

## Chapter Divisions, Capitula Lists, and the Old Latin Versions of John

Houghton, Hugh

DOI:

[10.1484/J.RB.5.100457](https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.5.100457)

License:

Creative Commons: Attribution (CC BY)

*Document Version*

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

*Citation for published version (Harvard):*

Houghton, H 2011, 'Chapter Divisions, Capitula Lists, and the Old Latin Versions of John', *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. 121, no. 2, pp. 316-356. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.5.100457>

[Link to publication on Research at Birmingham portal](#)

### **Publisher Rights Statement:**

Eligibility for repository : checked 17/07/2015

### **General rights**

Unless a licence is specified above, all rights (including copyright and moral rights) in this document are retained by the authors and/or the copyright holders. The express permission of the copyright holder must be obtained for any use of this material other than for purposes permitted by law.

- Users may freely distribute the URL that is used to identify this publication.
- Users may download and/or print one copy of the publication from the University of Birmingham research portal for the purpose of private study or non-commercial research.
- User may use extracts from the document in line with the concept of 'fair dealing' under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (?)
- Users may not further distribute the material nor use it for the purposes of commercial gain.

Where a licence is displayed above, please note the terms and conditions of the licence govern your use of this document.

When citing, please reference the published version.

### **Take down policy**

While the University of Birmingham exercises care and attention in making items available there are rare occasions when an item has been uploaded in error or has been deemed to be commercially or otherwise sensitive.

If you believe that this is the case for this document, please contact [UBIRA@lists.bham.ac.uk](mailto:UBIRA@lists.bham.ac.uk) providing details and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate.

# CHAPTER DIVISIONS, *CAPITULA* LISTS, AND THE OLD LATIN VERSIONS OF JOHN

## INTRODUCTION\*

The modern division of the Gospel according to John into twenty-one chapters dates back only as far as Stephen Langton around the year 1200, while the current system of verses is largely the work of the printer Stephanus (Robert Étienne) in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Biblical manuscripts present a number of different series. In the Greek tradition, the most widespread type is one of eighteen chapters found in the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus (Gregory-Aland 02) and numerous subsequent Byzantine manuscripts. These are known as *kephalaia*, and a list of chapter titles usually precedes the text of the Gospel.<sup>2</sup> An earlier but very rare alternative is the set of eighty numbered paragraphs in Codex Vaticanus (G-A 03).<sup>3</sup> Smaller divisions of text are supplied by the Euse-

---

\* At the time of writing, the author was a Research Fellow on the *Vetus Latina Iohannes* Project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. He would like to thank Pierre-Maurice Bogaert and Patrick McGurk for comments on earlier drafts of this article, and Jeffrey J. Kloha for verifying readings in VATICAN, *Reg. lat.* 14.

1. On the introduction of these systems, see Jean VEZIN, «Les divisions du texte dans les Évangiles jusqu'à l'apparition de l'imprimerie» in Alfonso MAIERÜ (ed.), *Grafia e interpunzione del latino nel medioevo*. Rome, 1987, 53-68, especially pp. 65-6. Note that there are occasional discrepancies in verse numbering between the Nestle-Aland Greek text (B. ALAND, K. ALAND *et al.* (edd.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993) and the Stuttgart Vulgate (R. WEBER, R. GRAYSON *et al.* (edd.) *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007); in this survey, the Nestle-Aland numbering is followed.

2. Two recent studies have shown how the *kephalaia* are structured around the accounts of Jesus miracles: Greg GOSWELL, «Early Readers of the Gospels: The Kephalaia and Titloi of Codex Alexandrinus» *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 6 (2009) 134-74; James R. EDWARDS, «The Hermeneutical Significance of Chapter Divisions in Ancient Gospel Manuscripts» *NTS* 56 (2010) 413-26.

3. Matching numbered paragraphs are also found in the sixth-century palimpsest Codex Zacynthius (G-A 040), extant only in Luke, and minuscule 579. For more details about the history of Greek systems, see Christian-Bernard AMPHOUX, «La division du texte grec des Évangiles dans l'Antiquité» in Jean-Claude FREDOUILLE *et al.* (edd.), *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques*. Paris: Institut des études augustinienes, 1997, 301-12.

bian apparatus, a system of concordance between the four Gospels: each Gospel is divided into sequentially-numbered Ammonian sections (John has 232), which are assigned to one of ten Eusebian canons according to the relationship of the material with the other Gospels.<sup>4</sup> This appears in Greek biblical manuscripts from the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus (G-A 01) onwards.

The Latin tradition is much more diverse. In *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine (SDR)*, a collection of material prepared by Donatien De Bruyne in 1914 for the use of scholars working on the Roman edition of the Vulgate, no fewer than fourteen types of chapter divisions are given for John along with an edition of the accompanying titles, or *capitula*.<sup>5</sup> This builds on the information provided in Appendix II of Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, and entirely replaces the seven series printed by Wordsworth and White in their Oxford Vulgate.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, *SDR* was intended only as an aid for transcribers, lacking introduction, explanation of the *sigla*, and any analysis of the relationships of the different series: De Bruyne himself later acknowledged that «Le texte était provisoire, le sigle donné à chaque sommaire était souvent arbitraire. Tout cela était un commencement d'étude, non une conclusion.»<sup>7</sup> In the Old Testament it has been superseded as intended by the printed volumes of the Roman Vulgate. For the New Testament, however, the fullest critical account of later Latin tradition is still provided by the Oxford Vulgate and it is only in the *Vetus Latina* editions that further

---

4. The Eusebian apparatus and the eighteen-chapter series are printed in the inside margin of Nestle-Aland. Eusebius' own account of his system is provided in his *Letter to Carpianus* (in Nestle-Aland, p. 84\*). On the significance of the Latin tradition for their transmission, see Walter THIELE, «Beobachtungen zu den eusebianischen Sektionen und Kanones der Evangelien» *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 72 (1981) 100-11.

5. [D. DE BRUYNE], *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine*, Namur: Godenne, 1914. On *capitula* more generally, see Pierre PETITMENGIN, «*Capitula* païens et chrétiens» in FREDOUILLE, *Titres et articulations du texte*, pp. 491-509.

6. S. BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Hachette, 1893 (repr. New York: Franklin n.d.); J. WORDSWORTH and H.J. WHITE (edd.), *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi. Pars Prior - Quattuor Evangelia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889-98: the first six series of chapter titles (corresponding to *SDR* Types C, B=A, B<sup>r</sup>, I, I<sup>or</sup> and P<sup>i</sup> respectively) are printed on pp. 492-506; the seventh (corresponding to *SDR* Type Cat) is in an Appendix on pp. 703-4.

7. D. DE BRUYNE, «Cassiodore et l'Amiatinus» *Revue bénédictine* 39 (1927) 261-6 (quotation from p. 264); see also P.-M. BOGAERT, «Les particularités éditoriales des Bibles comme exégèse implicite ou proposée. Les sommaires ou *capitula* donatistes» in *Leçons bibliques. Colloque du 11 nov. 1980*. Bruxelles: Publications de l'Institutum Judaicum (1982) 7-21.

analysis of this material and improved texts of the *capitula* are to be found.<sup>8</sup>

The present article examines the chapter divisions and *capitula* in the Gospel according to John with reference to the Old Latin tradition. This consists of early Latin versions which differ from the revision by Jerome later adopted as the Vulgate. Old Latin manuscripts of John have been divided by Burton into three groups: Group 1 provides the most ancient texts; Group 2A represents a later, more consistent form; Group 2B comprises manuscripts closely related to the Vulgate but preserving a substantial proportion of divergent readings.<sup>9</sup> The first section considers the systems of division found in these codices, demonstrating that two of the principal series of chapters occur in Old Latin witnesses not included in *SDR*, while there is further evidence for a third which is apparently unique to the early versions. The second section investigates each of the types of *capitula* in turn, clarifying details of their attestation and interrelation and showing how the form of biblical text in several series not only confirms an Old Latin origin but also provides important evidence for early translations of the Gospel.

### 1. DIVISIONS OF THE GOSPEL TEXT IN OLD LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

Certain features of the layout of the Gospels are characteristic of the Vulgate. In his dedicatory letter to Pope Damasus, which precedes the biblical text in many Latin gospel books, Jerome states that his revision has the Gospels in the order Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, following the Greek sequence.<sup>10</sup> This enabled him to add the full Eusebian appa-

---

8. e.g. R. GRAYSON (ed.), *Apocalypsis Iohannis*. (Vetus Latina 26/2) Freiburg: Herder, 2000-3, pp. 62-77, which reduces De Bruyne's eleven columns to three principal series.

9. See P.H. BURTON, *The Old Latin Gospels. A Study of their Texts and Language*, Oxford: OUP, 2000, pp. 62-74. The members and nomenclature of the groups have been developed during subsequent work towards a new edition of the Vetus Latina *Iohannes*. Manuscripts classified as «Old Latin» are those listed in the official Vetus Latina register: Roger GRAYSON, *Allaleinische Handschriften/Manuscrits Vieux Latins*. Première partie: *Mss 1-275* (Vetus Latina 1/2A) Freiburg: Herder, 1999, with the subsequent addition of VL 9A and VL 11A.

