

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL OF THE CONVENT OF SAN DOMENICO  
(BOLOGNA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, MS 1545)

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Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545 is a modest, glossed manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, which has been completely unknown to the scholarly world;<sup>1</sup> it was probably written in Italy in the early thirteenth century and belonged to the convent of San Domenico in Bologna.<sup>2</sup> The layout consists of a central text column with two lateral columns intended to receive the Gloss.<sup>3</sup> The interlinear spaces of the central text column are

<sup>1</sup> The Psalms and the Pauline Epistles were the most popular texts among medieval biblical commentators; the reasons for this, at least until the first half of the twelfth century, are discussed by Beryl Smalley, *The Gospel in the Schools, c. 1100-c.1280* (London-Ronceverte, 1985), pp. 1–35 (especially pp. 1–2). Perhaps because of the abundance of material (some of which is still unpublished), we do not yet have a history of exegesis of the Pauline Epistles. Nonetheless, studies published in the first half of the last century allow us, in part, to reconstruct this history. Heinrich Denifle, in his *Luther und Luthertum. Ergänzungsband I: Quellenbelege: Die abendländischen Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei (Röm. 1,17) und Iustificatio, Quellenbelege zu Denifle's Luther und Luthertum, 2 Aufl. Bd. 1, 2. Abteilung*, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese, der Literatur und des Dogmas im Mittelalter (Mainz, 1905) collected a long series of commentaries on Rom. 1.17 (*Iustitia Dei*) and reported, in addition to published works, unpublished works with lists of manuscripts and in many cases an indication of the date of composition and sometimes the author. Werner Affeldt, in “Verzeichnis der Römerbrief-kommentare der lateinischen Kirche bis zu Nikolaus von Lyra”, *Traditio*, 13 (1957), 369–406, described around fifty commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, listing many manuscripts and editions; this study did not list works by their incipit and explicit (the essential tools that make an identification of a medieval scholastic text possible), however, they can be deduced from the descriptions in Stegmüller (at <http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebiIndex.tcl>, consulted 06 July 2012). A list of commentaries on the Pauline Epistles is also available at <http://www.appstate.edu/~bondhl/romans.htm> (consulted 06 July 2012). The texts in the Bologna manuscript are not related to any of the texts described in these previous studies.

<sup>2</sup> I found this manuscript during my research on the ancient and still unexplored collection of books of the Dominican convent of Bologna; I presented the first results of this research in: “I libri di uno *Studium generale*: l'antica *libreria* del convento di San Domenico di Bologna”, *Annali di storia delle università italiane* 13 (2009), 287–304; “Frammenti nonantolani delle *Enarrationes in Psalmos* nel ms Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1734”, *La Bibliofilia* 111 (2009), 221–250; “Le const. *Imperialem decet sollertiam e Pacis* di Federico Barbarossa in una miscellanea bolognese”, *Archivio Storico Italiano* 168 (2010), 761–772; “Una collezione di canoni, *regulae* e costituzioni in una miscellanea bolognese”, *Aevum* (2011), 389–416.

<sup>3</sup> This is the “simple” model presumably based on the Carolingian glossed books, see Lesley Smith, *The ‘Glossa Ordinaria’. The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*, *Commentaria* 3 (Leiden and Boston, 2009), pp. 94–95.

further subdivided, although not on all pages, into four smaller spaces, three of which were intended for interlinear glosses (fig. 5.2). These extra lines were added regardless of the presence of glosses. The two columns intended to receive the Gloss are ample,<sup>4</sup> but although the manuscript has been carefully prepared with additional vertical lines between the text and the Gloss in the margins and in the interlinear spaces, it was not a commentary by a single author, such as a *postilla*, an *expositio* or a *reportatio*; the Gloss on the Pauline Epistles of the Bologna manuscript is instead made up of different exegetical microstructures<sup>5</sup> including in addition to scholastic prologues<sup>6</sup> and *glossae*, *distinctiones*, *schemas* of *quaestiones*, annotations and excerpts from other works (fig. 5.1 and plate IX). In short, as will be demonstrated in the following pages, the *marginalia* proves that this manuscript was heavily annotated by a number of masters (not students), who were members of a religious order, most likely the Dominicans. Moreover, a careful analysis of the sources of selected texts included in this manuscript suggests that the identity of these masters should probably be sought among the earliest masters of the Dominican Order.

The Bologna manuscript begins with the Epistle to the Romans, introduced by the initial P (38 × 20 mm), enclosing a bust-length portrait of St. Paul with a sword; the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (fol. 64v) is also introduced by a depiction of St. Paul, but without sword, book, or any other symbol. The remaining Epistles have only foliate initials, and even without a detailed art-historical analysis, the initials were evidently by different hands, and probably date from different periods. Biblical chapters are marked twice, both in the outer margin, the first one in brown ink, the second in red.

The Epistles of St. Paul also include the pseudepigraphal Epistle to the Laodiceans. All the Epistles, apart from the Epistles to the Hebrews and to the Laodiceans, are introduced by prologues. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians has two different prologues. The Pauline Epistles and the

<sup>4</sup> More information is found in the Appendix.

<sup>5</sup> See Gilbert Dahan, *Lexégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval: XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1999); Giovanna Murano, "Metodo scolastico e manoscritti. Qualche riflessione sulla terminologia delle opere", in *La produzione scritta tecnica e scientifica nel medioevo: libro e documento tra scuole e professioni*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Fisciano - Salerno (28-30 settembre 2009), a cura di Giuseppe De Gregorio-Maria Galante, (Spoleto 2012), pp. 179-207.

<sup>6</sup> The first begins: "§ Hec epistula dividitur in .iii. partes. In prima ponit salutatio, in secunda benivolencie ceptatio..."



Figure 5.1. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545, fol. 1r.

