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 149 (PL 39.2035–36).

**Sermo 203** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.203]: CPPM 1.948, 6359.  
ed.: CCSL 104.817–19.

*Lists – Refs* none.


**Sermo 204** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.204]: *CPPM* 1.953.
   ed.: *CCSL* 104.819–22.

*MSS* 1. Cambridge, University Library Ii.2.19: HG 16.

*Lists – Refs* none.

Copies of this Easter sermon, which Migne prints as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 168** (*PL* 39.2070–72), appear in three versions of the **HOMILIARIUM of PAUL THE DEACON** produced in England in the early post-Conquest period: CUL Ii.2.19, fol 26r–v; Harley 652, fol 61r–v; and Worcester F.93, fols 49r–50r.

**Sermo 206** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.206]: *CPPM* 1.1037.

*MSS* Salisbury, Cathedral Library 63: HG 710.

*Lists – Refs* none.

A copy of this sermon, which Migne prints as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 252** (*PL* 39.2210–12), appears in Salisbury 63, fol 10r–v. A post-Conquest copy appears in Salisbury, Cathedral Library 35 (Salisbury, s. xii14), fols 118va–119va. In his edition of **BEDE**’s **COMMENTARIUS IN APOCALYPSIM**, Roger Gryson points to a possible source for a phrase of Bede’s *Commentarius* IV.180 (*CCSL* 121A.266) in either Caesarius’s *Sermo* 167.4 (*CCSL* 104.685) or his *Sermo* 206.2 (*CCSL* 104.826), but the phrase in question is only two words long (“baptismi [h]olosericam”), so the case for direct evidence is not strong.

**Sermo 207** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.207]: *CPPM* 1.958.
In his edition of the Latin letter by the eighth-century Northumbrian anchorite ALCHFRID (HLW 85) addressed to a priest named Higlac, Levison (1946 pp 297–300) proposed that a passage concerning the Christian’s spiritual struggle with the devil is modeled loosely on Caesarius’s Sermo 207, which includes a similar discussion of vices and virtues with a few scattered verbal parallels as noted in Levison’s apparatus. If so, then this letter, written probably ca. 780 within the environs of Lindisfarne (Brown 1996 pp 137, 140, 141, 155), would provide the earliest evidence for the knowledge of one of Caesarius’s sermons in England. But Levison’s claim has been effectively debunked by Bullough (2004 pp 329–30), who finds that “there is very little in common between the two texts” and who proposes instead that the passage in question is based on a lost source, possibly one that traveled in manuscript together with a copy of COLUMBANUS’s INSTRUCTIONES, which Bullough identifies as a source for other portions of Alchfrid’s letter.

Willard (1949b p 76) first demonstrated that Vercelli Homily 11 (HomS 36, B3.2.36; ed. Scragg, EETS OS 300) and Vercelli Homily 20 (HomS 38, B3.2.38; ed. Scragg, EETS OS 300) both owe their opening sentence to Caesarius’s Sermo 207, although he mistakenly refers to the source text as Sermo 209 rather than 207, hence the repeated insistence in subsequent scholarship (e.g. Gatch 1965 pp 140–41 and Trahern 1976 p 117) that one or both Vercelli homilies translate from Caesarius’s Sermo 209. The number is set right by Scragg (EETS OS 300.221 and 332). Caesarius’s Sermo 207 is also the source of the first sentence of Vercelli Homily 14 (HomM 11, B3.5.11; ed. Scragg, EETS OS 300); see Szarmach (1970 pp 315–23 and 1981 p 29). Cross (1987 p 98) points out that item 38 in the Pembroke 25 homiliary consists entirely of Caesarius’s Sermo 207 “but with additions and with variant readings from Morin’s printed text.” Cross goes on to prove (pp 98, 199–200) that the links between Vercelli Homily 19 (HomS 34, B3.2.34; ed. Scragg, EETS OS 300) and Caesarius’s Sermo 207 identified by Szarmach (1970 pp 319–20) and developed further by Bazire and Cross (1981 pp 9–10) have the Pembroke item as an intermediary.

