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Gilbert of Poitiers: Commentary on the Pauline Epistles
Transcription of MS Zwettl 58

Introduction

The text of Gilbert of Poitiers' commentary on the Pauline Epistles presented here is a folio-by-folio transcription from a single manuscript, Zwettl 58. It is neither a critical edition nor a diplomatic transcription, which would reproduce the manuscript in every detail. My intention at this time is simply to provide a usable text for consulting this important 12th-century commentary, making it available to scholars in an electronic form that can be searched and downloaded.

Unlike the prominent authors of theological literature in the 10th and 11th century, Gilbert of Poitiers (Gilbertus Pictaviensis, Gilbert de la Porrée, Gilbertus Porretanus) was not a member of a monastic order but belonged to the group of theologians who pioneered new forms of theological thinking and teaching in the schools and centers of learning that were emerging in the 12th century.¹ As the eulogies of his contemporaries demonstrate, Gilbert was one of the most highly respected philosophical and theological scholars of his time. His name and career are intimately connected with several centers of the new learning in France. First, there was Poitiers, the reported place of his birth around 1085 where he probably received his early education. He may have taught briefly at Poitiers in the 1140s before ending his days in the same city, where he became bishop in 1142 and resided until his death in 1154. Before 1117, in his thirties or early forties, he studied for some time at Laon under Master Anselm who died that year and in whose presence Gilbert is said to have "read" his psalms commentary for approval. Along with Abelard and other well-known scholars, he also taught in Paris with great success sometime during the late 1130s and early 1140s. More than 300 students were reported to have listened to his theological and philosophical lectures "at the bishop's hall." And then there was Chartres. Gilbert spent a few early years there, perhaps 1112 to 1114, to study the liberal arts under master Bernard of Chartres. He returned to the town in the 1120s, is mentioned as a canon of the cathedral chapter in 1124, and served as chancellor of the cathedral school from 1134 on, his residency at Chartres adding up to approximately twenty years by the time he moved to

¹ On Gilbert, see H.C. Van Elswijk, *Gilbert Porreta. Sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée*, Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1966 (Université catholique de Louvain. Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense. Etudes et documents, fasc. 33) and the literature cited there. Patricia Stimemann provides a brief sketch in her recent article, "Gilbert de la Porrée: The Man and His Manuscripts" in: *Beyond Words: New Research on Manuscripts in Boston Collections*, edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Lisa Fagin Davis, Anne-Marie Eze, Nancy Netzer, and William P. Stoneman, Toronto: PIMS, 2021 (*Studies and Texts* 221; *Text Image Context: Studies in Medieval Manuscript Illumination* 8), pp. 1-12. Gilbert's teaching career is carefully explored by Theresa Gross-Diaz in her book, *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers: From Lectio Divina to the Lecture Room*, Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1996 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, vol. 68), pp. 1-24.

Paris—the longest period of time he spent anywhere as an administrator, teacher and scholar. During his tenure as bishop in Poitiers, he weathered the attacks of monastic detractors who accused him of trinitarian and christological heresy. At two consistories, March 1147 in Paris, and one year later, April 1148, at the Council of Reims where Pope Eugenius III was present and Bernard of Clairvaux acted as the main prosecutor, Gilbert was able to refute the charges, convince the assembly of his orthodoxy, and hold on to his ecclesiastical position.²

He was a well-published author who saw to it that the manuscripts of his works were faithfully copied and widely distributed. His philosophical writings, especially his commentaries on Boethius, remained influential during the high scholastic period, but Gilbert also authored some of the most intriguing expositions of biblical books that have come down to us from the Middle Ages, among them full interpretations of the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles.

Gilbert's Pauline commentary is unusual for its time and quite innovative. The lemmata of his fairly standard Vulgate text form the basic structural scaffold of the commentary, which is written as a continuous narrative. They frequently appear in the manuscripts as the first few words of a phrase or sentence followed by *etc.* The interpretation is then interwoven with the biblical text. Often it consists of no more than alternative terms (*id est, ... ; hoc est ...*) or of attempts at paraphrasing the Pauline formulation (*Quasi ...*), meant to clarify the logic of the apostle's argument and explain its function in establishing doctrinal tenets of the Faith of the Church. Gilbert regards Paul's Epistles as sustained rhetorical arguments and proposes divisions and subdivisions. As is the case in the commentaries of other contemporary authors, he draws on the language and the thoughts of patristic writers, especially Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose ("Ambrose" being the anonymous commentary known by the name of Ambrosiaster). As a major innovation, however, the Gilbert manuscripts identify these *auctoritates* by their abbreviated names in the margin (¶Aug., ¶Jer., ¶Amb.), though the actual quotation or allusion is only occasionally marked in the text. Another innovative feature is the use of *quaestiones* (*Hic queritur ...*) discussing controversial issues at some length. Such questions are incorporated into the flow of the narrative, with some forming lengthy excursus without a formal dialogical structure. Main topics of such expansions are the doctrine of the Trinity, Christology, and soteriology, i.e., the Pauline theology of redemption.