10. The letter is known as the *Epistula ad Damasum* or *Praefatio in Euangelio* and sometimes identified by its opening words, *Nouum opus*: a critical text is printed in the Stuttgart Vulgate, pp. 1515-6. There is a wide variety of other orderings of the Gospels in extant codices and canonical lists. The most common in Old Latin witnesses is Matthew, John, Luke, Mark (as in VL 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 16 and probably also 17); for a full survey, see P.-M. BOGAERT, «Ordres anciens des évangiles et tétraévangile en un seul codex» *Revue théologique de Louvain* 30 (1999) 297-314.

ratus: the Ammonian sections in the margin of the Gospels were written in black with the relevant canon number underneath in red. Jerome's explanation of how to refer to the canon tables in the front of the gospel book in order to identify parallel passages suggests that the practice of including the corresponding Ammonian sections from other Gospels in the margin was a later development.<sup>11</sup> The list of lections found at the back of many Vulgate gospel books, the *Capitulare euangeliorum de circulo anni*, uses the Ammonian section numbers to identify the readings.<sup>12</sup> In a handful of manuscripts, the opening text of each Ammonian section is provided in the initial canon tables.<sup>13</sup> A few witnesses to the Type I *capitula* have Ammonian section numbers in place of chapter numbers in the list of titles.<sup>14</sup>

Jerome does not mention other types of biblical chapter division in his preface. Nonetheless, synoptic tables of such systems are provided in the second part of *SDR* based on a large number of Vulgate manuscripts, along with a few witnesses to the earlier versions. There are fourteen separate columns for John (pp. 521-6), although these mask a considerable degree of overlap. Types I, P<sup>i</sup>, In and Cat are broadly similar, with thirty-six sections (the last of which is absent from Type P<sup>i</sup>). Type B, with fourteen divisions, is the most widely-attested system. Type C (45 chapters) is found in Codex Amiatinus and several other well-known Vulgate witnesses, while the remaining five series only appear in one or two manuscripts: Type P (21 chapters), Type I<sup>for</sup> (39 chapters), Type

11. One of the earliest examples of this appears to be VL 23, a tiny fragment from Egypt palaeographically dated to the fifth century, which has next to John 7:28 the Johannine Ammonian section LXXVI, the canon III (apparently written twice), and underneath these the numbers CXII (the corresponding Ammonian section in Matthew) and possibly also the beginning of CLXXIX (the corresponding section in Luke).

12. See also Vladislav Popović, «Les Évangiles de Split» *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France 1987* (1989) 266-89, especially p. 278. The *Capitulare euangeliorum* is widely attested from the ninth century onwards.

13. Six are mentioned by Patrick McGURK, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800*. (Les Publications de Scriptorium 5.) Paris-Brussels: Érasme, 1961, p. 85: Codex Brixianus (VL 10); POITIERS, BM 17 (VL 39); VENDÔME, BM 2 (VL 40); TROYES, BM 138; PARIS, Mazarine 1 (not the current shelfmark); TRIER, Seminary 40. To these may be added LAON, BM 437 bis (VL 46), which is very close to the text found in the tables of Codex Brixianus and preserves Old Latin readings. For the Old Latin element in VL 39 and 40, see P. MINARD, «Témoins inédits de la vieille version latine des Évangiles. Les canons à *inilia* des évangélistes de Sainte-Croix de Poitiers et de la Trinité de Vendôme» *Revue bénédictine* 56 (1945/6) 58-92. TROYES 138 is a different series, heavily redacted and featuring characteristic Vulgate readings.

14. In John, this occurs in OXFORD, Bodl. 155; LONDON, BL, Add. 9381; PARIS, BnF, lat. 260; CHARTRES 31; BERN, *Burgerbibl.* 85 (see BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 354). Several of these manuscripts have Insular connections.

Cy (68 chapters), Type Ben (49 chapters) and Type Q (27 unnumbered sections).<sup>15</sup> Further details of the sources for each type are given in the second part of this article: the revised table of divisions in the Appendix includes information for the three columns which are blank throughout (Types B<sup>r</sup>, D and Z) as well as two sets of *capitula* which are not included (Types W and Vich).<sup>16</sup> With the exception of Type B<sup>r</sup> (which is identified below as Type A) and the addition of Type Win, this study will continue to use De Bruyne's *sigla* for each series.

The earliest surviving Latin manuscripts of John have neither Eusebian apparatus nor chapter numbers. Codex Palatinus (VL 2) and Codex Vercellensis (VL 3) indicate sense units by *ekthesis*, a line projecting into the left margin, at the rate of roughly one for every two modern verses.<sup>17</sup> The original portion of Codex Bezae (VL 5), the fifth-century Greek-Latin bilingual written in sense lines, also features *ekthesis* but less frequently: the total for the whole gospel would be slightly fewer than the Ammonian sections, with which there is no correspondence.<sup>18</sup> However, Codex Veronensis (VL 4), despite having the Gospels in the Old Latin order and being classified as a Group 1 witness in the first half of John, includes both the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canon numbers in silver and gold ink respectively. While it is possible that the numbers were taken from a different source to the exemplar used for the gospel, their presence in this fifth-century Old Latin codex suggests that Eusebius' system may

---

15. There are no corresponding series of *capitula* for Types P and Q; in Mark to John, the sole witness to the Type P divisions, PARIS, BnF, lat. 10348, has the Type B *capitula* (*Sommaires, divisions et rubriques*, p. 414).

16. The blank column headed Type X presumably refers to Type Z, as Type X is not present in John.

17. The exact figures are 451 projecting lines in Codex Palatinus and 363 in Codex Vercellensis according to the transcriptions in the *Vetus Latina Iohannes Electronic Edition* (P.H. BURTON, J. BALSERAK, H.A.G. HOUGHTON, D.C. PARKER (edd.) *Vetus Latina Iohannes. The Verbum Project. The Old Latin Manuscripts of John's Gospel*. Version 1.6 (January 2010), online at <<http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/>>). Both manuscripts, however, do preserve fossilized chapter numbers in other Gospels. In Codex Palatinus the number LXXVIII incorporated into the biblical text at Luke 24:13 corresponds to Types P and Cat. In Codex Vercellensis the number LXXVIII at Matthew 28:1 matches Types I and Cat. See further D. DE BRUYNE, «Quelques documents nouveaux pour l'histoire du texte africain des Évangiles» *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910) 273-324, 433-46 (discussion on pp. 434-6) and H. J. VOGELS, *Evangelium Colbertinum. Codex Lat. 254 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris. II. Untersuchungen* (Bonner biblische Beiträge 5). Bonn: Hanstein, 1953, p. 8.

18. There are 164 projecting lines in the extant part of John in Latin. Ammonian section numbers were added alongside the Greek text of Codex Bezae by Hand L, probably in the late sixth century: for further details, comparative figures and a more detailed study of the layout see D.C. PARKER, *Codex Bezae. An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text*. Cambridge: CUP, pp. 31-4, 42.

also have been adopted in the Latin tradition independently of Jerome. There are 504 instances of *ekthesis* and 637 gold *paragraphus* markers in John in Codex Veronensis, but no evidence of division into chapters.

The three other members of Group 1, all copied in the sixth or seventh century, do not have Ammonian sections but do contain systems of chapters. The fragmentary leaves of Codex Sarzanensis (VL 22) reveal two series of numbered sections. First, there are four Greek numerals, Γ at 3:22, Δ at 4:1, E at 6:1 and Ζ at 7:1, which correspond broadly to the fourteen-chapter Types A and B.<sup>19</sup> In addition, there is an overlapping series of Roman numerals: VI occurs alongside 6:15, and XI to XVIII between 7:2 and 9:1.<sup>20</sup> This sequence seems to be without parallel, and cannot have extended back to the beginning of the gospel with the same frequency: it is a shame the manuscript is not better preserved to shed more light on this. Codex Monacensis (VL 13) indicates chapter divisions by three rubricated lines plus a decorated capital in the margin, but no numbers. This is the sole witness for Type Q in *SDR*. There are twenty-seven such divisions in the extant part of the manuscript.<sup>21</sup> Finally, Codex Usserianus primus (VL 14) also rubricates the beginning of each section. There are thirty-three of these lines remaining, but numbers occasionally visible to the left of the rubric indicate that this was a thirty-six chapter sequence very similar to Type I: twenty-six correspond exactly, and six of the seven variants are by no more than a verse. The exception is the placing of Chapter 16: although this occurs in Type I at John 8:1, the story of the adulteress is missing from this manuscript and the rubric is found at 8:12 instead. Nonetheless, as the corresponding title in Type I and related series refers only to this pericope, it seems more likely that Codex Usserianus is an accommodation to an existing scheme rather than an earlier version of this set of divisions.

---

19. Type B is an abbreviation of Type A, and the archetypal divisions appear to be identical (although their location fluctuates in the manuscripts). In the table in *SDR*, Type B has the fifth division at 5:1 (not extant in VL 22) and the sixth division at 6:3; it is possible that there was confusion between the Greek numerals E (5) and ζ (6). Alternatively, could it be that the division at 6:15 with Roman numeral VI actually represents ζ and the division at 5:1 was omitted?

20. Godu, the more recent editor of the manuscript, transcribes the numbers from 16 onwards as XG, XGI etc. using the older G ligature for VI (cf. B. BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography* [trans. Ó Cróinín and Ganz], Cambridge: CUP, 1990, p. 176).

21. There are also four occasions when a larger capital is found without rubrication (John 1:41, 2:12, 4:51, 6:11), but as these are not decorated, they do not seem to be part of the scheme of division and are not taken as such by De Bruyne. Several inaccuracies in the table in *SDR* have been corrected in the Appendix below.