Cross (1985b p 116) shows that the chapter on Rogation Days in the OLD ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY (Mart, B19.cm; ed. Kotzor 1981 2.80–82, Rogation Days) abstracts “ideas (sometimes in association), and, occasionally, words . . . from the more specific lists of observances in two sermons of Caesarius of Arles, CCVII and CCVIII.” The correspondences are clearest between the Martyrologist’s statement that “Ne bið alefed on ðyssum dagum ðæt mon blod læte, oððe á clæsnungdreces drince” (p 82 lines 3–5) and Caesarius’s “nemo in istis tribus diebus aut sanguinem tollat aut potionem accipiet” (p 830 §3), and between the Martyrologist’s statement that the three Rogation days are “mannes sawle læcedom ond gastlicwe wyrtendra” (p 82 lines 8–9) and Caesarius’s claim that these days “spiritales
adueniunt et animae nostrae medicinales” (p 828 §1). For further Caesarian influence on the *Old English Martyrology*, see also the entry for *Sermo* 208 below.

This sermon is printed by Migne as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 173** (*PL* 39.2076–78).

**Sermo 208** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.208]: *CPPM* 1.959.

   ed.: *CCSL* 104.832–34.

*MSS*  Cambridge, Pembroke College 25: HG 131.

Lists – *A-S Vers*  none.

*Quots/Cits*  *Mart* (B19.cm) 5–7, 9–14.

*Refs*  none.

Cross (1985b p 116) notes that the passage in the entry for Rogation Days in the *OLD ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY* (*Mart*, B19.cm; ed. Kotzor 1981 2.80–82, Rogation Days) concerning the need to observe these feast days with compunction of the heart, with prayers, alms, and benevolence towards one’s enemies because God forgives those who forgive, is based on phrases from the second and third paragraphs of Caesarius’s *Sermo* 208. For further Caesarian influence on the *Old English Martyrology*, see also the entry for *Sermo* 207 above.

A copy of *Sermo* 208, which Migne prints as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 174** (*PL* 39.2078–79), appears in Pembroke 25, fols 90r–91r.

**Sermo 210** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.210]: *CPPM* 1.962, 5559.


Lists – *Refs*  none.

An abbreviated copy of this Ascension Day sermon, which Migne prints as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 177** (*PL* 39.2082–83), appears in Worcester F.93, fol 34r–v.

**Sermo 215** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.215]: *CPPM* 1.1009.

   ed.: *CCSL* 104.855–58.

*MSS – A-S Vers*  none.

*Quots/Cits*  1. *HomS* 36 (VercHom 11, B3.2.36) 10–17, 24–86.
   2. *HomU* 6 (VercHom 14, B3.4.6) 17–44.

*Refs*  none.
Willard (1949b) first demonstrated that the opening line of *Vercelli Homily* 11 (*HomS* 36, B3.2.36; ed. Scragg, *EETS* OS 300) is from Caesarius’s *Sermo* 207 and that most of the rest of the homily is a close translation of Caesarius’s *Sermo* 215. For the specific correspondences, see now Scragg (*EETS* OS 300.221–26). Szarmach (1970 pp 315–23) first showed the indebtedness of lines 17–44 of *Vercelli Homily* 14 (*HomU* 6, B3.4.6; ed. Scragg, *EETS* OS 300) to Caesarius’s *Sermo* 215 for the nativity of St Felix. Szarmach transcribes the badly damaged fol 77r of the Vercelli Book, on which the part derived from Caesarius appears, and compares his transcription with C. Maier’s, using matter in Caesarius to offer a partial reconstruction of the text. See further Scragg (*EETS* OS 300.240–41).

**Sermo 216** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.216]: *CPPM* 1.982.  
ed.: *CCSL* 104.858–61.

**MSS**  

Lists – *A*-S *Vers* none.  
Quots/Cits *LS* 12 (NatJnBapt, B3.3.12).  
Refs none.