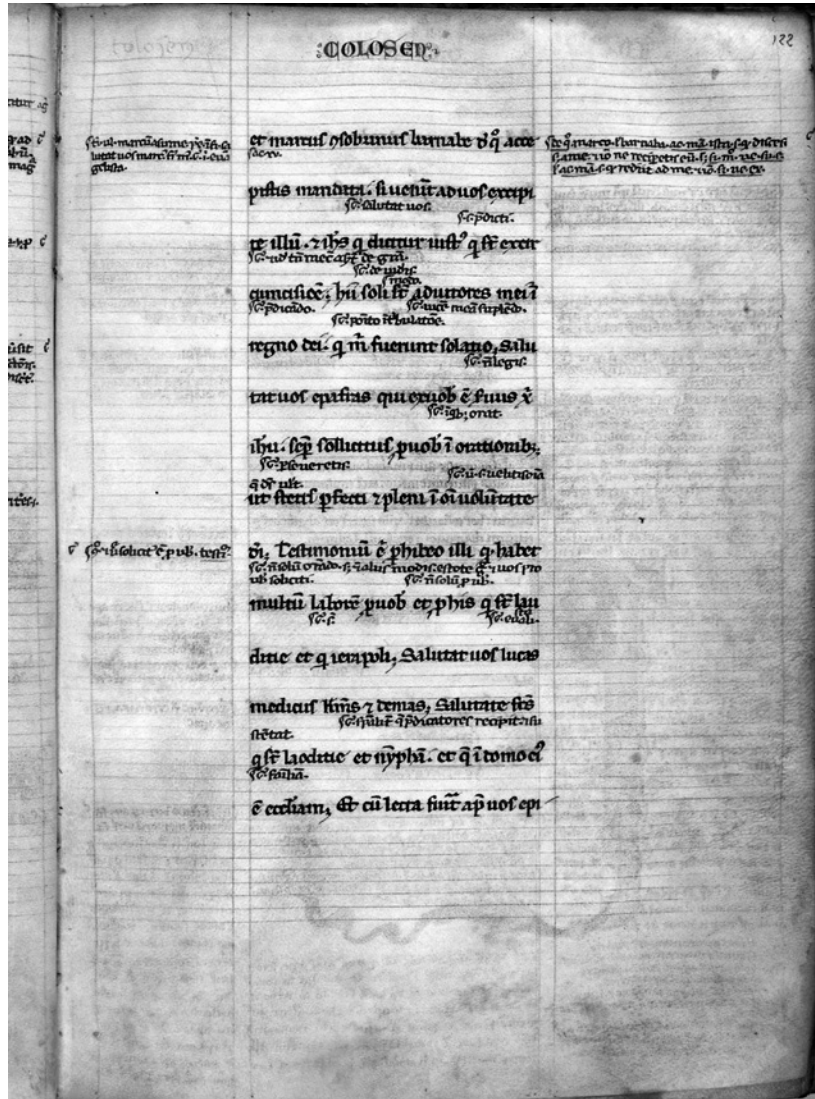


Figure 5.2. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545, fol. 122r.

prologues were written by a single copyist in *littera textualis*; the *marginalia* were copied in *notularis* and in simplified *littera textualis*, probably by two hands, both fairly regular and most likely Italian. The story of the composition, transcription and use which furnishes the background for the Bologna manuscript is a complicated one. It therefore seems desirable

to begin by presenting a few select examples of each genre of exegetical microstructure copied in the margins, most of which are on its opening page.

## I

A gloss is a brief explanation or interpretation that is not completely understandable if it is not related to the text. The relationship between the text and the gloss was usually created either by repeating the biblical word (such as “Romani”, or “Paulus”) or by putting the same sign or letter alongside both text and corresponding gloss. Most glosses in the Bologna manuscript are introduced by a paragraph mark, but in some cases the biblical words are not repeated, and when they are, they are not underlined, thus making it difficult to distinguish between a gloss and other types of texts.

“§ Ihesus ebraice, sother grece, salvator latine” and “§ Christus grece, mesias ebraice, unctus latine”, on fol. 1r in the top-left margin, are certainly two glosses, both introduced by a paragraph mark. In other cases, however, the paragraph mark is followed by a different type of text. In the same margin, after the two glosses we read:

§ Ex humili factus est altus, ergo non rem(anet) quod sit humilis.  
R(esponde)o: factus non dicit mutationem de quali in quale contrarium, set in tale de non tali, vel de statu in statum.

In this case the paragraph mark introduces not a gloss but a schema of a *questio* as revealed by the presence of the abbreviation of *respondeo*.

In the same margin, over a partial erasure, we read (fig. 5.3):

§ C. Totius orbis predicator. Contra: tantum in gentibus ministerium.  
R(esponde)o: hoc dicitur quia predicatio sua per totum orbem delata est.

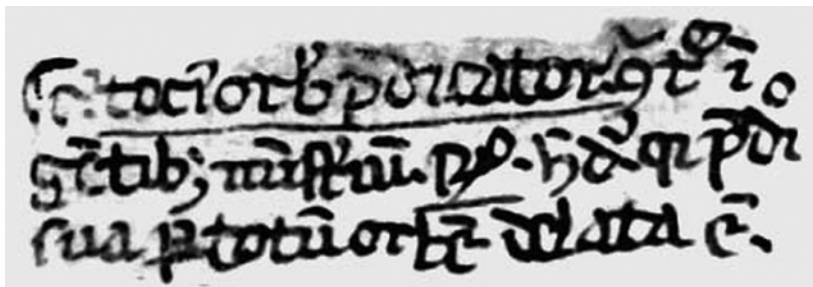


Figure 5.3. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545, fol. 1r (detail).

The entire annotation, which includes numerous abbreviations, is introduced by a paragraph mark and by an abbreviation that look likes *c'*. The first section “Totius orbis predicator” and the abbreviation for *Respondeo* (*ṛ*) are both underlined. The first is a quotation that is not from the Pauline Epistles, but from the *Collectanea* (or *Glossa*) in *epistulas Pauli* of Peter Lombard.<sup>7</sup> The *contra* (*ḡ*) that follows the quotation argues against the opinion, expressed by the Lombard and other masters, that St. Paul preached only among Gentiles. The *solutio* (solution) is introduced by *Respondeo* (*ṛ*), and it is precise and authoritative: St. Paul is “totius orbis predicator” (a preacher for the whole world) because his preaching “per totum orbem delata est” (spread throughout the whole world). This *schema* does not include the complete *quaestio*, but instead is a kind of mnemonic annotation for later disputations; note that the subject which interests the teacher in the lecture reflected here springs not from the reading of the biblical passage but from the Lombard’s commentary on the biblical passage, a commentary that is not copied in this manuscript.<sup>8</sup>

The source of the quotation clarifies the meaning of the first abbreviation – that it is not in fact *c'* but *g'* for *glossa* –, and in the remainder of the Bologna manuscript there are many texts introduced or marked by the same letter. In other words, marginal annotations introduced or marked by *g'* are comments on, or excerpts from, Peter Lombard’s *Glossa in epistulas Pauli*.