Since Gilbert's name was connected with Laon where the systematic teaching of the Bible with the help of patristic glosses had its beginning, and because through his teaching in Chartres and Paris he seems to have become a key figure in establishing the use and distribution of what was later called the Glossa Ordinaria of the Bible, scholars in the late 12th century referred to his two commentaries on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles together as the *media glosatura*, following upon Anselm of Laon's *parva glosatura* and followed in turn by Peter Lombard's commentaries as the *magna glosatura*.³ The precise relationship between Gilbert's commentaries

² See the engaging report by Nicholas M. Häring, "Notes on the Council and the Consistory of Rheims (1148)," *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966), pp. 39-59.

³ Beryl Smalley says of Stephen Langton: "Langton probably used Gilbert's Gloss, which he calls the *Glossatura media*, more frequently than he cites it by name." See Beryl Smalley and Georges Lacombe, *Studies on the Commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton*, Part I (*Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*,

and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, however, is still an open question today. In her book on Gilbert's Psalms commentary, Theresa Gross-Diaz speaks of reciprocity:⁴ On the one hand, Gilbert used some manuscript sources with Anselm's glosses, while on the other hand, the *Glossa Ordinaria* in its developing form, characterized by its distinctive layout featuring both marginal and interlinear glosses of the Biblical Vulgate text on each page, made use of patristic excerpts in Gilbert's commentaries that were based on the consultation of original copies of those authors' works and excerpt collections.

The fragmented form of Gilbert's composite text, which inextricably incorporates the Vulgate lemmata into his comments, presents the reader with a peculiar linguistic challenge. As is apparent from other works of his, Gilbert writes an elegant, sophisticated Latin, but in this commentary the style is involved, broken, and at times appears chaotic, with the main sentences interrupted by dependent clauses and interjections of additional explanatory remarks. The whole, however, is meticulously constructed in terms of grammar and content, and it constitutes an admirable literary achievement.

When I began working on Gilbert's commentation of the Pauline Epistles some twenty-five years ago with the goal of eventually publishing a critical edition in the series *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, I thought it might be good to start by transcribing a single manuscript of the over seventy which are known to have survived⁵ in order to establish a preliminary textual basis for my work. I planned to use this electronic base text as the one into which I would copy the variants of at least four other manuscripts of an early date in order to lay the groundwork for a critical edition. During an extended stay with my wife at the Ecumenical Institute of Saint John's Abbey in Collegeville, MN, in the spring of 1992, I was able to examine a number of microfilms of the commentary at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (HMML) as potential candidates for such a transcription. From the available options I chose a monastic manuscript, Zwettl 58, which seemed to be fairly early, presented the text in a straightforward manner without elaborate apparatus, and was not too difficult to read.⁶ In about three months I transcribed the commentary from the relatively good black and white microfilm. It turned out to be a reliable text without many corrections which I thought would serve my purpose well. This transcription is the one I am publishing here. It has been formatted, edited for consistency, and compared with the printout of the microfilm I was allowed to make at HMML.

Cinquième Année, Paris: Vrin, 1930), p. 60. — On the development of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, see Lesley Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009 (*Commentaria* [Leiden, Netherlands], vol. 3).

⁴ Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary*, pp. 122-148.

⁵ A first list of 66 manuscripts can be extracted from the catalogue of Gilbert manuscripts in Nicholas M. Häring, "Handschriftliches zu den Werken Gilberts Bischof von Poitiers (1142–1154)," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8 (1978), pp. 133-194; here 149-194. For an update see Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT-CNRS), "Notice de Commentarium in sancti Pauli epistolas, Gilbertus Porretanus (107?-1154)," in: Pascale Bourgain, Dominique Stutzmann, *FAMA: Œuvres latines médiévales à succès*, 2019 (<http://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/en/oeuvre/268418>).

⁶ The project number at HMML is 6652. The content of the commentary itself is detailed in Friedrich Stegmüller's *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, vol. 2, pp. 346-350, nos. 2515-2528. Stegmüller mentions Zwettl 58 among the textual witnesses.

I then proceeded to the next stage of selecting a suitable manuscript for the main text of the critical edition. Following hints in the voluminous secondary literature and checking a number of microfilms, I became aware of a group of manuscripts given to the library of the Abbey of Clairvaux in Burgundy by Prince Henry, third son of King Louis VI of France (1081-1137) and younger brother to King Louis VII (1120-1180).⁷ Prince Henry entered Clairvaux in 1146 and left the monastery in 1149 to become bishop of Beauvais. Thus the years shortly before or during 1146 to 1149 were most likely the time when the books he donated were created. Among them was a sturdy volume which is preserved in its original binding under the signature MS 2266 at the Bibliothèque municipale of Troyes. It contains the entire text of Gilbert's glossed Pauline Epistles together with a few unrelated pieces. The recent literature assumes a date of perhaps 1130 or 1135 for the writing of the commentary. De Hamel calls the Prince Henry copy "the earliest surviving datable copy of the text."⁸ Like the other items in this little bibliotheca, it appeared to be an exceptionally fine volume featuring gold and elaborate pen work for the initials at the beginning of each Epistle. In contrast to later manuscripts, it presented the commentary without the Vulgate text in two parallel columns of 40 lines per page. All these features suggested to me that Troyes 2266 would be a natural candidate to serve as the basis of the critical edition. Working at first from low-quality microcards purchased through the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT) in Paris, and later from the digital copy made available on the internet through the Médiathèque du Grand Troyes,⁹ I entered the variants into a digital file with my Zwettl transcription for the first 37 folios, which covered the Epistle to the Romans and 1 Corinthians 1-3.