Three of the four principal members of Group 2A also have the chapter divisions of the Type I group: Codex Colbertinus (VL 6), Codex Corbeiensis (VL 8) and the mixed-text Old Latin manuscript in Würzburg (VL 11A).<sup>22</sup> All six marginal numbers in the last of these occur between John 3:1 and 5:1, one of the portions taken from an Old Latin exemplar. Neither VL 11A nor VL 8 have Ammonian sections, but the much later VL 6 has the full Eusebian apparatus including Ammonian sections for the parallel passages in the Synoptic Gospels. There are minor differences between the location of the divisions in VL 6, VL 8 and the archetypal version of Type I in *SDR*; some of these match other sequences, but the *capitula* indicate that they are witnesses to Type I.<sup>23</sup> The fourth manuscript in Group 2A, Codex Rehdigeranus (VL 11), has the Ammonian sections for John alongside the gospel text and those of the parallel passages in a decorative arcade at the bottom of the page (without any Eusebian canon numbers). Although it has the Gospels in the Vulgate order, this presumably represents a method of applying the Eusebian apparatus to the Latin tradition without the canon tables. There are also six marginal numbers representing longer divisions: 2 (at 2:1); 3 (at 3:22); 5 (at 4:54); 6 (at 6:1); 9 (at 7:1) and 11 (at 13:1).<sup>24</sup> Four of these correspond to Types A and B (2, 3, 6 and 11); 5 is only one verse away from the expected location at 5:1, and 9 (*VIII*) seems to be an error for 7 (*VII*), in keeping with comparable mistakes in the Ammonian sections.<sup>25</sup> This manuscript may therefore be taken as a second Old Latin example of Type A or B, complementing the Greek numerals in VL 22.<sup>26</sup> The only one of the fragmentary members of Group 2A with sectional divisions is the St Gall fifth-century uncial (VL 16). This does not have the Eusebian apparatus, but Greek chapter numbers have been added in red. The single complete page of John 19 has *IOHANNEN IA* as the running title, the fourteenth chapter matching the Type A and B divisions; the more extensive numer-

---

22. For this, see H.A.G. HOUGHTON, «A Newly Identified Old Latin Gospel Manuscript: Würzburg Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f. 67» *JTS* ns 60.1 (2009) 1-21.

23. The full list of divisions is supplied in the Appendix; both manuscripts are lacking Chapter 36.

24. Some appear to be combined with rubricated lines, although it was not always possible to identify these with confidence from the monochrome microfilm used for this study; there do not appear to be rubrics accompanying chapters 5 and 9, while there may be rubricated lines elsewhere not related to the numbered divisions.

25. For example, *XCII* and *XCIII* for *XVII* and *XVIII* at 1:41 and 2:12; *LI* for *XLI* at 5:24; *LXXVII* erroneously at 8:14 (between *LXXXVI* and *LXXXVII*); *CXXXVIII* for *CXXXVII* at 15:16.

26. Type B is supported by its affiliation in the Synoptic Gospels: see further the section below on Type B *capitula*.



ation of Matthew and Mark confirms this identification.<sup>27</sup> It is interesting that, as in VL 22, Greek numerals (and the Greek accusative) are used for this series.<sup>28</sup>

Manuscripts in Group 2B, being close to the Vulgate, usually include the full Eusebian apparatus and the Gospels in their customary sequence. Codex Brixianus (VL 10) is an exception on both counts, having the order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark and only the Ammonian sections in the margin, with the Synoptic parallels indicated in arcades at the foot of each page (like VL 11). The canon tables at the beginning of the manuscript include the opening words of each Ammonian section (and occasional subdivisions): these appear both codicologically and textually to derive from a different source, preserving some Old Latin readings not matched by the gospel text although their character is broadly similar.<sup>29</sup> Codex Brixianus features *ekthesis* in 111 lines in John, as well as a series of longer numbered divisions in the first half of the Gospel which are preceded by the letters *LEC*. Nine of the first ten divisions match the rubrics in Codex Monacensis which constitute Type Q: *LEC I* appears at John 1:35, corresponding to the second rubric (the first is at John 1:1); the numbers are made up, however, by *LEC III* at John 2:12 where there is no rubric in Codex Monacensis.<sup>30</sup> The systems diverge from the middle of John 6: *LEC XII* at 6:47, *LEC XIII* at 7:14, and *LEC XVIII* at 9:39 have no counterparts in Codex Monacensis, while *LEC XVI* at 8:20 anticipates the rubric by one verse. From John 10, there are no *LEC* markings until an unnumbered *LEC* added by a later hand at 20:19. Even so, the partial similarity of these systems is significant, suggesting that Type Q may not have been peculiar to Codex Monacensis. It is worth noting in passing that both these manuscripts have Arian connections, although they

---

27. In the fragments of Matthew IH (18) appears next to 18:1 and in the running title of the next page, K (20) next to 20:1 and KA (21) alongside 21:1, while in Mark ζ (6) can be detected in the running title of the page beginning 7:13 and possibly also Z (7) on the page beginning 8:32 (see ST GALL 1394, pp. 52, 66, 62, 58, 75 and 79). The size of numbers in the running titles suggests that they were added after the copying of the gospel text, although it is hard to say how much later: the numbers in Mark have faded and it is impossible to detect one in the running title of Mark on p. 85 or its seventh-century replacement page (p. 91).

28. The use of Greek numerals for the *capitula* in certain witnesses of Cyprian's collection of *testimonia* and other Latin manuscripts is noted in PARKER, *Codex Bezae*, p. 9. COLMAR 38 also identifies the chapter divisions with Greek numerals, preceded by K: see VEZIN, «Les divisions du texte», pp. 57-8.

29. See Roger GRAYSON, «La version gotique des évangiles. Essai de réévaluation» *Revue théologique de Louvain* 21 (1990) 3-31, p. 23. The text of these titles is included with that of the other Old Latin canon tables in the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*.

30. As noted above, there is a larger capital at this point in VL 13, although this is one of several which do not seem to relate to the rubricated divisions.

belong to different textual groups.<sup>31</sup> The designation *LEC* is presumably an abbreviation for *lectio*, reminiscent of manuscripts which divide the text of the gospels into paragraphs with the liturgical incipit *in illo tempore*: the only Old Latin manuscript with this is Codex Sangermanensis secundus (VL 29). This has fifty-three lections marked within the text of John, sometimes inserting introductory phrases into the middle of a verse regardless of the context.<sup>32</sup>

Three other members of Group 2B do not have any of the Eusebian apparatus. The portions of John surviving in Codex Usserianus secundus (VL 28) feature frequent capital letters but no marginal numbers. St Gall 51 (VL 48) is similar, with over six hundred rubricated capital letters. Some extend over two or more lines, with exceptionally large letters or groups of letters at 1:1, 1:6, 10:1, 13:1, 18:1 and 20:1. McGurk identifies several manuscripts of insular origin which share this feature.<sup>33</sup> It is difficult to specify which (if any) of the other larger capitals are particularly significant: sixteen more occur at the beginning of a line, displacing text below, but this is occasionally the case in the middle of a line as well (e.g. 7:1, 21:1) and there are also larger capitals which do not affect the following line (e.g. 2:1, 2:12, 3:22). While most are paralleled by sections found elsewhere, there is no obvious correspondence with any single system of division given in *SDR*.<sup>34</sup> The only form of division in the tiny sixth-century copy of John found in a reliquary in Chartres (VL 33) is *ekthesis*, which occurs in 308 lines.

Divisions corresponding to Type I and Types A and B are also present in Group 2B. The former is found in Codex Sangermanensis primus (VL 7, but practically a Vulgate text in John) and Codex Aureus

31. For VL 13, see Roger GRYSO, «Les citations scripturaires des œuvres attribuées à l'évêque arien Maximinus» *Revue bénédictine* 88 (1978) 45-80; for VL 10, which is believed to originate from a Latin-Gothic bilingual, see F.C. BURKITT, «The Vulgate Gospels and the Codex Brixianus» *JTS* 1 (1900) 129-34 and GRYSO, «La version gotique des évangiles».

32. Although VL 29 has the Type P<sup>i</sup> titles for John, the corresponding divisions do not appear in the text of the Gospel. A particularly good example of the liturgical arrangement is FLORENCE, *BML*, Plutei 25.2, which has 39 unnumbered paragraphs in the extant part of John: all except three are paralleled in VL 29, but there is no match with any of the series in *SDR*. Note too the use of *capitula lectionum* for the chapter titles in Type C (see below).

33. MCGURK, *Latin Gospel Books*, pp. 117-9. Two of these manuscripts also have an outside capital at John 2:1.

34. Thirty double-height (or larger) capitals are indicated in the table in the Appendix, although this selection is necessarily arbitrary.

(VL 15).<sup>35</sup> Again, there are several slight variations, usually by no more than a verse. St Gall 60 (VL 47) only contains John but has the full Eusebian apparatus including Synoptic parallels as well as fourteen numbered chapters. The latter are an almost exact match for the divisions of Types A and B.<sup>36</sup> In addition, there is a single fossilised number corresponding to the Type I series copied as part of the biblical text in the middle of John 2:13, showing that this series was present in an ancestor.<sup>37</sup> The newly-identified Old Latin manuscript in St Petersburg, VL 9A, also has fourteen rubricated lines and numbered divisions in the text of John (notwithstanding the initial list of forty-five *capitula*).<sup>38</sup> The first eleven correspond more or less to Types A and B, albeit increased by one because the first chapter is numbered 2. There is no division at 13:1 or 15:1; instead Chapter 12 comes at 16:33, Chapter 13 at 18:1 and Chapter 14 in the normal place at 18:28.

Finally, St Gall 48 (VL 27) is not a self-standing Latin witness but a Greek gospel book with an interlinear Latin translation. This has the standard series of Greek *kephalaia*: the eighteen titles occur both in an initial list and within the gospel text, and the Latin equivalent is provided above.

In conclusion, despite the absence of systematic chapter divisions from several of the oldest Latin gospel books, the two best-attested systems of dividing John, a thirty-six chapter sequence (Type I, *cf.* P<sup>i</sup>, In, Cat, W) and a fourteen-chapter sequence (Type A or B, *cf.* Vich), are both found in Old Latin manuscripts with the earliest form of text (Burton's Group 1). This is a significant advance on the evidence given in *SDR* for tracing the development of these divisions. Similarly Type Q, which was previously known only from Codex Monacensis (VL 13), also a member of Group 1, finds further support in the numbered lections of the first half of John in Codex Brixianus (VL 10). Although the other types of division listed in *SDR* do not appear to be present in manuscripts identi-

---

35. These are presented in the Appendix. There is a group of manuscripts closely related to Codex Aureus in John which also have Type I *capitula* and divisions (see Type I and Type In below).

36. Note that this is based on the divisions as given in the present Appendix rather than *SDR*, which is erroneous at a number of points in Type B. VL 47 also has 358 double-height rubricated capitals at the beginning of sentences, some of which correspond to Ammonian sections.