In addition to the *g'*, that appears to be the most frequent, there are other abbreviations found inside or near the glosses. After the first glosses, the copyist, wishing to avoid misunderstanding, did not write the abbreviations inside the gloss (after the paragraph mark) but rather outside, and to emphasise his exegesis he wrote marginal sigla for identifying sources.

<sup>7</sup> “Destinatus est Apostolus gentibus totius orbis predicator, at reliqui, singulis provinciis facti sunt legati ac predicatorum” (PL 191:1305). Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio, MS A 935 with the *Glosa magna in epistulas Pauli* of Peter Lombard formerly belonged to the Dominican convent of Bologna. The manuscript, originally extensively glossed, has suffered many erasures in the margins.

<sup>8</sup> The textbooks of theology were the Bible and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard; at an earlier time the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor was a third textbook. In the constitutions of the Dominican Order of 1288 there is the following provision: “Statuimus autem ut quelibet provincia fratribus suis missis ad studium ad minus in tribus libris theologie, videlicet biblia, sentiis et historiis, providere teneatur. Et fratres missis ad studium in historiis et sentiis et textu et glosis precipue studeant et intendant”; *Constitutiones antiquae ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum*, ed. A. H. Thomas, in *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen: Voorgeschiedenis, Tekst, Bronnen, Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling (1215–1237)*, Bibliothéque de la Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique 42 (Leuven, 1965), p. 360.

References of this sort were not a new form of biblical exegesis. In the Bologna manuscript they have been inserted on the left (in the left-hand column), and on the right (in the right-hand column); in the case of the interlinear glosses, in contrast, the abbreviations remain inside the space of the gloss. This modification suggests that the layout of the Gloss was not copied from another model, but was instead elaborated for this manuscript and developed in the course of copying. Among the authorities found in the MS are *ab'* or *Amb* for *Ambrosius*, *ag'* for *Augustinus* (in some cases followed by the title of the work, e.g. *De civitate Dei*), *Io* for *Hieronymus*, *pe. ra.* for *Petrus Ravennas* and *ysi'* for *Isidorus*.

## II

At least two different teachers, at different times, used the manuscript and added their commentaries; in some cases we find different texts on the same subject, for example, on the first folio on the biblical lemma "Paulus". The first text we shall examine is an interlinear *glossa* written in *notularis* in brown ink. It is preceded by the abbreviation 'A' for *Augustinus*. This *glossa* is also found in the *Glossa ordinaria* and in the *Glossa magna* of Peter Lombard, but with some differences:<sup>9</sup>

Bologna	<i>Glossa ordinaria</i>	Petrus Lombardus	Augustinus
A(ugustinus). Paulus: non ob aliud hoc nomen, quantum mihi videtur, Paulus sibi elegit, nisi ut ostendetur se parvum, tamquam	Aug. Non ob aliud hoc sibi nomen elegit; nisi ut per paruum ostenderet tamquam minimum apostolorum.	Huic autem sententia de nomine Pauli, consensit Augustinus sic dicens: Non ob aliud hoc nomen, quantum mihi videtur, Paulus	[Ideo Paulus apostolus - qui cum Saulus prius vocaretur] non ob aliud, quantum mihi videtur, hoc nomen elegit, nisi ut se

<sup>9</sup> I consulted the *Glossa ordinaria* (*Biblia cum glossa ordinaria*, ed. Adolph Rusch [Strasbourg, 1480/1481]), the *Glossa magna in epistulas Pauli* of Peter Lombard (Paris, 1541) and the *Postills* of Hugh of St. Cher (Venice, 1703) at Glossae.net: gloses et commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge: <http://glossae.net/> (consulted 2 October 2011). In many cases, however, I have examined *Postills* of Hugh of St. Cher and the *Glossa magna* of Peter Lombard directly from manuscripts that can provide more information than the printed editions.

Bologna	<i>Glossa ordinaria</i>	Petrus Lombardus	Augustinus
minimum apostolorum. Vel forte binomius fuit.	Non iactantia aliqua sed ex saulo factus est paulus .i. ex superbo modicus, paulus enim modicus et quietus. Saulus inquietudo et temptatio interpretatur.	sibi elegit, nisi ut ostenderet se parvum tamquam minimum Apostolorum: ipse primo Saulus, postea Paulus dictus est: nec quasi iactantia aliqua nomen sibi mutavit Apostolus; sed ex Saulo factus est Paulus, id est ex superbo modicus, id est humilis, paulum enim modicum est (PL 191: 1303).	ostenderet parvum tamquam minimum Apostolorum ( <i>spir. et litt.</i> 7, 12). Non quasi iactantia aliqua nomen sibi mutavit apostolus; sed ex Saulo factus est Paulus, ex superbo modicus. Paulum enim modicum est ( <i>En. ps</i> 72, 4).

The first part of the gloss “Non ob aliud ... Apostolorum” comes from Augustine’s *De spiritu et littera* (7, 12), as indicated by the presence of the abbreviation *Aug.* In the *Glossa ordinaria* and in Peter Lombard’s commentary, the same text is followed by another passage, which is also taken from Augustine, but from his *Enarratio in psalmum* 72,4: “Non quasi iactantia ... modicum est”. This second quotation is omitted in the Bologna manuscript. It is possible, of course, that the omission is accidental, but the fact that the gloss closes with the sentence “vel forte binomius fuit”, suggests that our master used his sources (the *Glossa ordinaria*, Peter Lombard, Augustine and so forth) but did not copy them exactly. In this case, it seems likely that he deliberately omitted the second passage from Augustine.



The second *glossa* on “Paulus” is copied near the initial P by in a very simplified *textualis*:

§ Paulus: hebraice quietus, grece modicus: I(er)o(nimus) in libro ebraicorum nominum dicit quod inter(pretatur) electus vel mirabilis, quasi *vas electionis*, quasi Deus eius vitam et doctrinam fecit mirabilem.

In the *Glossa ordinaria* the text is divided in two different glosses, the first is interlinear:

§ Hebraice quietus, grece modicus, latine nomen humilitatis ut in eam provocet.

The second is a marginal gloss:

Hiero(nymus). Paulus mirabilis siue electus. Quem et dominus ipse vas electionis vocavit et tam vita quasi doctrina mirabilem fecit.

There is a certain similarity, but the texts are not identical. The *Glossa ordinaria* cited Jerome only by name, and did not include the title of his work. Overall, we can conclude that the gloss in the Bologna manuscript is not a verbatim quotation from the *Glossa ordinaria*.