Even while working on Romans, however, I began having doubts about the quality of the text I was reading when I noticed numerous scribal errors, corrections, and insertions. Then I discovered that there was an even more serious problem. In the later part of the manuscript, on folio 109rb, the flow of the text stops abruptly at 1 Timothy 2:13. A cursive note in the margin by a contemporary hand reads: *require in nono folio adam enim primus*. On the next line, the prologue to Gilbert's commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews begins, followed by the commentary on Heb 1:1 to 8:8, ending at the words: *Ecce dies etc. et consummabo*, on folio 117va. The word *consummabo* is struck out, a mark (X) is placed above it and a cursive note in the margin reads: *Require in principio pagine folii undecimi X consummabo / † adam*. On the next line the thread of the commentary on 1 Timothy 2:13 is picked up with the words *Adam enim primus* and continues through First Timothy, Second Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, ending with the final line of folio 127vb. Folio 128ra starts with the mark X on top of column a, and then the remaining text of the Hebrews commentary follows, beginning at Hebrews 8:8 with the word *consummabo* and continuing from there to the end.

This unexplained mix-up and displacement of major sections makes the volume difficult

⁷ On this donation see Christopher De Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade*, Woodbridge, Suffolk and Dover, N.H.: D.S. Brewer, 1984, pp. 6-7; Patricia Stirnemann, "Où ont été fabriqués les livres de la glose ordinaire dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle?", in: *Le XIIIe siècle. Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle*, ed. by Françoise Gasparri, Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1994 (Cahiers du Léopard d'or, 3), pp. 257-301, here esp. 264-266.

⁸ De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, p. 6.

⁹ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10520080z/f1.item.zoom> (accessed 01/2021).

to use and is hard to explain. Patricia Stirneman suggests¹⁰ that Prince Henry did not bring the books with him when he entered Clairvaux, but commissioned them to be written and decorated *hors scriptorium* at Chartres in the new commercial ateliers during the three years he was in the monastery. The commission, Stirnemann thinks, may have been suggested by Henry's royal preceptor, Nicolas de Montiéramey, who shared the Prince's taste for expensive art and may have been interested in having access to the codices himself. She also points out that the same scribe wrote several other volumes in the large commission: Gilbert's Psalms commentary and copies of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Psalms, the Epistles of Paul, and the Gospels of Mark and Luke. The exquisite artwork in the Prince Henry volumes is frequently mentioned and discussed in books and articles on medieval illumination and bookbinding, but the actual content has not been studied. I wonder what might be discovered when the text of these other tomes is examined more closely. Theresa Gross-Diaz, like everyone else, admires the luxurious quality of the physical volumes but remarks with respect to this copy of Gilbert's Psalms commentary that it is "long on aesthetics but short on concern for scholarly apparatus."¹¹ I would speculate that the commercial scribe was not as strongly motivated or simply not as competent to handle a complicated theological text as was the monastic scribe at Zwettl, who was probably more experienced and better trained for the job than his paid professional colleague at Chartres. At any rate, it became clear to me that such a flawed copy, despite its early date and its beauty, was not suitable to be used as the primary text of a critical edition.

This does not mean that the Zwettl manuscript I transcribed is perfect. It is one generation removed from the commentary's origin and has its own flaws. There are occasional corrections and insertions by the original scribe, in a few instances perhaps in a different hand. But they are very few and do not jeopardize the text in any significant way. One major omission occurs on line 20 of page 7, where the scribe missed an entire line of text because his eyes skipped from a particular phrase in his exemplar to its next occurrence one line further down. But the missing line is included in other manuscripts, for example Harvard MS Typ 277.¹²

I suspect that Harvard Typ 277 would have provided a better base text for my critical edition, even though it may date from later in the 12th century and was probably also produced *hors scriptorium*. Häring apparently did not know it, since his list has no entry for it. It was Patricia Stirnemann who drew attention to the volume in her article of 1994 as one of three very fine Gilbert manuscripts decorated by the same talented artist in the second half of the 12th century. The other two are Gilbert's Psalms commentary, now at Tours MS 93, and another copy of the Pauline commentary, now held by the Beinecke Library of Yale University, MS Marston 152. At the beginning of her recent article in 2021 she returned to this manuscript, praising it as an unusual example of exquisite bookmaking for an aristocratic clientele in professional workshops in the middle of the 12th century.¹³ She confessed that working on the Harvard

¹⁰ Stirnemann, "Gilbert de la Porrée," pp. 6-8, Case History 2.