37. The only Type I witness beginning Chapter 5 with *et ascendit* is VL 14, another Insular manuscript; see the Appendix.

38. See H.A.G. HOUGHTON, «The St Petersburg Insular Gospels: Another Old Latin Witness» *JTS* ns 61.1 (2010) 110-27 (especially p. 114) and the section on Type C below.

fied as Old Latin, the larger capitals in St Gall 51 (VL 48) indicate that yet more configurations may be found. None of the known Latin systems, however, correspond to the Greek *kephalaia* or the paragraphs in Codex Vaticanus.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, no two witnesses have exactly the same distribution of divisions: this suggests that exact agreement even within the same overall scheme is the exception rather than the rule and could therefore be of genealogical significance.<sup>40</sup> The presence of chapter numbers, especially incomplete series, may provide an indication of the use of different exemplars (as in the case of VL 11A), or shed other light on the transmission of the text. These systems might also convey information on how the text of the Gospel was approached by exegetes or the way in which gospel books were used.<sup>41</sup> While the existence of chapter divisions in early Latin biblical manuscripts has long been known, the extent and variety of their attestation in witnesses with an Old Latin text of John is remarkable.

## 2. THE TEXT OF THE *CAPITULA* LISTS

Accompanying each set of chapter divisions is a list of chapter titles, or *capitula*. (The individual titles may be referred to as *tituli*.) These were part of Latin biblical tradition from at least the middle of the fourth century: Jerome mentions a series of titles for the Gospels attributed to Fortunatianus of Aquileia, and Hilary of Poitiers' commentary on Matthew includes *capitula* very similar to those preserved in some Gospel manuscripts.<sup>42</sup> The *capitula* lists usually precede the text of each Gospel,

---

39. Berger's attempts to connect Type I or Type A/B in Latin Gospels with the Vaticanus paragraphs are misleading (*Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 311-2): similarities are scarcely surprising given the narrative shape of the text, but the high proportion of Vaticanus divisions without a Latin counterpart tells against their use as a source.

40. Variations in Ammonian section numbers are similar indicators: see Patrick McGURK, «The Disposition of Numbers in Latin Eusebian Canon Tables» in R. GRYSO (ed.), *Philologia Sacra I. Alles und Neues Testament*. Freiburg: Herder, 1993, pp. 242-58 (reprinted in P. McGURK, *Gospel Books and Early Latin Manuscripts* Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), and Vladislav POPOVIĆ, «Du nouveau sur les Évangiles de Split» *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France 1990* (1992) 275-93, pp. 290-1.

41. For patristic use of the term *capitulum*, see PETITMENGIN, «*Capitula* païens et chrétiens»; for Augustine in particular, H.A.G. HOUGHTON, *Augustine's Text of John. Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts*. Oxford: OUP, 2008, pp. 40-1.

42. *Fortunatianus, natione afer, Aquileiensis episcopus, imperante Constantio in euangelia titulis ordinatis breui sermone et rustico scripsit commentarios*. (Jerome, *De uiris illustribus* 97, ed. E. RICHARDSON, TU XIV.1a, Leipzig, 1896); see further BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 308-9.

although in some codices they occur in a separate section preceding all four (e.g. VL 7). While the presence of divisions in a gospel manuscript does not offer a secure indication of its chronology or origin, the matching *capitula* have distinctive textual characteristics, particularly in their quotation of biblical material, which may make it possible to propose a location or date for their original composition. In this section, each of the fourteen sets of *capitula* printed in *SDR* (along with a fifteenth mentioned by Berger) is analysed to see whether it is a fresh compilation or dependent on another series, and whether its biblical text derives from an Old Latin or Vulgate source. In addition, full details are given of the manuscripts used by De Bruyne for his edition (which are not always easy to identify), supplemented by information from McGurk's catalogue of Latin gospel books copied before the year 800.<sup>43</sup> The series are treated in alphabetical order; only the opening and closing *capitula* are quoted here as a full text of the Old Latin types is now available in the first fascicule of the edition of the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*.

### **Types A and B**

In the Synoptic Gospels, separate series of *capitula* are given as Type A and Type B, although they are very closely related: Type B is an abbreviation of Type A.<sup>44</sup> In John, however, *SDR* presents a single set with the siglum B=A, on the grounds that many manuscripts with Type A in the Synoptics have the shorter titles typical of Type B in John. In fact, the textual relationship between De Bruyne's Type B=A and Type B' is comparable to that of B and A in the Synoptic Gospels; furthermore, this had already been recognised by Berger, who treated the B' titles as the original form of Type A although the shorter titles for John had clearly been substituted at an early point in at least one branch of the tradition.<sup>45</sup> In fact, the summary tables in *SDR* (pp. 411-4) preserve the Type A and Type B distinction found in Berger, apparently ignoring Berger's note that, while at least twenty-four of the otherwise pure Type A wit-

---

43. The *capitula* of John are presented in the following order in *SDR*: Types D, I, W, Cat, I<sup>or</sup>, P<sup>i</sup> on pp. 264-9; Types B=A, In, B<sup>r</sup>, Cy, C, Z, Vich, Ben on pp. 302-11; in addition, the tables of affiliation on pp. 411-4 are often useful. MCGURK, *Latin Gospel Books*, pp. 113-17 includes nine of the fourteen series of *capitula*.

44. ПОПОВИЋ, «Du nouveau sur les Évangiles de Split», p. 285, states that A stands for *Antiquus* and B for *Breuiatus* and that they are probably of Roman origin.

45. See the table in BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 356; the introduction of the shorter version for John may derive from a single Vulgate manuscript which used a different exemplar for this Gospel but proved to be influential in the subsequent transmission of the text.

nesses have Type B in John, there are around forty manuscripts in which the affiliation of John requires verification (see below). In the present study, they will once again be divided into the abbreviated Type B and the longer Type A (formerly Type B<sup>r</sup>), taken in this order.

**Type B** (formerly Type B = A). 14 chapters.

Incipit (I): *Pharisaeorum leuitae interrogant Iohannem, Iohannes Iesum uidens agnum dei dicit et Andreas Petro dicit: inuenimus messiam.*

Explicit (XIII): *Adlocutio Pilati ad Iudaeos de Iesu et de Barabba. Passio Iesu et sepultura et resurrectio eius.*<sup>46</sup>

De Bruyne edits the text of the Type B *capitula* from sixteen manuscripts.<sup>47</sup> McGurk supplements these with sixteen instances of this series in gospel books copied before the year 800, the earliest of which is the sixth-century Gospels of St Augustine.<sup>48</sup> These titles occur in two manuscripts with more than one series of *capitula*: VIENNA, lat. 1224, where they immediately precede the Gospel (after Type D at the beginning of the manuscript), and Codex Forojuliensis, where they are followed by Type I<sup>or</sup>. The sole example of Type P divisions (PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 10348) has Type B *capitula*. The titles are preceded by a variety of headings: the majority of manuscripts describe them as *capitula*, but we also find *breues*, *breuiarium*, *elenchus* and *tituli*.<sup>49</sup>

46. Like Type A, many manuscripts with Type B *capitula* begin the fourteenth title with *Passio*, and have *adlocutio ... Barabba* as the final sentence of the thirteenth title. The placing of the fourteenth division alongside 18:28 in the gospel text, however, supports De Bruyne's disposition of the titles.

47. These are Codex Cavensis (C; CAVA, *Badia* 1); Toletanus (T; MADRID, *BN*, *Vitr.* 13-1/Tol. 2.1); Complutensis 2 (t; MADRID, *Bibl. Univ.* 32); AUTUN 3 (A); PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 256 (D); PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 17226 (N); Ingolstadiensis (I; MUNICH, *Univ.* 2<sup>o</sup> 29); Forojuliensis (J; CIVIDALE, *Mus. arch. etc.*); OXFORD, *Bodl.*, Auct. D.ii.14 (O); CAMBRIDGE, *Corpus Christi* 286 (X; Gospels of St Augustine); Theodulfianus (Θ; PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 9380); VATICAN, Vat. lat. 5645 (R?); VATICAN, Vat. lat. 43 (V); VATICAN, Palat. lat. 46 (P); IVREA, *Bibl. cap.* 99 (Y); TURIN F.vi.I (Z). The manuscript with siglum R is not identified on p. 270, although a comparison with its text in the final *capitulum* as reported by McGurk and a handwritten note in De Bruyne's own copy observed by P.-M. Bogaert indicate that it is Vatican lat. 5645. Note also that Vatican Pal. 46 and Pal. 48 seem to have been swapped on pp. 411-2.

48. Seven of these are used by De Bruyne: witnesses A, D, N, J, O, X, R in the preceding note. The others are ABBEVILLE 4; AUTUN 4; CAMBRIDGE, *Univ.*, Kk.I.24; COLMAR 38; LONDON, *BL*, Add. 5463 (mistyped as 5436 on p. 117); LONDON, *BL*, Harley 2788; PARIS, *Arsenal* 599; TRIER, *Stadtbib.* 22; VIENNA, lat. 1224 (second series).