The third text devoted to Paulus is a *distinctio*. The term *distinctio* derives from the exegetical technique employed in the *dialectica*: the *divisio*. In a *distinctio* a word or a sentence is distinguished on the basis of its different meanings that can be drawn from the Scriptures or, less commonly, from other sources.<sup>10</sup> As Nicole Bériou has shown,<sup>11</sup> even before its content is examined, a *distinctio* is immediately recognizable in a manuscript by its graphical presentation: the word or the sentence is linked to different quotations, explanations and *auctoritates* by straight or wavy lines, thus creating a diagram.

In the first page of the Bologna manuscript there are four different *distinctiones*: “Predestinatus”, “Nomen eius commutatum est”, “Promisit

<sup>10</sup> Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, “Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century”, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen âge* 41 (1974), 27–37 at 28: “First, a *distinctio* does not necessarily distinguish the traditional four senses, but rather many (even ten or fifteen) or as few as its author pleased, some of the senses having much more to do with metaphor and rhetoric than with scriptural exegesis; and secondly, the illustrations of the senses need not be drawn from scriptures but may instead derive from other sources (...) or may represent the author’s personal statement.” For an overview of the genre: Louis J. Bataillon, “Les instruments de travail des prédicateurs au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l’Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1981), pp. 197–209, repr. in Idem, *La prédication au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France et Italie. Etudes et documents* (Ashgate, 1993), §IV.

<sup>11</sup> Nicole Bériou, “Les sermons latins après 1200” in *The sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 81–83 (Turnhout, 2000), p. 382.

Deus filium suum venturum” and “Paulus”. There is no direct verbal connection between the *distinctiones* “Nomen eius commutatum est” and “Promisit deus filium suum venturum”, and the Pauline Epistles. The *distinctio* “Nomen eius commutatum est” consists of five sections:

- Nomen eius commutatum est*
- [I] In signum mutatae mentis.
  - [II] In signum humilitatis, ut ostendat se *minimum omnium apostolorum*: Cor. xv<sup>a</sup>; A(u)g(ustinus).
  - [III] More sanctorum proficientium in virtutibus ut essent etiam nomine novi. Ys<sup>b</sup>: *vocabit servos suos nomine a(l)io*, unde ecclesia mutat nomen p(a)p(e) in cathedra sublimato. Victor episcopus.
  - [IV] A Paulo proconsule quem convertit etc. Aimo<sup>c</sup>; I(er)on(imus).
  - [V] Quia binomius fuit, Ac. IX<sup>d</sup>: *Saulus qui et Paulus*. Orosius (*sic*).

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. 15. 9: “Ego enim sum minimus Apostolorum”. <sup>b</sup> Is 65.15. <sup>c</sup> Cf. PL 117: 363. <sup>d</sup> Acts 13. 9.

The first section is of special interest. Since no source is specified, this may be the original teaching by the master who is copying out this *distinctio*; the other *auctoritates* are from the Bible, Augustine, Jerome, and Haimo of Auxerre. The sentence in the third section ascribed to *Victor episcopus* is now attributed to Pelagius.<sup>12</sup>

“Paulus” is the first word of the Epistle to the Romans and we can assume that this *distinctio* was probably one of the first texts to be added in the margin, not only because it was copied in the bottom margin, where there was ample space, but also because the writing is large, visible and easily legible.

The *distinctio* describes the characteristics of St Paul: *modicus* (“moderate”), *quietus* (“quiet”), *electus* (“elect”) and *mirabilis* (“admirable”), characteristics already listed in the gloss on “Paulus”. Before their inclusion in a formal collection, *distinctiones* were tools used by masters to memorize the Bible or to prepare sermons. *Distinctiones* therefore can be hidden in different types of texts, including sermons, lectures, postills, and so on.

<sup>12</sup> *Pelagius Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, II, text by Alexander Souter, Texts and Studies Contributions to Biblical and Patristical literature 9, 2 (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 2–4, 8.

Paulus .i.	<p><u>Modicus</u> quantum ad humilitatem; Co. xv [1 Cor 15.9]: <i>ego sum minimus</i>. Bernardus: <i>in alto non alta sapere, sed humilibus consentire nil deo karius vel rarius apud homines</i>.<sup>a</sup></p>
	<p><u>Quietus</u> quantum ad pacem et mentis tranquillitatem, He. [Heb. 12. 14] vel <i>pacem sequimini et sanctimoniam</i>.</p>
	<p><u>Electus</u> quantum ad dignitatem, Ac. .ix [Acts 9.15]: <i>vas electionis</i>. Bernardus: <i>vas Paulus, vas dignum, et celestibus ferculis repletum, de quo et sanus escam, et infirmus accipiat medicinam</i>.<sup>b</sup></p>
	<p><u>Mirabilis</u> quantum ad sapientie profunditatem. Co. iii [1 Cor 2.6]: <i>sapientiam loquimur</i>. Bernardus: <i>medulam et scientiam divinatorum sensuum non a primo vel a secundo, sed a tertio coelo largiter asportavit</i>.<sup>c</sup> Ps [138.6]: <i>Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me</i>.</p>

<sup>a</sup>*Sancti Bernardi Opera*, VII, *Epistolae*. I. *Corpus epistolarum 1–180*, ed. Jean Leclercq-Henri Rochais, (Rome, 1974), p. 304. Compared with the edition, the *distinctio* has the following variants: *alta* ] *altum ed.*; *karius* ] *carius ed.*; *vel* ] *nil ed.* <sup>b</sup>*Sancti Bernardi Opera*, V, *Sermones* II, ed. Jean Leclercq-Henri Rochais (Rome, 1968), pp. 188–191, *Sermo I in festo SS. Petri et Pauli*, p. 189. <sup>c</sup>Bernardus Claraevallensis, *Sermo I In festo SS. Petri et Pauli*, p. 189.