¹¹ Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary*, p. 45. Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria*, p. 159, states the problem in one brief sentence: "Importantly, the precise text of the copies has not been studied."

¹² A full description of this manuscript is provided by Laura Light, *The Bible in the Twelfth Century. An Exhibition of Manuscripts at the Houghton Library*, Cambridge, MA: The Harvard College Library, 1988 (newly printed., 2005), no. 36, pp. 96-98. — The omission in Zwettl 58 occurs on the 3rd to last line of Folio 4r and refers to Rom 1:15.

¹³ Stirnemann, "Gilbert de la Porrée," pp. 2-3.

manuscript with its beautiful illuminations—17 large initials, among them three historiated ones—"opened a long-closed door in my mind," prompting her to revise her previous dating of its production from around 1160 to a time ten or even twenty years earlier on the basis of its unusual decoration. "The artist could just as easily have painted the book in the late 1140s or 1150s." Stirnemann ventured the guess that the book may have been a commission for a private owner, Wichmann von Seeburg, a highly educated theologian and book lover who became archbishop of Magdeburg in 1154. His ownership of the volume would be another proof of the high esteem Gilbert enjoyed among the intellectual elite of that generation. According to Laura Light, the codex was written in Germany, and in the 15th century was owned by the Augustinian Canons at Kloster Neuwerk near Halle, not far from Magdeburg. It was in fact on my list of important copies for the original project of the critical edition, and in view of the plan to use it, my wife Ricarda Lotzin Froehlich manually entered all the variants of this volume into a printout of my transcription of the Zwettl manuscript during a stay at Newton Center, MA in the spring of 1996.

The Zwettl manuscript of Gilbert's commentary does not belong to the category of luxury copies made for wealthy customers. It is the product of a monastic scriptorium, copied by a member of the monastic community for use in its own library. The Abbey of Zwettl was founded in 1137 in Northern Austria and had an active scriptorium by the 1170s.¹⁴ In the catalogue of the Zwettl manuscripts, we have detailed notes and a very full description of MS 58 by Charlotte Ziegler.¹⁵ She identifies the writer as a leading scribe of the Zwettl scriptorium whose hand can also be traced in several other manuscripts and fragments both as a primary scribe, and as a redactor and corrector as well. She classifies the ductus of the script as French, and on the basis of the details places the codex in the tradition of the great Cistercian scriptoria in Burgundy such as Cîteaux, Clairvaux, and Molesme. The scribe, she thinks, had direct knowledge of early Cistercian codices and may have been French himself. I think he might have been sent to Burgundy by his abbot with the purpose of copying recent theological literature for the project of establishing a significant library in this remote corner of Austria. The spread of Gilbert's works began in the 1140s and 1150s and reached new heights in the years after the two ecclesiastical consistories of 1147 and 1148, when Gilbert impressed his contemporaries with his successful defense against the charges of heresy. Abbot Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who taught at Vienna and was one of the monastic critics of Gilbert's theology, had a copy of Gilbert's commentary by 1141,¹⁶ and the Zwettl copy may have been produced some thirty years later during the early flourishing of the scriptorium. Ziegler dates it to the last third of the 12th century.

The manuscript is in its original binding and contains 200 folios altogether, of which

¹⁴ Joachim Rössl, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Zwettler Skriptoriums im 12. Jahrhundert," in: *Handschriftenbeschreibung in Österreich: Referate, Beratungen und Ergebnisse der Arbeitstagungen in Kremsmünster (1973) und Zwettl (1974)*, ed. by Otto Mazal, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975, pp. 91-103 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters. Reihe 2, Verzeichnisse der Handschriften österreichischer Bibliotheken, Bd. 1).

¹⁵ Charlotte Ziegler, *Zisterzienserstift Zwettl. Katalog der Handschriften des Mittelalters*, Teil I: Codex 1-100, Wien-München: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1992, pp. XVI, XX-XXII, 114-115 (Scriptorium ordinis Cisterciensium).

¹⁶ See Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary*, p. 28.

Gilbert's commentary fills fol.1-198. It shows the uniquely "Gilbertine" layout for the Pauline and the Psalms commentaries which Theresa Gross-Diaz calls "*cum textu*,"¹⁷ with an additional column presenting the Vulgate text alongside the commentary itself. Probably for pedagogical reasons, this format replaced the two-column continuous commentary text alone found in earlier copies written before 1160. Recent inventories list four manuscripts of Gilbert's Pauline commentary "*sine textu*," i.e. without the added Vulgate column, including MS Troyes 2266 discussed above.

In Zwettl 58, the pages are ruled in ink for the commentary, which was written as a first step in a wide outer column, while the corresponding Vulgate text was added as a second step in much larger letters in a narrow inner column. Each page counts 39-40 lines of commentary, and the scribe has attempted to fit the matching biblical text into the available space with great care. During a *quaestio* or longer excursus, the commentary occasionally occupies the entire page or most of it, so that the Vulgate text requires only a small corner. This Vulgate text in the inner column does not always exactly correspond to the lemmata that form part of the commentary itself—perhaps suggesting that it was copied from a different manuscript source. The reader should be aware that the text presented here is a complete transcription of only Gilbert's commentary in the outer column, which seamlessly incorporates the Vulgate lemmata under discussion as Gilbert cites them. It does not include the inner column containing the additional Vulgate text.