49. *Breues*: J (first series), Θ, A (but *expliciunt capitola*), D, AUTUN 4; *breuiarium*: Harley 2788, VATICAN lat. 5465; *elenchus* C, T, N, VIENNA 1224 (second series); *tituli*: O has no heading, but ends *expliciunt tituli*. On the introduction of the term *breuiarium* by Sedulius Scottus, see PETITMENGIN, «*Capitula* païens et chrétiens»,

As noted above, VL 16, VL 22 and COLMAR 38 use Greek numerals to mark chapter divisions matching this series, although the Old Latin witnesses do not transmit the *capitula*. VL 11, however, has Type B *capitula* before Luke and it is possible that Type B titles originally preceded John in the pages now missing.<sup>50</sup> An Old Latin origin for the series is supported by the biblical text in nine of the fourteen titles, e.g. *minorari* in Cap. 3 (VL 4, 14; Vulgate *minui*) and both *dedicatio* (VL 2, 6, 8, 10, 14, 32, 46; Vulgate *encenia*) and *deambulare* (VL 11, 11A, 14; Vulgate *ambulare*) in Cap. 9. However, all such non-Vulgate readings are shared with the longer *capitula* of Type A which have an even more marked Old Latin affiliation (see below). The two series are obviously related: much of the wording is identical, including phrases such as *de grano frumenti quod in terram mittitur* (Cap. 10), *de obseruandis mandatis* (Cap. 12) and *adlocutio Pilati ad Iudaeos de Iesu* (Cap. 14). Confirmation of the dependence of B on A may be found in two summary phrases: Cap. 2 in B ends *et de aliis multis*, abbreviating the mention of the serpent and the light in A, while Cap. 12 in B ends *et cetera mandata*, which are more fully listed in A.<sup>51</sup> The material in Type B which does not derive from Type A is minimal: the most striking is the insertion in Cap. 5 of *scrutamini scripturas* and *si crederetis Mosi crederetis forsitan et mihi* (John 5:39, 46). Both these quotations correspond to the Vulgate, as does the replacement of *initium* by *principium* in Cap. 8 (*cf.* John 8:25). There is also the addition of *Scenophegia* in Cap. 7 and *Barabbas* in Cap. 14. Although references to the woman taken in adultery and the final chapter of John are missing from the editorial text in *SDR*, these are unlikely to be textually significant given that Type B is derived from Type A.<sup>52</sup>

---

p. 496; Meyvaert suggests that *breues* may be an indication of Insular origin (Paul MEYVAERT, «Bede's *Capitula Lectionum* for the Old and New Testaments» *Revue bénédictine* 105 (1995) 348-80, p. 350).

50. See MCGURK, *Latin Gospel Books*, pp. 94 and 114, who also notes that it has Type I *capitula* before Mark.

51. Compare the phrase *et ceteris mandatis* in Type B in Matthew Cap. 4 and Mark Cap. 12 (and *et mandatis* in Luke Cap. 5), where Type A provides more details; similarly *et reliqua* at the end of Luke Cap. 20.

52. In the text printed in the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*, Type B includes *de muliere adullera*, supported by the majority of manuscripts. For the omission of the last chapter, compare the relationship between Types A and B in Luke. It should also be noted that *SDR* lacks the phrase *et duobus piscibus* from Cap. 6 through a typographical error.

**Type A** (formerly Type B<sup>r</sup>). 14 chapters.

Incipit (I): *Pharisaeorum*<sup>53</sup> *leuitae interrogant Iohannem. Iohannes Iesum uidens ecce agnus dei dicit de cuius spiritu testificatur. ... ubi etiam ad Nathanahel loquitur.*

Explicit (XIII): *Allocutio Pilati ad Iudaeos de Iesu ... et quod post prandium Petro pascendas oues tertio iniungit.*<sup>54</sup>

Four manuscripts are listed for Type B<sup>r</sup> in *SDR*, yet only FLORENCE, *BML*, Plutei 25.2 (F) and VATICAN, Reginenses lat. 14 (R) are used for the text; ROUEN A.1 also contains the full series, but further investigation of PARIS, *Arsenal* 33 reveals that it switches to Type B from the third title of John onwards.<sup>55</sup> However, as noted above, Berger lists around forty manuscripts with Type A in the Synoptics which may have this series in John. It was beyond the scope of the present study to investigate all these, but LONDON, *British Library*, Royal 1.D.III is also a complete example of Type A in John, while PARIS, *Mazarine* 2 is virtually identical to *Arsenal* 33.<sup>56</sup> Five of these six witnesses are two-volume Bibles produced in the tenth century or later (the exception being R). Again, all but one have Type A in the Synoptics, confirming the unity of the series.<sup>57</sup> The numeration of the titles varies considerably: in the Florence and Rouen manuscripts the *capitula* are unnumbered and are only distinguished by (respectively) six and fifteen lines with *ekthesis*; the numeration of *Arsenal* 33 is inconsistent (perhaps reflecting its composite nature), but *Mazarine* 2 numbers the titles in sequence. The Vatican manuscript supports the presentation of Type B<sup>r</sup> in fourteen sections, although the additional division in *SDR* with 63 hanging lines, broadly

53. In *SDR*, the opening text of Type B<sup>r</sup> is given as *Pharisaeorum sacerdotes <et> leuitae*. However, *sacerdotes* is only found in F and <et> is an editorial addition (although note PARIS, *St. Geneviève* 10 (*olim* 5), which begins Type B unusually with *pharisaei et leuitae*): it seems rather that Types A and B have the same incipit.

54. In some manuscripts with Type A *capitula*, the fourteenth title starts with the word *Passio*, and *Allocutio* begins the final sentence of the thirteenth title. The overlap with Type B and the position of this division in the gospel text, however, support *Allocutio* as the beginning of the last title.

55. The number of the Rouen manuscript is missing from p. 413 of *SDR*; its inventory number (used in the Index) is 6. In the Oxford Vulgate this series is printed from the *editio Thomasia* based on VATICAN Alex. 14, presumably the same as VATICAN Reg. lat. 14.

56. The principal manuscripts awaiting verification are the Bibles of Léon, San Millan and Huesca; ROME, *Vallie*. B 7 and Vat. lat. 4221; VENICE, *San Marco* 1; PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 5, 8, 9, 12, 26, 31, 258, 259, 262, 264, 277 (?), 323, 326, 8849, 9394, 11958, 14232, 14233, 15176, 15470, 16267; ANGERS 2; ORLÉANS 10; TOURS 5; BERN, *Burgerbibl.* 4 (BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 356).

57. The exception is F, which - contrary to *SDR* - has Type B in Mark, but A in Matthew, Luke and John.



based on the larger capitals in this witness, seems unwarranted. (It is not supplied for Type A in the Synoptic Gospels.) Notwithstanding differences in De Bruyne's edition (and further manuscript variation), the number and location of the headings in Types A and B seem originally to have been identical. The earliest description of the Type A titles is *breuis digestio euangelii cata Iohannem*; the Vatican, Rouen and Arsenal manuscripts have *capitula*, while *Mazarine 2* has *breuiarium*. The Graecism *cata* serves as an indication of their antiquity.

The precedence of Type A over Type B is demonstrated by the marked Old Latin affiliation displayed in its more extensive biblical quotations. Readings characteristic of the earlier versions include *in solitudine* (3:14; VL 4, 14, 47) and *lumen* in Cap. 2 (3:19; cf. VL 4, 13, 22, 47), *natoria* in Cap. 5 (5:2; VL 2, 3, 4, 5, 8\*, 9A\*?, 11, 11A, 14), *lumen mundi* in Cap. 7 (8:12; VL 14), *initium* in Cap. 8 (8:25; VL 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 22), *accipiendi* in Cap. 9 (10:18; VL 11), *graeci* in Cap. 10 (12:20; VL 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8\*, 11, 14, 46), *uinea* (15:1 or 15:4; VL 14), *parturiente* (cf. 16:21; cf. VL 3, 9A\*, 13), *tribulatio* and *saeculo* in Cap. 12 (16:33; VL 14, cf. VL 2, 5, 6, 13), *honorificare* in Cap. 13 (17:1-5; VL 3, 5, 13, 14) and *retia* and *navis* in Cap. 14 (21:6; cf. VL 2, 5, 10, 13, 14), in addition to those already discussed for Type B. With such a high proportion of Old Latin forms, it is almost inconceivable that these *capitula* are a later expansion of Type B rather than the source from which they were abbreviated. The agreements with VL 14 indicate that the Old Latin exemplar had an early form of text (Group 1). For this reason, readings such as *inuitatus ad cenam* in Cap. 2 (2:2; VL 4, 14, 47) and *ascendit in medio die festo* in Cap. 7 (7:14; cf. VL 2, 9A and Type B) have a strong claim to be the original text of the series. Adjustment towards the Vulgate is hardly surprising in these comparatively late witnesses: readings such as *frumenti* in Cap. 10 (12:24) and *dilectione* in Cap. 12 (15:13) may have replaced earlier forms.

Direct quotation is comparatively rare in these *capitula*. Instead, a narrative has been created which makes clear reference to individual verses, although the gospel text is sometimes treated rather loosely. For example, *dicunt ei quod Iesus omnes baptizaret* in Cap. 3 runs together the two parts of John 3:26; *prophetam in patria sua sine honore esse* in Cap. 4 is closer to Synoptic parallels such as Matthew 13:57 than *propheta in patria sua honorem non habet* at John 4:44; *mittere* is found in Chromatius' references to John 12:24 but biblical codices all have the verb *cadere*; the sense of Jesus' teaching at John 15:13 is not completely represented by *et dicit nihil maius dilectione* (Cap. 12); in John 17 Jesus never uses the verb

δοξάζειν of the disciples, despite the summary *ut honorificentur a patre postulat* (Cap. 13). This suggests that the compiler was more interested in the general import of passages than an exact representation of the evangelist's words.

It has long been recognised that certain *capitula* for Acts and the Hebrew Prophets were composed in Donatist circles.<sup>58</sup> Although there is nothing distinctively African about the biblical text of this set for John, a number of topics pertinent to the Donatist controversy recur in the relatively limited selection of passages. There is mention of baptism in Cap. 3 and twice in Cap. 4; several references are made to disagreements (Capp. 5 and 7), to treachery and denial (Capp. 7, 11 (twice), 13 (twice, including the term *traditio*) and 14), and to plots and violence (Capp. 9, 10, 13). Themes such as *de tribulatione in saeculo toleranda* (Cap. 12) and the Jews' acclamation of Caesar (John 19:15; Cap. 13) could also be connected with a Donatist context. Alternatively, it has been claimed that one of Types A or B represents the summary associated with Fortunatianus.<sup>59</sup> In either case, the evidence is insufficient to reach a firm conclusion.