In the commentary by Thomas Aquinas on the Pauline epistles,<sup>13</sup> there is a *distinctio* on the different characteristics of St. Paul, which can be compared with the *distinctio* in the Bologna manuscript:

<sup>13</sup> The commentary had a rather complicated genesis. According to P. Glorieux, “Essai sur les Commentaires scripturaires de saint Thomas et leur chronologie”, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 17 (1950), 237–266 at 254–258, Thomas Aquinas read the Epistles in the schools only once, in Italy between 1259 and 1265. The text of the lecture was reported (“collecta eo legente”) by Reginaldo of Piperno. Later, in Paris, around 1270–1274, Thomas reviewed the *reportatio* to prepare the text personally, but without being able to complete the review. The surviving manuscripts are witnesses to this long process that took place at different times. For the commentary on 1 Cor 7.10–10.33 – missing in the original text – that of Peter of Tarantaise was used, in the version revised by Nicolas of Gorran. Most probably the commentary as it appears in the manuscripts and editions (that is, Rom 1 - 1 Cor 7.10 = text reworked by Thomas around 1270–1272; 1 Cor 7.10–10.33 = commentary of Peter of Tarantaise revised by Nicolaus of Gorran; 1 Cor 2- Hebr = *reportatio* of Reginald of Piperno [1259–1265]), is the result of a revision done in the first half of the fifteenth century, as many manuscripts are late or revised, for example, Ferrara, Biblioteca Ariostea, MS II. 189<sup>6</sup> (ca 1456), at fol. 168rb: “Explicit sancti Thome de Aquino ordinis predicatorum expositio super epistolas sancti Pauli. Super illam enim que est ad Romanos dictavit ipse et super XI capit. prime ad Corinthios. Cetera sunt collecta eo legente etc”. In Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1655<sup>20</sup>, at fol. 81v (1 Cor 7) we read: “Nota quod hinc usque ad xi. ca<sup>m</sup>. exclusive non est expositum secundum beatum Thomam sed sumptum est de verbo ad verbum de expositione cuiusdam fratris Nicolai gallici ordinis predicatorum qui tamen satis docte et lucide omnes epistulas explanavit”. This Bologna manuscript, that comes from the Dominican convent, like most of the

Bologna	Thomas Aquinas
<p>§ <i>Paulus</i>: hebraice <b>quietus</b>, grece <b>modicus</b>: I(er)o(nimus) in libro ebraicorum nominum dicit quod inter(pretatur) <b>electus</b> vel <b>mirabilis</b>, quasi <i>vas electionis</i>, quia deus eius vitam et doctrinam fecit mirabilem.</p> <p><i>Modicus</i> quantum ad humilitatem, Co. xv: <i>ego sum minimus</i>. B&lt;ernardus&gt;: <i>in alto non alta sapere sed humilibus consentire nihil deo karius vel rarius apud homines</i>.</p> <p><i>Quietus</i> quantum ad pacem et mentis tranquillitatem He. vel <i>pacem sequimini et sanctioniam</i>.</p> <p><i>Electus</i> quantum ad dignitatem Ac. .ix.: <i>vas electionis</i>. B&lt;ernardus&gt; <i>vas Paulus, vas dignum, et celestibus ferculis repletum: de quo et sanus escam, et infirmus accipiat medicinam</i>.</p> <p><i>Mirabilis</i> quantum ad sapientie profunditatem. Co. iii: <i>sapientiam loquimur</i>. B&lt;ernardus&gt; <i>medulam et scientiam divinorum sensuum non a primo vel a secundo, sed a tertio coelo largiter asportavit</i> (2 Cor. 12.21). Ps. <i>Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me</i>.</p>	<p>Secundum enim quod potest Hebraeum esse idem est quod <b>mirabilis</b> vel <b>electus</b>; secundum autem quod est Graecum idem est quod <b>quietus</b>; secundum vero quod est Latinum idem est quod <b>modicus</b>. Et haec quidem ei conveniunt.</p> <p><i>Modicus</i> per humilitatem, I Cor. XV,9: <i>ego autem sum minimus apostolorum</i>.</p> <p><i>Quietus</i> in contemplatione, Sap. c. VIII,16: <i>intrans in domum meam conquiescam cum illa</i>.</p> <p><i>Electus</i> quidem fuit quantum ad gratiam, unde Act. IX, v. 15: <i>vas electionis est mihi iste</i>.</p> <p><i>Mirabilis</i> fuit in opere, Eccli. XLIII, 2: <i>vas admirabile opus excelsi</i>.</p>

witnesses of this commentary is late, see “Expliciunt expositiones... complete Bononie in abbacia sancti Felicis per me Iohannem Vries de Amsterdammis 2. die octobris anno domini M.cccc.lxi”. Quotations from the commentary reported here belong to the section revised by Thomas Aquinas.

Unlike Thomas, the master who wrote the *distinctio* “Paulus” selected quotations not only from the Bible but also from other sources to interpret the four attributes. The *figura* of the *medulla* (kernel), the more hidden part and at the same time the quintessence of a man, was taken from the *Sermo I in festo SS. Petri et Pauli* of Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>14</sup> For Thomas Aquinas, St. Paul was “mirabilis in opere” (“to be admired for his works”), but for our anonymous writer, St. Paul was “mirabilis quantum ad sapientie profunditatem” (“to be admired for the depth of his wisdom”).

The author of this *distinctio* appears to have a special fondness for the border of the page, and his texts are found in the bottom (most often) or top margins; other *distinctiones* by this hand are: “Revelatio” (fol. 2r), “Tribulatione” (fol. 9r), “Munditia baptismi tenenda est” (fol. 11r), “Anathema” (fol. 17v), “Homo per peccatum incorrebat” (fol. 28v), “Tribulatio est signum” (fol. 37v), “Vitanda est consorcia malorum ne homo” (fol. 39v), “Gloria apostolus in” (fol. 65v), “Facies predicatoris debet esse” (fol. 79r), “Fuga bonorum” (fol. 83r), “Non est cedendum” (fol. 88r), “Verbum Christi non habitat in homine” (fol. 120v), “Vite nostre condimentum debet esse” (fol. 121v), “Sancti habent spem sicut” (fol. 128v), “Mala spes est vitanda” (fol. 129v), “Movent homines ad credendum” (fol. 130v), “Custodia castitatis” (fol. 139r), “Disciplina non est negligenda” (fol. 172v), “Genua sunt” (fol. 173r), “Hospitalitas debet esse” (fol. 174v), to name only some of the numerous examples. In fact, there are so many *distinctiones* copied in the margins of the Bologna manuscript that these texts, taken by themselves, constitute a collection. In other words, if we were to extract only these texts from the margins of the Bologna manuscript, we would have another work: a collection of *Distinctiones* based on a reading of the Epistles of St. Paul.