The commentary text is heavily abbreviated and continues without break and without *custos* from folio to folio except at the end of an Epistle and the beginning of the next, which is always marked by large initials with elaborate ornamentation in pen and brush work (see Plate I below). Several initials are historiated. The "P" at the beginning of Philemon on Fol. 174v is in the form of an upright lion biting the neck of a bird whose long tail winds around the lion's body (see Plate II below). The "I" at the beginning of Hebrews on Fol. 176r is displayed as a delicately drawn standing figure of Paul, haloed, and holding a book in his left hand (see Plate III below).

Characteristic of Gilbert manuscripts are a number of reading aids which Gilbert himself devised in order to make his books more user-friendly. In the margins, sources are often indicated by abbreviated references to patristic and a few Carolingian authors which are preceded by a paragraph sign: ¶. As in other copies, the scribe also added in the margin various messages to the reader: "*Nota*," "*Nota bene*," "*Cave*," "*Intellige*."¹⁸ Of particular interest are chapter numbers in the margin similar to the divisions devised by Stephen Langton, though not everywhere. They are written in tiny Roman numerals, perhaps by a somewhat later hand, and are roughly aligned not with the commentary itself, but with the beginning of each new chapter of the Vulgate text in the inner column. As Ziegler points out, the scribe closely follows certain conventions developed in the scriptoria of the major Cistercian abbeys in Burgundy. The word "*Nota*" in the margin is written playfully in letters arranged vertically,¹⁹ the paragraph signs in

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 38-51.

¹⁸ I do not know how the marginal abbreviation "*r*." is to be expanded. Perhaps it stands for "*ruber*" (= red).

¹⁹ In the transcription, a number after *Nota* indicates the number of lines over which the vertical marking extends.

the text and in the margins are comparable, and special Cistercian punctuation marks such as the *punctus elevatus* and the *punctus circumflexus* are routinely used. Ziegler mentions that biblical citations are highlighted by transparent overpainting. This must be very thin brushwork and may have faded significantly. It was not visible in the black and white microfilm with which I was working.

In my transcription I have tried to follow as closely as possible the visual appearance of the commentary on the manuscript pages. The transcription proceeds folio by folio, the end of each folio being marked by a double forward slash: // In order to facilitate searching for Gilbert's comments on a specific passage or verse, I have added the customary Latin headings to the individual Epistles (*Ad Romanos*, *Ad Corinthios Prima* etc.) as well as the modern chapter divisions, even though this latter practice violates the visual integrity of the manuscript text, where these breaks are not indicated. I think the practical need will excuse this decision. I did not change the scribe's orthography and kept even unusual spellings. All abbreviations are expanded, and I followed the scribe's interchangeable use of "u" and "v". I have also attempted to reproduce the scribe's e-caudata for the vowel usually transcribed as "ae" or "æ" by substituting an e-ogonek (ę = Unicode 281) which resembles it visually. The decorated initials at the beginning of each Epistle (see above) are indicated by a larger and bolded typeface.

Punctuation is a constant challenge for the transcriber of medieval texts. The scribe of Zwettl 58 uses punctuation marks profusely but without a clear system, so I did not attempt to reproduce them exactly. While I did follow the practice of closing each sentence with a period and starting a new one with a capital letter, I drastically reduced the scribe's suggestions for weaker or medium breaks (the Cistercian *punctus elevatus* and *punctus circumflexus*), supplying commas and the em-dash only where they seemed necessary to clarify the flow of the Latin sentence structure for the modern reader.

My own redactional remarks are in English, although I keep them close to the customary Latin abbreviations in the apparatus of critical editions. They are always enclosed in square brackets [...] and are italicized. Here are some examples:

<i>marg</i>	in the margin
<i>del</i>	deleted
<i>add</i>	added
<i>corr</i>	corrected

One major problem for users of this text is locating Gilbert's comments on specific passages and verses in the canonical text of the Epistles. Our scribe uses a fairly standard Vulgate text for the 12th century, but it is frequently at variance with our modern version. Within a chapter, no verse numbers are indicated, and I have not added any. My own solution to the finding problem is to take the following two steps:

1. Using the "find" function of my word processing software, I first locate the chapter by typing the Latin chapter template as the subject of my search, e.g.,

"EPHESIOS, CAP. 4", which would look like this: e-p-h-e-s-i-o-s-*comma-space*-c-a-p-*period-space*-4. This search will take me to the beginning of Ephesians 4 in Gilbert's commentary.

2. Then I search for one Latin word from the text I am looking for. It should be a fairly common word such as a simple noun, verb, or adjective with no spelling variant. By repeatedly clicking "Find Next," I will jump to the next instance(s) of this word in my selected chapter, quickly reaching the verse I am looking for.