This sermon for the nativity of St John the Baptist was included in the eighth-century *HOMILIARIUM* of *ALAN OF FARFA* (AF II.39: Hosp 1937 p 233; Grégoire 1966 p 56, 1980 p 174), and for this reason Cross (1975 pp 147–48) surmised that the correspondences between *Blickling Homily* 14, for the nativity of John the Baptist (*LS* 12, NatJnBapt; B3.3.12; ed. Morris, *EETS* OS 58, 63, 73), and both Caesarius’s *Sermo* 216 and *PSEUDO-AMBROSE*, *SERMO* 51 suggest “that the OE writer had available a homiliary largely based on Alanus [of Farfa] and read Pseudo-Ambrose and Caesarius within such a homiliary.” There are no surviving versions of the Homiliary of Alan of Farfa from pre-Conquest England, but copies of Caesarius’s *Sermo* 216 do appear in Bodley 163, fols 250v–251r, and in four versions of *PAUL THE DEACON*’s *HOMILIARIUM* produced in England in the early post-Conquest period: CUL Kk.4.13, fols 68r–69r; Lincoln 158, fols 60v–61v; BL Royal 2.C.III, fols 75v–76v; and Worcester F.94, fols 24v–25v. In addition, a brief eulogy for John the Baptist within the second item in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (HG 131) appears to be adapted from Caesarius’s *Sermo* 216, and a passage at the end of item 44 in Pembroke 25 quotes from this sermon as well (see Cross 1987 pp 20, 35). This sermon also circulated as *PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE*, *SERMO* 197 (*PL* 39.2113–15).

**Sermo 219** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.219]: *CPL* 220 (*hom.* 64); *CPPM* 1.4710, 5797.  
ed.: *CCSL* 104.867–70.

**MSS**  
1. Cambridge, University Library, Li.2.19: HG 16.

Lists – A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits ÆCHom I, 3 (B1.1.4).

Refs none.

This sermon for the nativity of St Stephen was incorporated into Paul the Deacon’s Homiliarium (PD I.28: Wiegand 1897 p 25; Grégoire 1966 p 81, 1980 p 435), and copies survive in two versions of that homiliary produced in England in the early post-Conquest period: CUL lii.2.19, fols 163v–165r; and Harley 652, fols 174r–175r. Förster (1894 p 34) first identified this sermon as a source for Ælfric’s first series homily for the nativity of St Stephen (ÆCHom I, 3; B1.1.4; ed. Clemoes, EETS SS 17), and it has since been shown to account for roughly half of Ælfric’s homily. For the specific parallels, see now Godden (EETS SS 18.24–27). Migne prints this text as Pseudo-Maximus, Homilia 64 (PL 57.379–84).

Sermo 220 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.220]: CPPM 1.4711.

ed.: CCSL 104.871–73.


Lists – Refs none.

A copy of this sermon for the feast of St Stephen appears in TCD 174, fols 98v–99r, where it is rubricated as a “sermo sancti Augustini de sancto Stephano.” Copies in continental sermon collections are noted by Bouhot (1974 p 188).

Sermo 222 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.222]: CPPM 1.1005, 4712, 5069.

ed.: CCSL 104.877–81.

MSS – A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits 1. ALCVIN.Virt.uit. XIX.

2. ÆCHom I, 5 (B1.1.6) 102–07.

Refs none.

Wallach (1959 p 241) notes “[s]light verbal parallels” between Caesarius’s Sermo 222.3 and chapter XIX of Alcuin’s De virtutibus et vitiis. However, Bullough (2004 p 350 note 62) says Alcuin knew this passage only indirectly through its incorporation in Defensor’s Liber scintillarum LXXVIII.8–12. Bullough also seems to suggest that Alcuin “paraphrases the text [of Caesarius] at some length, without direct quotation” in his De virtutibus et vitiis XIX (PL 101.627–28).

Smetana (1959 pp 184–85) first identified Caesarius’s Sermo 222 on the Holy Innocents as the source for a brief passage in Ælfric’s first series homily on the nativity of the Innocents (ÆCHom I, 5; B1.1.6; ed. Clemoes, EETS SS 17), although Smetana knew this
sermon as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 220** (*PL* 39.2152–54). For details see now Godden (*EETS* SS 18.39, 42).