Hugh of St. Cher’s biblical postills have come down to us in two versions: the longer version (*Postilla maior*) is printed in early editions; the shorter version (*Postilla minor*) is unpublished and remains in manuscript form.<sup>15</sup> Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.I.16 contains the longer version of the *Postillae super Epistulas Pauli*, and includes pecia marks.<sup>16</sup> In the margins of the manuscript are *distinctiones* not found in the printed

<sup>14</sup> Compared to the edition of Leclercq-Rochais where we read “sapientiam et medullam sacrorum sensuum non a primo vel secundo, sed a tertio caelo largiter asportavit”, the text of the *distinctio* presents some variants, e.g. *scientiam* instead of *sapientiam*.

<sup>15</sup> I have listed the two versions of the Postills of Hugh of St. Cher in my *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 530–552.

<sup>16</sup> See Anja Inkeri Lehtinen, “The apoeciae of the manuscripts of Hugh of St Cher’s Works”, *Medioevo. Rivista di Storia della filosofia medievale* 25 (1999–2000), 1–167 at 146–155.

editions, and not reported in the descriptions of the manuscript. Some of these are also found in the Bologna manuscript. Although I have not found the *distinctio* on “Paulus” in the Durham manuscript, both manuscripts, for example, share the *distinctio* on “Predestinatus”. Despite their nominal attribution to Hugh of St. Cher, the *Postillae*, as well as the verbal concordance to Sacred Scripture and the *correctorium*, were produced by a team of Dominican friars under Hugh’s direction. It is possible that the *Distinctiones super Epistulas Pauli* in both manuscripts are taken from a single-source. And that this source is Dominican.

### III

To explore further the identity of the masters who used the Bologna manuscript, or more generally, the school where the manuscript was used, I have compared other texts and the *glossa* devoted to *servus*, the second word of the Epistle to the Romans (“Paulus servus...”). The interlinear text devoted to *servus* does not begin with the word *servus* but with the exclamation *Felix conditio!*

§ Felix conditio! Nam ei seruire regnare est, nam si seruus regis par comiti, seruus summi imperatoris omnes reges excellit, infra eodem *cui serui*o.

The *glossa* by Peter Lombard on *servus* begins with the biblical quotation and reads as follows:

*Servus Iesu Christi*. Ecce conditio. [Origenes] Sed quaerendum est cur servus dicatur, qui alibi scripsit: *Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis*, etc (Rom. 8). Et iterum alibi: *Itaque iam non est servus sed liber* (Gal. 4). Et Dominus apostolis ait: *Iam non dicam vos servos, sed amicos* (Ioh, 15). [Haim] Ad quod dicendum est quod duo sunt genera servitutis: Est enim servitus timoris, et pene servilis; et est servitus amoris et filiationis et humilitatis, qua instar filii, qui servit, non vult offendere patrem. Si ergo id secundum humilitatis et amoris servitutem dictum putemus, non errabimus.

[Origenes] Non enim per hoc laeditur veritas libertatis in Paulo, quia omni libertate nobilior est servitus Christi. Dicendo ergo servus, nomen humilitatis ponit, ut ad eam provocet superbos quibus scribebat. Et ne misera servitus videatur, non simpliciter ait servus, sed addit, Iesu, id est Saluatoris, cui merito omnes servire debent: ei etenim servire regnare est (PL 191:1303a).

Only the last part (“ei etenim servire regnare est”) (“in fact to reign is to serve Him”) appears in the Bologna manuscript. The gloss *felix conditio!* is, however, very similar, although not identical to that attributed to the Dominican Master Hugh of St. Cher, in which we find a precise reference to the *predicator*:

Ecce felix conditio, infra eodem [Testis est mihi Deus cui servo in spiritu meo:] contra hypocritas, qui tantum corpore. *Similiter debet esse predicator servus Iesu Christi* quod magnum est. Nam cum dicatur servus regis par comiti, servus summi Regis est super omnes imperatores et maxime qui servit ei ad convertendas animas.<sup>17</sup>

For Hugh and for our exegete, the condition of *servus* (“servant”) is a *felix conditio* (“happy condition”); for another Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, this condition is *abiecta* (“si absolute consideretur”) (“if considered in an absolute sense”).

Texts such as this gloss, that are not derived from the *Glossa ordinaria* or from the *Glossa* of Peter Lombard or other known works, may offer clues to identify, if not the masters, at least the school where this manuscript was used. Many clues indicate that this school was a Dominican one; a conclusion supported by the fact that most of the *distictiones* are focused on preaching, for example, the following *distinctio* found on fol. 79r:

Facies predicatoris debet esse	<u>humilis</u> in conversatione; ut <i>h(um)i(lis)</i> , ut <i>placeat</i> .
	<u>splendida</u> in predicatione: 4. <i>splendida f(ulgebis) e(t)</i> ; Eccl. vii: <i>in fa(cie) pru(dentis)</i> , [ut luceant].
	<u>durissima</u> ad tolerandum, in tribulatione; Ys l e.[7]: <i>ponam fa(ciem) m(eam) u(t) pe(tram)</i> , [ut nil eum frangat].
	<u>gratissima</u> ad reconciliandum, in or(ati)o(n)e; Hest. xv. [17]: <i>facies t(ua) ple(n)a</i> , [ut d(e)o placeat].

(“The face of the preacher must be: humble in conversation; splendid while preaching; tough to bear, in tribulation; very grateful to the reconciliation, during prayer.”)

This *distinctio* was taken from 2 Cor 10.1: “qui in facie quidem humilis sum inter vos”, (“the one who is so humble when he is facing you”) which is the reference in the first part (*ut humilis*, here extremely abbreviated as *ū h<sup>i</sup>*) of the first section, but the biblical reference is omitted. Anonymous *distinctiones* may have been presented orally and may even have been originally intended for private reading, but this particular *distinctio* also includes new scriptural references that were added in the margin, probably at a different time. These additions look like revisions by the author.

<sup>17</sup> *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis de Sancto Caro* (Basel: Johann Amerbach, for Anton Koberger, 1498–1502 = ISTC no ib00610000), p. vii; see also Munich, BSB-Ink B-481 – GW 4285; permanent link: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00026105-6>.