When citing any verse or passage from this transcription, I suggest citing it by page number (not folio number) and line.

I am aware that sizeable excerpts of Gilbert's commentary have already been transcribed and published by others at various times. I mention a few notable examples.

In 1905 Heinrich Denifle SJ printed excerpts from Gilbert's commentary on Rom. 1:17, 3:21-22, and 10:3 on the basis of MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale 14441 (Häring 120).²⁰

In 1929 Arthur Maria Landgraf presented 22 excerpts from MS Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, lat. 427 (Häring 56).²¹

In an article of 1951, Vincent Miana included a large number of topical excerpts from MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale 2581 (Häring 117) touching on biblical hermeneutics, the Trinity, and Christology in his discussion of Gilbert's Pauline commentary.²²

A wealth of excerpts from MS London, British Museum, MS Add. 11853 (Häring 65) was transcribed by Maurice Simon in 1957 in his article on Gilbert's Romans commentary.²³

In his book on Romans 13:1-7, published in 1969, Werner Affeldt included primary texts from the Middle Ages. He excerpted the pertinent section of Gilbert from MS Paris, BN 2580 (Häring 116).²⁴

Mark Zier printed the first two folios from MS Troyes 2266 in his contribution to the Transactions of the Peter Lombard Conference in Todi, Italy, in 2006.²⁵

²⁰ Heinrich Denifle, *Quellenbelege: Die abendländischen Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei (Rom. 1, 17) und Justificatio. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese, der Literatur und des Dogmas im Mittelalter* (Ergänzungen zu Denifle's Luther und Luthertum, 1. Band), Mainz: Kirchheim, 1905, pp. 30-34.

²¹ Arthur M. Landgraf, "Zur Methode der biblischen Textkritik im 12. Jahrhundert. 2. Textkritische Bemerkungen im Paulinenkommentar des Gilbert de la Porrée," *Biblica* 10, 1929, pp. 456-469.

²² Vincentius Miana, "Il commento alle lettere di S. Paolo di Gilberto Porretano," in: *Scholastica ratione historico-critica instauranda: Acta Congressus scholastici internationalis, Romae anno sancto MCML celebrati*, Romae: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1951 (Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani, 7), pp. 171-199.

²³ Maurice Simon, "La glose de l'Épître aux Romains de Gilbert de la Porrée," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 52 (1957), pp. 51-80.

²⁴ *Die weltliche Gewalt in der Paulus-Exegese: Röm. 13, 1-7 in den Römerbriefkommentaren der lateinischen Kirche bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969 (*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte*, 22), pp. 292-293.

²⁵ Mark Zier, "Peter Lombard and the Glossa Ordinaria: A Missing Link?" in: *Pietro Lombardo: Atti del XLIII Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 8-10 ottobre 2006*, Centro italiano di studi sul basso Medioevo - Accademia tudertina and Università di Perugia. Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2007 (*Atti dei convegni del Centro italiano di studi sul basso Medioevo-- Accademia tudertina e del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, nuova ser.*, 20), pp. 368-409; here: "Appendix C: Gilbert

And even more recently, when she had defended her doctoral thesis on the twelfth-century interpretation of 1 Cor. 7 in 2009 under Gilbert Dahan in Paris, Maria Valeria Ingegno included her transcription of Gilbert's commentary from MS Paris, BN 14441 in the published volume of supporting texts.²⁶ She also used excerpts from this transcription in her article "Matrimonio e divorzio in Gilberto Porretano (I Cor VII, 1-16)," *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 56 (2010), pp. 275-290, and similar transcriptions from Gilbert's commentary on 1 Cor.1:17- 2:8 in the same manuscript in an article on the subject of Wisdom, published in the *Festschrift* for Gilbert Dahan in 2012.²⁷

All these preliminary efforts are laudable individual achievements and have contributed significantly to the extensive body of scholarship published on the subject of Gilbert of Poitiers' Pauline Commentary in the last one hundred years. When I compared the published excerpts with the text of MS Zwettl 58, I found that there are but few variations. There are minor differences between the texts from different manuscripts but certainly no significant conflicts. The manuscript transmission of this work seems to have been remarkably stable. Much of this is probably due to Gilbert himself, who apparently took a personal interest in the production and distribution of his works.

Through this online publication, scholars will have the complete text of Gilbert's Commentary on the Pauline Epistles at their disposal, and with it a new incentive to explore more deeply the fascinating world of medieval biblical interpretation during its great formative period in the twelfth century. While a critical edition is still awaiting its own time, I am confident that this file will be a useful text that fills a real lacuna in the field of medieval scholarship.

of Poitiers, Media Glossatura in Epistola[m] ad Romanos, Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2266, fol. 1va – 2ra," pp.402-405.