**Sermo 223** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.223]: *CPPM* 1.1010, 4770.  
ed.: *CCSL* 104.882–85.

*MSS*—*A-S Vers*  none.  
*Quots/Cits*  see below.  
*Refs*  none.

A passage at the beginning of item 73 in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (HG 131) loosely quotes from this sermon for the nativity of martyrs (see Cross 1987 p 40). As first demonstrated by Dolbeau (1983), a Latin sermon on St Machutus (ed. Brown and Yerkes 1981) known to exist only in London, BL Royal 13.A.X (s. x? or x/xi; HG 482), fols 98–103, also quotes from this sermon, which is printed by Migne as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 225** (*PL* 39.2160–62).

**Sermo 227** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.227]: *CPL* 223 (*sermo* 18); *CPPM* 1.1014, 5951.  
ed.: *CCSL* 104.897–900.

*MSS* 1. Cambridge, Pembroke College 24: HG 130.  
*Lists—Refs*  none.

This sermon for the dedication of a church circulated in both the *HOMILIARIUM* of **ALAN OF FARFA** (AF II.106: Hosp 1937 p 240; Grégoire 1966 pp 69–70, 1980 p 188) and the *HOMILIARIUM* of **PAUL THE DEACON** (PD II.127: Wiegand 1897 p 64; Grégoire 1966 p 113, 1980 p 477) and is printed by Migne as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 229** (*PL* 39.2166–68) and as **PSEUDO-MAXIMUS, SERMO 18** (*PL* 57.879–82). Copies appear in Pembroke 24, fols 308r–309v; Pembroke 25, fols 157r–159r; Salisbury 179, fols 43v–44r; and Worcester F.94, fols 177r–178r. A post-Conquest copy appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 451 (Winchester, s. xii1/4), fols 112v–114v (see Hall 2005 p 213). In addition, a passage at the beginning of item 77 in Pembroke 25 loosely quotes from this sermon (see Cross 1987 p 41).

**Sermo 229** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.229].  
ed.: *CCSL* 104.905–10.
Ker (NRK p 438) notes that the Old English homily known as Brotanek Homily 2 (HomS 49, B3.2.49; ed. Brotanek 1913 pp 15–27), preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 943 (HG 879, NRK 364), fols 164–70, “is a translation, with omissions, of the altered form of a homily for the dedication of a church by Caesarius of Arles.” Ker notes that this altered form of the homily, which is a version of Caesarius’s Sermo 229 with an added paragraph at the end expounding the historical, tropological, and anagogical meanings of the Church, appears in two English pontificals of the tenth and eleventh centuries and two English homiliaries of the early post-Conquest period. The pontificals in question are Rouen 368, known as the Lanalet Pontifical (sermon at fols 47v–53r; see Doble 1937 p 37), and Rouen 369, the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert (sermon at fols 87v–93r). The two homiliaries are Pembroke 24 (sermon at fols 303v–308r) and Durham A.III.29 (sermon at fols 299r–300v), both of which are expanded versions of the Homiliarium of Paul the Deacon. A fifth copy, unremarked by Ker, appears in Worcester F.94, fols 179v–181v, which is yet another version of Paul the Deacon’s Homiliary. Although parts of Caesarius’s sermon are not translated in Brotanek Homily 2, the entire Old English text appears to derive from Caesarius. Since the specific correspondences are cited in detail in the Fontes database, I will not repeat them here. The altered form of Caesarius’s Sermo 229 with the added paragraph at the end, the version appearing in all five English manuscripts listed above, is not printed by Morin in his CCSL edition, but it is printed by Wilson (1903 pp 69–72) from Rouen 369.

Sermo 233 [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.233].


Lists – A-S Vers none.
Quots/Cits Vainglory (Vain, A3.10) 5–12.
Refs none.