In this *distinctio* there are three different additions in the space at the top and bottom, each preceded by a different sign. The first /. adds “ut luceant” after the section related to *splendida*; the second /: adds “ut nil eum frangat” after the third section; the last .|. adds “ut d(e)o placeat” to the fourth section. In the second part of the section related to *splendida* there is a citation that was evidently based on memory and not verified in the written text – *Ec<sup>e</sup>vii* refers to Eccl 8. 1: “Sapientia hominis lucet in vultu eius, et potentissimus faciem illius commutabit”, (“Wisdom brightens a man’s face and changes its hard appearance”) but the sentence that follows is “in facie prudentis” (*lucet sapientia*) that derives from Prv 17.24 “In facie prudentis lucet sapientia”. *Splendida*, *durissima*, *gratisissima* are not words found very frequently in the Bible, and the search for sentences which could illustrate their meaning must have been quite difficult and prolonged. The face of a preacher is not a subject for debate or for theological speculation, but it is a matter of practical interest – especially for those who dedicate themselves to preaching. Given the presence of these additions to the text, I believe that this *distinctio* is original to this manuscript, and that the hand that has inserted the additions is that of the author.

In conclusion, I would suggest that this was not a manuscript written by someone who was recording the opinions of a teacher in the margins after a lecture, or copying fragments of the discussion (*contra – respondeo*). Additions like that of the *distinctio* “Facies predicatoris debet esse”, in my opinion reveal the hand of a *magister*; this conclusion is also supported by the absence of attributions after some texts or sections of texts.

#### IV

Ownership notes reveal that this manuscript belonged to the convent of San Domenico in Bologna; its content demonstrates that it belonged to one or more Dominican masters, and was in use for a period of time in the first half of the thirteenth century. Proof of intensive use come from the evidence that ink in the outer margins has been rubbed away through use; consequently, in some cases the term or short sentence that introduces a *distinctio* is illegible. When a page is filled with glosses, annotations and schemas, the size of the script of later additions necessarily decreases; the latest interventions on the pages are often in smaller writing than the earlier additions. In some cases, to avoid overlapping, the most recent additions are copied around an existing form (e.g. in the bottom margin of fol.



12v a new text was written all around the *distinctio* “peccatum est”, evidence that that *distinctio* is earlier than the other texts on the page).

The comments or extracts from Peter Lombard, Augustine, Isidore, Ambrose, etc. and the *distinctiones* are not the only texts used to gloss the Epistle of St Paul in the Bologna manuscript. As I mentioned at the beginning, there are also some excerpts from other works. The text written in a very clear and elegant *notularis* that fills the entire bottom margin of fol. 50v (“Vir non debet ... quod terrena querit”) is derived from the *Expositio* of Haymo of Auxerre on the Epistle (ch. 11 = PL 117: 568); at the bottom of fol. 35r, the same hand copied part of the decretal by Pseudo-Urban, “Omnes <fideles> christiani per manus impositionem...” followed by the indication: “Ex ep. Urbani pape”. This segment was included by Ivo of Chartres in his *Decretum* (col. 131) and in the *Panormia* (I, 13 = PL 161:1069).<sup>18</sup> One of these two Canon Law collections was certainly the source of this gloss.

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1736, belonged to the convent of San Domenico in Bologna, much like MS 1545, and was probably one of the first manuscripts to enter the library of the Dominican convent. The first codicological unit of MS 1736 (fols. 1–48) contains the *De vita contemplativa* of Pomerius, followed by a collection of canons on fasting, the *Constitutiones* of Frederic Barbarossa, and papal letters on the *decime*, in addition to the *De arbitris et iudicibus* of the Bolognese jurist Bulgaro. An unusual series of records written on a former flyleaf (fol. 48v), including two poems, close this codicological unit. The collection of canons on fasting were probably taken from the book IV of the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres, the book on “De observandis festivitibus et ieiuniis legitimis, de scripturis canonicis et consuetudinibus et celebratione concilii”, which is also the source of the excerpt on fol. 35r in MS 1545.<sup>19</sup>

Copied in the margins of the *De vita contemplativa* in MS 1736, are some postills, including a reference on fol. 5rb to St. Paul.<sup>20</sup> The script of this postill is very similar to that used to copy many of the marginal texts in MS 1545, in particular the *distinctiones* – so similar in fact that we may assume it is probably the same hand.

Since the same hand appears in two different manuscripts that belonged to the library of St. Dominic at Bologna, and since MS 1736 was most probably one of the first manuscripts to enter the library, it is possible that the

<sup>18</sup> For Ivo of Chartres see the work in progress: <http://project.knowledgeforge.net/ivo/> (consulted 06 July 2012).

<sup>19</sup> Murano, “Una collezione di canoni”, 392–396.

<sup>20</sup> See Murano, “Una collezione di canoni”, pl. 1.

same Dominican was responsible for the postills on the *De vita contemplativa*, and for part of the marginal texts that formed the Gloss on the Pauline Epistles of MS 1545.

It is unfortunate that we know so little about the early Dominican school. We know almost nothing about the preaching of the founder of the order, St. Dominic, and as of yet the works of the first Dominican teachers, Reginald of Orléans, Paul the Hungarian, Roland of Cremona (Hugh of St. Cher's teacher in Paris), Moneta of Cremona and the English Alexander of Stavensby, are still little known. I believe that it is from among these teachers that we will find the name of the person who made use of these two manuscripts.

#### APPENDIX

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545

Parchment (with many irregularities, see: fols. 3, 7–8, 13, 14, 15, 22–23, 33–35, 38, 39, 42, 45, 51–52, 58–59, 67, 69, 76, 83–84, 87, 92, 94–95, 98, 101, 116, 123, 129, 133, 156–157, 163, 174, 178); sec. xiii (1220–1230), i (paper) + ii (parchment) + 180 + i (paper); 280 × 198 mm; quires: 1–22<sup>8</sup> (fols. 1–168), 22<sup>10</sup> (fols. 169–178), 23<sup>2</sup> (fols. 179–180). The quires begin with the flesh side on their opening recto; the Rule of Gregory, matching hair to hair, and flesh to flesh, is respected. Pricking was accomplished on the compiled and nested gathering, usually working from the verso of the last leaf; it serves as the guide for six vertical and fourteen horizontal rules, done with a colored line (not dry point). The layout is formed by a central text column (170 × 74 mm.), with glosses added in the lateral margins and between the lines. Distance between the lines is about 12 mm. The thirteen interlinear spaces are further subdivided, although not on all pages, into four smaller spaces, three of which were intended for marginal and interlinear glosses (measuring 3 mm in height). These extra lines were added regardless of the presence of glosses. The pricking that would have guided these supplementary lines is not visible. The columns intended to receive the gloss measure 37 mm for the internal column, and 60 mm for the outer column respectively (measurements taken on fol. 75). Historiated initials in colours at fols. 1ra (38 × 20 mm) and 64va; foliate initials at the beginning of the other Epistles. Initials in red and blue at the beginning of the prologues. Titles and biblical chapters in red and blue.