²⁶ Maria Valeria Ingegno, *Quelques commentaires inédits des Epîtres pauliniennes au XIIIe siècle*. Thèse de doctorat, sous la direction de Gilbert Dahan, Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses, Paris, 2009. 2 vols. (237 f., 143 f.), Vol. 1 Commentaire, vol. 2 Textes: Edition critique en latin d'extraits de textes: "Prima ad Corinthios. Glosulae epistolarum Pauli" / Iohannes Pictaiensis; "Epistula prima ad Corinthios" / Gilbertus Pictaiensis; "Prima ad Corinthios. Glosulae glosularum" / Anonymus Pictaiensis.

²⁷ Maria Valeria Ingegno, "La sagesse chez Gilbert de Poitiers (1 Corinthiens 1,17- 2, 8)," in: *Études d'exégèse médiévale offertes à Gilbert Dahan par ses élèves*, ed. by Annie Noblesse-Rocher, Turnhout: Brepols, 2012, pp. 97-107 (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes. Section des Sciences Religieuses / 159).



PLATE I: MS Zwettl 58, Folio 2r
(by kind permission of Dr. Andreas Gamerith, Zisterzienserstift Zwettl)

parat uerboꝝ & iurgia. & lege lege impugnas eū uult lu
 erifacē aq̄ docet & delinqt supbia quia se aliqd̄ putat eē cū
 nich sit p̄o iudicio l̄ asem̄ ipso dāpnat. Na fornicatores
 aduti. ⁊ huim̄. p̄sac̄dotes de ecclā p̄pellunt̄ heretici ū i se ip
 sos sententiā ferūt suo arbitrio de ecclā recedentes. q̄ recessio
 p̄p̄e conscientie uidet̄ eē dāpnatio. Cū adte miseru arthemā
 aut tucū. q̄si. qui tuus ap̄ cretenses successor. locū tuū
 impleat festina. ⁊ c. Zenā legus peritū. ⁊ apollo. q̄s t̄ apud
 cretenses inuenerā. ut ecclās ibi tecū exstruerent sollici
 te p̄mitte. ita ut eis nichil desit. i. usq; ad uaticū s̄ eis neces
 saria. i. suis sistarens hānt. Quasi ū aliq̄s querat un̄ t̄os
 habeat qd̄ eis ad uaticū largiat̄. respondet. Hri. i. edim̄
 ⁊ in q̄s potestate habem̄. te docente discat̄ bonis opib̄ p̄
 eē. i. euāgēlis ⁊ aplicis iuris ministrare n̄ dico ad quaslibz
 causas. s; adusus necessarios. ⁊ h̄ ut n̄ sint i fructuosi. ⁊
 iuxta parabolā arboris q̄ n̄ fac̄ fructū bonū erodant̄ ⁊ i
 ignē mittant̄. Saluat̄ te. ⁊ c. Qui nos amat̄ infide. i. qui
 credit̄ diligentib̄ mercede eē reposnā. brā. ⁊ c. d. o. ⁊ c.

7. 2. m.



Explicit epla ad Titum
RO COLOSENSI ONESIMO FAMI
 liares litras n̄ docendi s; ḡndandi of
 ficio. filemoni ei dno s̄bit apls. q̄s
 eū ḡmuni ad colosenses epla tulisse
 idē onesim̄ credit̄. lūū ḡmndaturus.
 ⁊ filemonē p̄o rogaturus. p̄mittit salu
 tationē. ⁊ ait. Paulus. q̄ noie uocat̄ ap̄esu
 le Sergio paulo. quē ap̄ cyprū ad fidē uic̄it̄ addit̄
 ynet̄. ⁊ ihu. ut h̄ noie ad pietatē moueat. ⁊ ph̄ maḡ
 unpet̄e possit qd̄ pos̄it. Et t̄ymotheus fr̄. filemoni
 dilecto. p̄quo in ḡco melī habet̄ diligibili. q̄ seil̄ me
 lī diligi meret̄. ⁊ adutori n̄ro. i. p̄dicatiois minist̄io.
 ⁊ appie sorori km̄e. nich̄ in se si eē germanit̄ati
 habenti. ⁊ archippo cōmiltioni n̄ro colosensiū minist̄o. q̄
 nobiscū ⁊ adusarios p̄x̄ noie dimicans. sepe uictor̄ exiit̄
 ⁊ ecclē que in domo ei filemonis. mandat̄ brā uob̄ ⁊ c.
 appiā q̄ ei sorore uocat̄ siue q̄ uē soror. siue q̄ uxor ei
 erat. ⁊ archippū qui eadē filī fuisse d̄r. ⁊ ecclām dom̄
 illi idō eū ip̄o saluat̄. ut eos in hac onesimi cōm̄datione.
 ⁊ p̄o n̄. facta un̄cessionē socios habeat̄. Grās ago ⁊ c.
 Pri mo ⁊ i karitatē ei ⁊ fidē laudat̄ ut ph̄ eū ad miam

& delinqt cū sit p̄o iu
 dicio. condēpnat. Cū mi
 sero adte arthemā. aut
 tucū. festina ad me ue
 nire nicopolim. Ibi enī
 stauu hiemare. Zenā le
 gus peritū ⁊ apollo solli
 cite p̄mitte. ut nichil
 illis desit. Discat̄ aut̄ ex
 nr̄is bonus opib̄ p̄esse.
 adusus necessarios. ut
 n̄ sint in fructuosi. Sa
 lutant̄ te qui mecum s̄t
 om̄s. Saluta eos q̄ nos
 amat̄ i fide. Grā d̄i cum
 omnib̄ uobis d. o. ⁊ c.