**Type Ben.** 50 chapters.

Incipit (I): *De principio uerbi.*

Explicit (L): *De apparitione eius*<sup>60</sup> *ad mare Tiberiadis et Petro dicit: diligis me.*

The fifty short titles of Type Ben are only known from four manuscripts, of which three are used for the edition in *SDR*: ROME, *Casana-tensis* 1101, which has the series in all four Gospels; MONTE CASSINO 35, containing all but Matthew; the sixth- or seventh-century gospel book in Split Cathedral, the oldest witness, with Type I in the Synoptics but Type Ben in John. One further witness not included in *SDR* is ROME,

---

58. See BOGAERT, «Les particularités éditoriales», pp. 9-10: the first set of *capitula* for Acts in the Oxford Vulgate (beginning *De passione et resurrectione domini*) feature references to rebaptism, while Donatist summaries for the prophets are identified in H.J. CHAPMAN, «The Codex Amiatinus and Cassiodorus», *Revue bénédictine* 39 (1927) 12-32; De Bruyne's suggestions for other potential Donatist series are mentioned under Type Ben below.

59. Thus BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 312, who asserts Fortunatianus' authorship of Type B based on the form used by Hilary of Poitiers. Yet it is not clear from Jerome's text whether the *tituli ordinati* were composed by Fortunatianus himself (or, indeed, whether they refer to the Gospels or the commentaries); furthermore, does the abbreviated form constitute a separate work?

60. *Eius* is duplicated in *SDR*.

*Angelica* 29, from the tenth century.<sup>61</sup> Each title begins with *ubi* or *de*, and in the Split codex they have the heading *capitula*.

Although most of the locations of division are similar to other series, Type Ben appears to be a fresh compilation: none of the other thirteen types quotes from John 1:16, 5:41, 6:17, 8:22, 9:39 or 13:37. Interestingly, two of these have Old Latin readings: *honorem ab hominibus non quaerendum* in Cap. 13 (cf. 5:41 and 44 in VL 4, 11, 14, 47) and *de ascensione nauiculae* in Cap. 14 (cf. 6:17 in VL 4, 10, 13, 14). Furthermore, there are at least six other distinctive non-Vulgate forms: *triduo* in Cap. 6 (2:19), *heremo* in Cap. 7 (3:14), *ante Abraham ego sum* in Cap. 24 (8:58), *ianua* in Cap. 26 (10:1), *copiosum* in Cap. 33 (12:25) and *proicient* in Cap. 40 (16:2). Three of these are not present in surviving Old Latin manuscripts: *heremo* is found in John 3:14 (and 1:23) in several early authors and is read at 6:39 by VL 14;<sup>62</sup> *copiosum* for *πολύν* has parallels at 5:6 (VL 11, 14), 15:5 (VL 3, 6, 8, 13) and 15:8 (VL 13) but not 12:25;<sup>63</sup> *proicient* in 16:2 is comparable to *expulerunt* (VL 2), *ecient* (VL 5, 11, 13) and *expellent* (VL 10), but contrasts with *facient* in the Vulgate and other manuscripts.<sup>64</sup> Alongside these should be set forms characteristic of a later stage in the Latin Bible, such as *numquid et uos uullis abire* (6:67, Cap. 17), *de grano frumenti* (12:24, Cap. 33) and *ubi Iesus crucem baiulat* (19:17, Cap. 46). Nonetheless, the Old Latin readings suggest that this series has a pre-Vulgate origin. At one point, De Bruyne considered that the Type Ben gospel *capitula* might be of Donatist origin, but the evidence adduced is minimal, and Types A and I have stronger claims in John.<sup>65</sup>

61. See further Popović, «Les Évangiles de Split» and, especially, «Du nouveau sur les Évangiles de Split», p. 290, which includes *Angelica* 29 in this group. According to Popović, the siglum Ben stands for *Beneventanus* and the switch to this type in John represents the more prestigious of the two codices used for the Split Gospels («Du nouveau», pp. 283-5).

62. See H.A.G. HOUGHTON, *Augustine's Text of John*, Oxford: OUP, 2008, p. 209; *eremo* occurs in 3:14 in two early gospel books, CAMBRIDGE, *UL*, Kk.I.24 (with Type B *capitula*) and WÜRZBURG, *Univ.*, M.p.th.q. 1a (with Type W *capitula*).

63. There are no manuscripts with this reading in Bonifatius FISCHER, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert. IV. Varianten zu Johannes* (AGLB 18). Freiburg: Herder, 1991. Nonetheless, it is suggested by three patristic references to John 12:24: AU Ps 19.5.6, MAXn s 3 and PS-HI bre 40. (Abbreviations of patristic works are given according to the Vetus Latina system: see Roger GRYSO, *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'antiquité et du haut moyen âge*. (Vetus Latina 1/1). 2 vols. Freiburg: Herder, 2007).

64. Compare also *proicere* in a similar context in VL 14 at 9:22.

65. See BOGAERT, «Les particularités éditoriales», pp. 11-16. The only item of characteristic African vocabulary identified in John is *arguere* in Type Ben (Cap. 42), also present in Type C (Capp. 21 and 29). Apart from *insinual* in Type Vich (Cap. 13), none of the other words in this list appears in any of the *capitula* of John.

**Type C.** 45 chapters.

Incipit (I): *In principio uerbum deus apud deum per quem facta sunt omnia et Iohannes missus refertur ante eum qui recipientes se facit filios dei per gratiam suam.*

Explicit (XLV): *Usque tertio dicit Petro amas me, quia ter eum negauerat ... quod crucis morte foret martyrio coronandus.*

De Bruyne lists 24 manuscripts with Type C *capitula* for John, and uses the same five famous codices as the Oxford Vulgate for the text: Amiatinus (A; FLORENCE, Amiat. 1); Hubertianus (H; LONDON, *BL*, Add. 24142); Vallicellianus (V; ROME, *Vallicell.* B.6); Lindisfarne (Y; LONDON, *BL*, Cotton Nero D.IV); LONDON, *BL*, Harley 2797 (L). The only other pre ninth-century witnesses are LONDON, *BL*, Royal 1.B.VII and the ST PETERSBURG Insular Gospels (VL 9A): in the latter, the discrepancy between the Type C *capitula* and the Type B divisions was caused by the pages of prefatory material being copied separately and added later.<sup>66</sup> In VL 9A and Lindisfarne the titles are described as *capitula lectionum*, a designation which appears to be peculiar to Type C and is found preceding the Synoptic Gospels in *Amiatinus*.<sup>67</sup> Other manuscripts have *breues* (Royal 1.B.VII, although it has *capitula lectionum* before Luke) or simply *capitula* (Vallicellianus).

The titles and divisions consist of one or two sentences, often heavily subordinated: ablative absolutes and relative clauses are common, while gerunds and gerundives are a recurring stylistic feature.<sup>68</sup> The use of *inter multa* (Capp. 6, 16, 23, 27, 32, cf. 25) and *plurima* (Capp. 8, 16, 19, 24) indicates that the aim was to summarise the contents of each section. The verbs *pronuntiare* (Capp. 11, 17, 26, 31), *confirmare* (Capp. 7, 21,

---

Despite accepting an African origin for this set, POPOVIĆ («Du nouveau», p. 290) also observes features typical of Rome and Campania.

66. See further HOUGHTON, «The St Petersburg Insular Gospels», p. 114. The other seventeen manuscripts are: DOUAI 16; FLORENCE, *Laurent.* 26.1 (given as 25.1 on p. 599); LIÈGE, 1; LONDON, *BL*, Add. 17738; LONDON, *BL*, Harley 2788 and 2804; NAMUR, *Seminary*; PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 111, 265, 271 and 15177; METZ 1151; REIMS 2; ROME, *Vallicell.* A.2 and D 8; ROME, *St Peter* D 153; ROUEN 2. Although SDR lists UTRECHT (*Univ.* 32) as a witness to Type C in all four Gospels, MCGURK, *Latin Gospel Books*, pp. 77 and 114, confirms that the *capitula* only survive for Matthew.

67. The heading of the titles for John has been erased in *Amiatinus* and *Hubertianus*; the titles for Luke in *Amiatinus* are introduced as *indicia siue capitula lectionum*. On the adoption of the terminology *capitula lectionum* in Wearmouth-Jarrow at the time of Bede, see M.M. GORMAN, «Source Marks and Chapter Divisions in Bede's Commentary on Luke» *Revue bénédictine* 112 (2002) 246-75 (p. 267); for Bede's own use of it, see MEYVAERT, «Bede's *Capitula Lectionum*», pp. 348-51.

68. On the high frequency of ablative absolutes in the *capitula* for the Octateuch in Codex *Amiatinus*, see DE BRUYNE, «Cassiodore et l'*Amiatinus*», p. 264.

43) and *significare* (Capp. 34, 38, 43, 45) are characteristic of this type; along with other vocabulary such as *mystice* (Cap. 8, cf. Cap. 5), *signum* (Cap. 13) and *testimonium* (Capp. 12, 21, 34), they reveal the compiler's exegetical interest. This is most evident in comments which go beyond the biblical text, such as *quo facto cognoscitur quod ubi ipse fuerit inuitatus uinum necesse sit deficere nuptiarum* in Cap. 4 and the reference to Peter's death by crucifixion in Cap. 45.<sup>69</sup>

The biblical text normally corresponds to the Vulgate, including distinctive readings such as *incredulus* in John 3:36 (Cap. 7), *si manseritis in sermone meo* in 8:31 (Cap. 23), *unum ouile* in 10:16 (Cap. 26), *gentiles* in 12:20 (Cap. 31), *confidite* in 16:33 (Cap. 39) and *cum fores essent clausae* in 20:19 (Cap. 43). There are a handful of readings with Old Latin parallels, e.g. *triduo* in 2:19 (Cap. 5; cf. VL 3, 4, 14, 15), *quae in deo sunt facta* in 3:21 (Cap. 6; cf. VL 9A), *de morte ad uitam* in 5:24 (Cap. 11; cf. VL 4, 9A, 15), *saturauit* in a reference to 6:12 (Cap. 13, but cf. 6:26), and *qui sinit* in 7:37 (Cap. 19). The most interesting reading is perhaps *potestatem habere se dicit ponendi ac resumendi animam suam* (Cap. 27): no surviving manuscript has *resumendi* rather than *iterum sumendi* in John 10:18, although it is found in patristic citations. Nonetheless, the full integration of Vulgate readings indicates that this series does not have Old Latin roots.<sup>70</sup> The *capitula* of Type Win are an expansion based on Type C.