PROVENANCE: fol. 1r: “fratris Dondedei Bonon. ordinis predicatorum” (sec. xiv); “Iste liber est ordinis predicatorum concessus fratri Dondedeo Bonon. eiusdem ordinis in vita sua” (sec. xiv). Sources attest to Dondedeo's

presence at the convent of Bologna from 1306 to 1309. In these years he does not appear to have held positions of particular significance.

*TEXT: Pauline Epistles with Commentary*

Fol. 1r <*Prologus ad Romanos*> “Romani sunt in partibus Ytalie. Hii preventi sunt a falsis apostolis ... scribens eis a Corintho” (D. De Bruyne, “Prologue d’origine marcionite”, *Revue Bénédictine* 24 [1907], 1–16, at p. 14 [with variants]; Stegmüller, no. 677). Fols. 1r-32r PAULUS, *Ad Romanos* “Paulus seruus Christi Ihesu uocatus apostolus segregatus in euangelium Dei...” (*Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, et al., [Stuttgart, 1969], 1749–69);

Fols. 32r-64v <*Prologus I ad Cor.*> “Corinthi sunt Achaici. Et hii similiter ab apostolo audierunt uerbum ueritatis et subuersi multipharie a falsis apostolis.... ab Epheso per Timotheum discipulum suum” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 13–14); PAULUS, *I ad Corinthios* “Paulus uocatus apostolus Iesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1769–89);

Fols. 64v-86r <*Prologus II ad Cor.*> “Post actam penitentiam consolatoriam scribit eis a Troade epistolam per Titum et conlaudans eos hortatur ad meliora. Contristatos eos quidem, sed emendatos ostendens scripta a Macedonia per Titum. Anathema interpretatur perditio. Maranatha autem ... in temptatio dominus noster ueniet” (“Post ... ostendens”: De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 15; “Anathema interpretatur...” cf. Stegmüller, no 682); PAULUS, *II Ad Corinthios* “Paulus apostolus Ihesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei et Timotheus frater...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1789–1802);

Fols. 86r-97r <*Prologus ad Gal.*> “Galathe sunt Greci. Hii uerbum ueritatis primum ab apostolo acceperunt. Sed post discessum ... Hos apostolus reuocat ad fidem ueritatis scribens eis ab Epheso” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 13; Stegmüller, no. 707); PAULUS, *Ad Galatas* “Paulus Apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem sed per Ihesum Christum...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1802–08);

Fols. 97r-107v <*Prolog. ad Eph.*> “Ephesi sunt Asiani. Hii accepto uerbo ueritatis perstiterunt in fide. Hos collaudat apostolus, scribens eis a Roma de carcere per Tythicum diaconum” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 15); PAULUS, *Ad Ephesios* “Paulus apostolus Ihesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei sanctis omnibus...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1808–15);

Fols. 107v-115v <*Prologus ad Philipp.*> “Phylippenses sunt Macedones. Hii accepto uerbo ueritatis perstiterunt ... de carcere per Epaphroditum” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 15; Stegmüller, no. 728); PAULUS, *Ad Philippenses* “Paulus et Timotheus serui Ihesu Christi omnibus sanctis...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1815–20);

Fols. 115v-122v <Prologus ad Col.> “Colossenses et hii sicut Laodicenses sunt Asiani. Et ipsi preventi erant a pseudoapostolis nec ad hos accessit ... ab Epheso per Tythicum diaconum et Onesimum acolithum” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 14; Stegmüller, no. 736); PAULUS, *Ad Colossenses* “Paulus apostolus Christi Ihesu per uoluntatem Dei et Timotheus frater...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1820–24);

Fols. 122v-129v <Prologus ad Thess.> “Thesalonicenses sunt Macedones. Hii accepto uerbo ueritatis perstiterunt in fide etiam in persecutione ... ab Athenis per Titicum diaconum et Onesimum acolithum” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 14). PAULUS, *I Ad Thesalonicenses* “Paulus et Siluanus et Timotheus ecclesie Thesalonicensium...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1824–29);

Fols. 129v-133r <Prologus II ad Thess.> “Ad Thesalonicenses (*ms* Salonicenses) secundam epistolam scribit apostolus, et notum facit eis ... ab Athenis per Tithicum diaconem et Honesimum acolithum” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 15; Stegmüller, no. 752); PAULUS, *II Ad Thesalonicenses* “Paulus et Silvanus et Timotheus ecclesie Thesalonicensium...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1829–1831);

Fols. 133r-141r <Prologus ad Tim.> “Timotheum instruit et docet de ordinatione episcopatus et diaconii et omnis ecclesiastice discipline. Scribens ei de Laodicaea” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 16; Stegmüller, no. 765); PAULUS, *I Ad Timotheum* “Paulus apostolus Ihesu Christi secundum imperium Dei saluatoris nostri...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1831–36);

Fols. 141r-147r <Prologus II ad Tim.> “Item Timotheo scribit de exhortatione martyrii et omnis regule ueritatis et quid futurum sit temporibus nouissimis et de sua passione scribit ei ab urbe Roma de carcere» (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 16 with variants; Stegmüller, no. 772); PAULUS, *II Ad Timotheum* “Paulus apostolus Christi Ihesu per uoluntatem Dei...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1836–40);

Fols. 147v-151r <Prologus ad Tit.> “Titum commonefacit et instruit de constitutione presbyterii et de spirituali conversatione et hereticis uitandis qui in scripturis Iudaicis credunt. Scribit eis a Nicopoli...” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 16; Stegmüller, no. 780); PAULUS, *Ad Titum* “Paulus Dei seruus, apostolus autem Christi Ihesu...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1840–42);

Fols. 151r-152v <Prologus ad Philem.> “Phylemoni familiares litteras facit pro Onesimo seruo eius. Scribit autem ei a Roma de carcere...” (De Bruyne, “Prologue”, 15); PAULUS, *Ad Philemonem*, “Paulus uinctus Christi Iesu (Iesu Christi *ed.*) et Timotheus frater...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1842–43);

Fols. 152v-176v PAULUS, *Ad Hebraeos* “Multifariam multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis...” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1843–58);

Fols. 176v-177v *Ad Laodicenses* “Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem sed per Iesum Christum... Et facite legi Coloniensium uobis” (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, *Appendix*, p. 1976).