Explicit epla ad Titum
In eipr̄ ad phyle
MONI
AVVS
 vinctus ihu
 ⁊ t̄ymothes̄
 frat̄. filemoni d̄
 lecto adutori
 n̄ro. ⁊ appie sorori
 karissime. ⁊ archip
 po cōmiltioni n̄ro.
 ⁊ ecclē que in do
 mo tua est. Gracia
 uobis ⁊ par adō pa
 tre n̄ro. ⁊ dno ihu
 xpo. Grac̄ias ago

PLATE II: MS Zwettl 58, Folio 174v (by kind permission of Dr. Andreas Gamerith, Zisterzienserstift Zwettl)

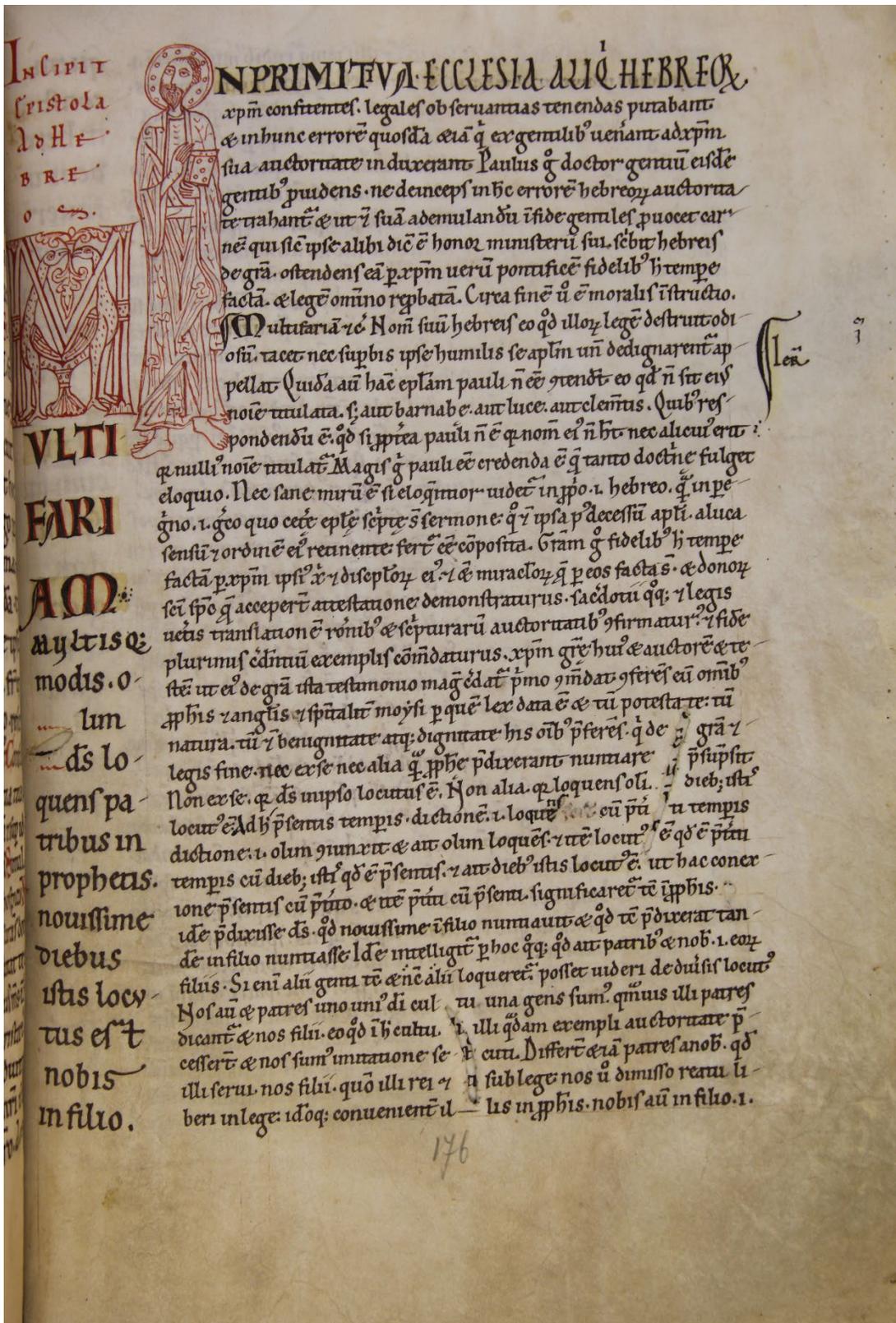


PLATE III: MS Zwettl 58, Folio 176r (by kind permission of Dr. Andreas Gamerith, Zisterzienserstift Zwettl)