**Type Cat. 36 chapters.**

Incipit (I): *De diuinitate uerbi quod caro factum est, et Iohannes baptista de eo dicit: non sum dignus soluere corrigiam calciamenti eius...*

Explicit (XXXVI): *Et cum tertio apparuisset eis piscantibus dicit Petro ter: pasce oues meas et cum senueris alius te cinget, et sequere me.*

69. The comment in Cap. 4 is very similar to the Mozarabic and Spanish prologues to John (*ubi dominus inuitatur deficere nuptiarum uinum debeat/uinum deficiat nuptiarum*). At the end of Cap. 3 (relating to Nathaniel) Codex Hubertianus includes a line from Jerome's *De uiris illustribus (et confectus senio sexagesimo et octauo anno post passionem domini mortuus iuxta eadem urbe sepultus est)*: this, however, seems to have been incorporated erroneously into the *capitula* as in its original context it refers to the evangelist John.

70. H.J. CHAPMAN, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908, p. 284, suggests that the *capitula* in Codex Amiatinus were composed by Eugippius based on earlier divisions. While Chapman's reconstruction of events is questionable, as there is no trace of earlier divisions matching Type C, there is nothing in Eugippius' citations of John to contradict this; indeed, *uia, ueritas et uita* in Cap. 35 matches his non-standard quotation of John 14:6 at EUGI reg 29.93 against the form of this verse in Codex Amiatinus.

This set is only found in two manuscripts, PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 6 (tenth century) and ST MILLAN 3 (thirteenth century), both of which are used for the text in *SDR*. According to the Oxford Vulgate, the series is headed *incipit capitulatio*, but ends *expliciunt capitula*. The thirty-six divisions are similar to those of Type I and there is a close but complicated relationship between the titles. Many Old Latin forms are common to both, such as *soluere* in 1:27 (Cap. 1), *natoriam piscinam* in 5:2 (Cap. 11), *ire* in 6:68 (Cap. 13), *ante Abraham ego sum* in 8:58 (Cap. 17), *occidere* in 12:10 (Cap. 22), *flores* in 12:13 (Cap. 23) and *ter me negabis* in 13:38 (Cap. 27); they also share the unusual editorial *secessit* in 4:3 (Cap. 8). Some differences between the series are attested in manuscript variants within Type I, such as the addition of *ecce* in Cap. 2, *labores eorum* in Cap. 9 and *citius* in Cap. 26. The last is an alteration towards the Vulgate, as is *mandata mea seruate* in Cap. 28 (14:16; cf. also John 4:44 in Cap. 10). These suggest that Type Cat, although longer and with more quotations, is secondary to Type I. There are also errors of sequence, consistent with the expansion of an existing series: the insertion of *sicut nouit me pater et ego noui patrem* from John 10:15 precedes *ego sum pastor bonus* (10:10) in Cap. 19; Cap. 31 ends with *non tantum pro his rogo* from John 17:20, but Cap. 32 (as in Type I) begins with *pater sancte serua eos* (17:11b).

On the other hand, although some of the extra biblical text is closer to the Vulgate (e.g. *scitis* in Cap. 16, *gentiles* in Cap. 23, *plorabitis et flebitis* in Cap. 30), these quotations also feature a number of characteristic Old Latin forms. The most distinctive are *gloriam ab inuicem quaerentes* in Cap. 11 (5:44; cf. VL 8), *qui non intrat per ianuam* (10:1; VL 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 13, 14, 22, 27, 35) and *et ego noui patrem* (10:15; VL 3, 9A, 10, 14) in Cap. 19, *granum tritici* in Cap. 23 (12:24; VL 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 14) and *omnia quae habet pater* in Cap. 30 (16:15; VL 2, 5), alongside a number of omissions or variations in word order. These imply that Type Cat was compiled from an Old Latin source: further evidence for this is supplied by the alteration of John 16:2 in Cap. 30 away from the version in Type I to *ueniet hora ut qui interfecerit uos arbitretur se obsequium deo praestare*, a form very close to VL 8 and other members of Group 2A. Four readings are not supported in any surviving Old Latin codices, although all have parallels in patristic citations: *ueniet hora quando* and *ipsum accipietis* in Cap. 11 (John 5:28 and 5:43), *nemo uenit ad me nisi pater meus traxerit eum* in Cap. 12 (John 6:44) and *uenient Romani et tollent regnum nostrum* in Cap. 21 (John 11:48). The last two display alterations characteristic of flattening, suggesting that they may have been quoted from

memory.<sup>71</sup> This would also explain two major lapses: the interpolation of *et quadraginta annos nondum habes* from 8:57 into the summary of John 2 in Cap. 5 (cp. *quadraginta et sex annis aedificatum est templum hoc* in 2:20; 8:57 actually reads *quingenta*), and *ego sum lux mundi* (John 8:12) in place of *ego lux in mundum ueni* (John 12:46) in Cap. 24. While the Old Latin readings are of interest, this looseness suggests that caution is necessary in using this series as evidence for earlier texts of the Gospel.

**Type Cy. 68 chapters.**

Incipit (II): *De Iohanne quia testimonium perhibebat de lumine, nam non erat ipse lumen, et de lumine uero et quia uerbum caro factum est.*

Explicit (LXVIII): *Ubi apparuit discipulis tertio ad mare et prandit cum illis et dixit Petro: pasce oues meas, et de cruce eius significauit et de Iohanne dixit: sic illum uolo manere donec uenio.*

This series has already been studied in detail with a textual commentary by De Bruyne.<sup>72</sup> The siglum Cy represents his belief that these *capitula* are roughly contemporary with Cyprian: De Bruyne's preference was to date them a few years before Cyprian, accompanying a revision of the African text of the Gospels represented by Codex Bobiensis (VL 1) prior to Cyprian's quotations and Codex Palatinus (VL 2), although he acknowledged that the reference to the *adullera* in Cap. 30 might postpone them to the end of the third century.<sup>73</sup> The *capitula* for John are preserved in two manuscripts, the ninth-century VATICAN, Barberini lat. 637 and the tenth-century MUNICH, BSB Clm 6212.<sup>74</sup> The first title is missing from both. The biblical text, with affinities to the citations of both Cyprian and Tertullian, is earlier than that of any surviving Old

71. For flattening, see H.A.G. HOUGHTON, «'Flattening' in Latin Biblical Citations» in J. BAUN, A. CAMERON, M. EDWARDS and M. VINZENT (edd.) *Studia Patristica vol. XLV*, Leuven: Peeters, 2010, pp. 271-6.

72. DE BRUYNE, «Quelques documents nouveaux»; for John see pp. 316-24. Comparison of the text in *SDR* with the extant manuscripts has brought to light a few minor omissions, corrected in the text provided in the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*.

73. DE BRUYNE, «Quelques documents nouveaux», p. 442.

74. The Munich manuscript was only discovered by De Bruyne after the publication of the first installment of «Quelques documents nouveaux»; both are used in *SDR*. According to McGurk, its exemplar was a sixth-century manuscript from Ravenna and it has an unusual set of canon tables («The Disposition of Numbers», note on p. 245). In addition, there are two further partial witnesses to the headings of the Cy series, FLORENCE, BML, Edili 125 for Matthew and PARIS, BnF, lat. 277 for Mark, while some of the Cy divisions are found in Matthew in LONDON, BL, Harley 1775 (see V. POPOVIĆ, «Sur l'origine de l'évangélaire latin de la British Library, Harley 1775» *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 134.3 (1990) 709-735, p. 728).

Latin manuscript of John. There is a consistency in the renderings (e.g. *magistratus saeculi* in Cap. 41 and 50 for ἄρχων κόσμου in John 12:31 and 14:30) which, along with the close sequential treatment of the text, indicates that the compiler relied on a gospel manuscript. A number of renderings are unique to these *capitula*, including *nata est quaestio* in Cap. 11 (3:25; ἐγένετο ζήτησις), *saluum fecit* in Cap. 18 (5:9), *comprehendere* in Cap. 28 (7:44), *conuincit* in Cap. 31 (8:46), *schisma* in Cap. 33 (10:19; cf. VL 2 in 7:43), *constanter* in Cap. 34 (10:24; cf. VL 13 in 7:13), *quicumque cognosceret* in Cap. 36 (11:57), *claritatem* in Cap. 42 (12:41), *excipit* in Cap. 45 (13:20), *manifeste* in Cap. 52 (16:29) and *abstulit auriculam puero* in Cap. 54 (18:10). Others are only paralleled in early quotations, such as *expulit* in 2:15 (Cap. 8), *edidistis* in 6:26 (Cap. 22), *inuenit* in 14:30 (Cap. 50) and *officium deo facere* in 16:2 (Cap. 50). As the earliest set of New Testament chapter divisions known to survive in any language, these are of considerable interest and their importance for the biblical text is unparalleled.<sup>75</sup>

**Type D.** 41 chapters (?).

Incipit (I): *In principio erat uerbum et quod in propria uenit.*

Explicit (XLI?; XXXIX in M; XLIII in T): ... *et cum tertio manifestaret se dominus discipulis suis ait Petro: pasce oues meas et sequere me.*

This series is poorly attested: no surviving manuscript has Type D *capitula* in all four Gospels and there are only three witnesses for John.<sup>76</sup> In the Cutbercht Gospels (V; VIENNA lat. 1224), *capitula* for Matthew (Type P<sup>i</sup>) and Mark, Luke and John (Type D) are found in a group at the beginning of the manuscript, with additional sets immediately preceding Luke and John (Types A and B respectively, both entitled *elenchus*). The second volume of the Montpellier Bible (M; LONDON, BL, Harley 4773) has Type A for Matthew and Type D *capitula* before each of the other three Gospels. Netzer's detailed investigation of the Trier Gospels (T; TRIER, *Domschatz* 134/61) has demonstrated that although the *capitula* for Matthew are Type P<sup>i</sup>, the other three Gospels have a conflation of Type I and Type D created by the copyists from the two exemplars used

75. For an example of their application to the study of the Greek tradition, see C.-B. AMPHOUX, «Les premières versions latines de Luc 5 et leur contribution à l'histoire du texte» in R. GRAYSON (ed.), *Philologia Sacra I. Altes und Neues Testament*. Freiburg: Herder (1993) pp. 193-211, especially pp. 200-8.