Trahern (1975 pp 167–69) traces the central distinction between the humble and the proud man in lines 5–8 of the Exeter Book poem Vainglory (Vain, A3.10; ed. ASPR 3) to Caesarius’s Sermo 233. He argues that another section of the same sermon clarifies the possibly ambiguous lines 9–12 of the poem (on each man’s responsibility to recognize the difference between humility and pride in himself as well as in others), which led Cosijn and Krapp and Dobbie to emend the text (see ASPR 3.298 note to line 10). Trahern notes,
however, that the translation in Mackie’s 1934 edition of the Exeter Book (EETS OS 194) is confirmed by the passage in Caesarius. He also notes a possible echo in lines 26–27 of the poem of Caesarius’s Sermo 156. Copies of Sermo 233 appear in Bodley 392, fols 48v–50v, and Brussels 9850–52, fols 126r–130v.

**Sermo 234** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.234].
ed.: CCSL 104.932–35.

*MSS* Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 9850–52: HG 808.2.
*Lists – Refs* none.

A copy of this sermon on monastic discipline appears in Brussels 9850–52, fols 137v–139v.

**Sermo 235** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.235]: CPPM 1.4384, 4732, 4742.

*Lists – Refs* none.

Copies of this sermon on monastic discipline appear in Bodley 392, fols 52r–53v, and Brussels 9850–52, fols 130v–133v.

**Sermo 236** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.236].
ed.: CCSL 104.940–44.

*Lists – Refs* none.

Copies of this sermon on the monastic life appear in Bodley 392, fols 55r–57r, and Brussels 9850–52, fols 134r–137v.

**Sermo in octavis Paschae** [CAES.ARELAT.Serm.oct.Pasch.]: CPPM 1.1880.
ed.: Étaix 1965 pp 204–11.

Étaix (1965) edited this sermon for the octave of Easter, which is based on **AUGUSTINE**, *Sermo 259* (*PL* 38.1196–1201; *CPPM* 1.631; Verbraken 1976 pp 120–21 no. 259) and which circulated in four different recensions, and proposed that it was authored by Caesarius. Copies occur in two versions of the *Homiliarium of Paul the Deacon* produced in England in the early post-Conquest period: Harley 652, fols 43v–44r, and Worcester F.93, fols 87v–88r. A third copy appears in the twelfth-century *Rochester Homiliary*, Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat.lat. 4951 (Rochester, s. xii<sup>2</sup>), fols 144v–145r, which is an exceptionally rich collection of sermons by Caesarius (and others), the continental origins of which have been worked out in part by Richards (1988 pp 110–19). Étaix’s 1965 edition is reprinted in *PLS* 4.1930–35.

**Epistola 2** [CAES.ARELAT.Ep.2]: *CPL* 1010; *CPPM* 2.3616b.
   ed.: *SChr* 345.294–337.


**Expositio in Apocalypsim** [CAES.ARELAT.Expos.Apoc.]: *CPL* 1016; *CPPM* 2.1800–19, 1900, 2024, 2205; *RBMA* 1495, 2445.


**Lists – Refs** none.
Although there are many parallels between Caesarius’s *Expositio in Apocalypsim* and BEDE’s *Commentarius in Apocalypsim* (*CPL* 1363; these are cited in detail in the *Fontes* database), it is believed that Bede and Caesarius were working from a common source (see Bonner 1966). Lapidge (2006 p 204), however, notes over 270 borrowings from Caesarius’s *Expositio* within Bede’s commentary and presumes (p 128) that there must have been a copy of Caesarius’s *Expositio* in Bede’s library. Ogilvy (*BKE* p 103) notes that an eighth-century continental manuscript containing this work, Kassel, Landesbibliothek Theol. Oct. 5 (*CLA* 8.35), “seems to have been in A-S hands (perhaps on the Continent) in s. viii and at Fulda by s. x.” The copy in Egerton 874, a manuscript produced in northern France in the late-ninth century that was at St Augustine’s Abbey by the late-eleventh century, was first identified by Bonner (1957).

The *Expositio* is printed by Migne in an appendix to works by AUGUSTINE in *PL* 35.2417–51 as a set of nineteen homilies on the Apocalypse.

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