76. DE BRUYNE, «Quelques documents nouveaux», p. 433 identifies the Type D *capitula* for Matthew as a fourth-century African series, but this does not appear to apply to the other Gospels.



for this codex.<sup>77</sup> (In John, this is evident from the duplication in Cap. 18, *De muliere in adullerio depraehensa in moeatione*.) The edition of the Type D *capitula* in *SDR*, conflating V and M with the interpolated text of T, is therefore misleading and a revised text is provided in the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*. The original series, represented by V and M, appears to consist of 41 chapters: in V the titles are unnumbered and not always clearly separated, while the numbering in M is confused in both the *capitula* list and the divisions in the Gospel.<sup>78</sup> In T, these have been expanded to 43; passages unique to T are for the most part evidence for the version of Type I present in one of its exemplars.<sup>79</sup>

Even so, the text of V and M appears to be an early revision of the Type I *capitula* comparable to Type Cat, with extra biblical quotations and a few alterations to the chapter divisions. Some overlaps with Type Cat (e.g. the addition of *ubi erat fons Iacob* in Cap. 9, *facta sunt encaenia in hierusolimis* in Cap. 23, *si quis mihi ministrat* etc. in Cap. 28, *pater uenit hora* etc. in Cap. 37) suggests that they may be related, although Type D also has material not present in Type Cat or any other series (e.g. John 17:12 and 24 in Cap. 38). It is closer to the Vulgate than either Type I or Type Cat, as shown by readings such as *si quis silit* (Cap. 17; John 7:37), *antequam Abraham fieret ego sum* (Cap. 20; John 8:58), *qui non intrat per ostium* (Cap. 22; John 10:1), *cum autem tanta signa fecisset* (Cap. 29; John 12:37), *mansiones multae sunt* (Cap. 32; John 14:2), *confidite ego uici mundum* (Cap. 36; John 16:33) in addition to *cum lanternis et facibus* and *misit eum Annas ligatum ad Caipham* (Cap. 39; John 18:3 and 24). In the light of this, the few non-Vulgate readings seem of limited significance: *manducastis de panibus* in Cap. 15 (6:26; VL 2, 3, 4, 5, 13, 14, 15, 22), *unde ueni aut quo uado* in Cap. 19 (8:14; VL 10, 11A, 47, 48), *ne*

---

77. Nancy NETZER, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach*. Cambridge: CUP, 1994, especially pp. 18-21 and 162-71. *SDR* (p. 413) and MCGURK, *Latin Gospel Books* (p. 114) record the Matthew *capitula* as absent and describe the *capitula* as Type I in Mark and Type D in Luke and John; in fact, the prefatory material for Matthew is misplaced, and is currently bound in the middle of John, on folios 143r to 147v. The lists for Matthew, Luke and John have the heading *breues*, but Mark has *capitulare*. Netzer also observes (p. 21) that the additional series at the beginning of the Cutbercht Gospels may therefore come from the same scriptorium as the Trier Gospels.

78. The titles are numbered from 1 to 39, with 27 and 28 conflated and the numeral 27 then repeated; the divisions accompanying the text of John are given as 1-37 and 40-1.

79. There are a few places where material unique to T is not found in the Type I tradition (Capp. 1, 4, 12, 17, 18, 32, 41); these are biblical quotations which may have been added by the copyists. T is another witness to *moeatione* in Type I Cap. 16 and *pulet se officium deo facere* in Type I Cap. 30 (see below).

*uos tenebrae comprehendant* in Cap. 28 (12:35; VL 3, 11A) and *uolo ut ubi ego sum et ipsi sint* in Cap. 38 (17:24; VL 30) all occur in the later mixed-text tradition. The forms *quid faciemus quia homo iste tanta signa facit* in Cap. 25 (11:47), and *unus uestrum me tradet* in Cap. 31 (13:21) have no parallels in surviving manuscripts or Christian authors: they may be authorial adaptations comparable to the paraphrased form of John 7:3 in Cap. 16 (*ut discipuli tui uideant quae facis*).

**Type I.** 36 chapters.

Incipit (I): *Iohannes testimonium perhibet de Christo dicens: non sum dignus corrigiam calciamenti eius soluere.*

Explicit (XXXVI): *Et cum tertio manifestaret se Iesus discipulis, ait Petro dicens ter pasce oues meas et sequere me.*

This is the most widespread series of *capitula* in manuscripts with an Old Latin text of the Gospel, present in VL 8 (*ff*; PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 17225, Codex Corbeiensis) and VL 6 (PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 254, Codex Colbertinus) from Burton's Group 2A, as well as VL 7 (G; PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 11553, Codex Sangermanensis primus) and VL 15 (A; STOCKHOLM, *KB*, A.135, Codex Aureus) from Group 2B. It also appears in the Echternach Gospels (E; PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 9389), and manuscripts related to VL 15 including the Maaseyck Gospels (K; MAASEYCK, *Sint Katerinenkerk* s.n.) and the Augsburg Gospels (AUGSBURG, *Univ.*, Oettingen-Wallenstein'sche Bib. 1.2.4<sup>o</sup>.2; formerly Maihingen and Schloss Harburg). In addition, it occurs in an insular group comprising the Book of Armagh (D; DUBLIN, *Trinity College* = TCD 52), the Book of Durrow (U; TCD 57) and the Book of Kells (Q; TCD 58). Thirty-two manuscripts with this series are found in *SDR*, although not all feature in the index on pp. 412-4 and only eleven are used for the edition of the text.<sup>80</sup> McGurk lists twelve codices copied before the year 800 with Type I in John: of these, PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 260 uses Ammonian sections in place of chapter numbers in the *capitula*, while POITIERS 17 (like VL 6) has only 35 titles.<sup>81</sup> While most manu-

80. In addition to the eight manuscripts given letters above, De Bruyne uses the following for the text: VATICAN lat. 7223 (H), PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 11957 (C) and MONTPELLIER, *Bibl. de la ville* 3 (M). See also POPOVIĆ, «Du nouveau sur les Évangiles de Split», pp. 289-91; the designation I seems to have been used to suggest an Italian origin.

81. MCGURK, *Latin Gospel Books*, pp. 114 and 117; the reference to the final «Cap. 126» may be an error for Cap. 226, the Ammonian section matching the last title. (For other manuscripts with this feature, see note 14 above.)

scripts describe the list as *capitula*, both POITIERS 17 and the Echternach Gospels have *breuis disputatio*, while Codex Aureus has *breues*.<sup>82</sup>

As expected, Old Latin readings occur throughout the *capitula*, beginning with *corrigham calciamenti eius soluere* in Cap. 1 (1:27; cf. VL 3, 4, 10, 13, 14, 15). This does not correspond to the biblical text of the Group 2A manuscripts, suggesting that the series may go back to an earlier stage. On the other hand, there are also readings more characteristic of this group such as *lux in hunc mundum* in Cap. 24 (12:46; VL 4, 6, 8, 9A, 11, 11A, 46, 48\*), *quod facis fac celerius* in Cap. 26 (13:27; VL 3, 4, 8, 10) and *praecepta mea custodite* in Cap. 28 (14:15; VL 6, 8). The value accorded by De Bruyne to VL 8, the earliest surviving witness to the Type I *capitula*, is not always justified. For example, in Cap. 16 he follows it by printing *mulierem in adulterio deprehensam* even though the six manuscripts described as β (AKCVBN) and VL 6 have *mulierem deprehensam in moechatione*. In fact, VL 8 is the only Latin gospel manuscript with *moechatio* in John 8:3, and this unusual rendering is far more likely to be the original form of the *capitulum*: it is ironic that the alteration to the *capitula* in VL 8 has resulted in an inconsistency with the subsequent biblical text.<sup>83</sup> Similarly Cap. 30 in *SDR* reads *ueniet hora ut qui uos occiderit putet se obsequium deo facere*. Although this includes a number of Old Latin forms (*ueniet* as in VL 2, 6, 7, 9A, 10, 11, 13, 14; *occiderit* as in VL 2, 3, 5, 13, 14; *putet* as in VL 2, 5), there is no example of *obsequium deo facere* in Latin manuscripts of John 16:2. The alternative reading *officium deo facere* has an impeccable Old Latin pedigree in early African Christian writers, including Cyprian, Tyconius, Augustine and his opponent Petilianus, not to forget Type Cy above.<sup>84</sup>

Parallels for several of the Old Latin forms in these *capitula* are only preserved in Codex Palatinus (VL 2). These include *regnum caelorum* in Cap. 6 (3:5), *sicut scriptum est* rather than *sicut dixit scriptura* in Cap. 15

---

82. Wordsworth and White (p. 493) claim that the Book of Durrow has *breuis interpretatio secundum Iohannem*, but no title is visible in the facsimile. The Echternach Gospels also have the archaic *kala Iohannem* (found in some witnesses to Type A).

83. The rare word *moechatio* is first attested in PS-CY sng and does not appear to be found in quotations of John 8.

84. Manuscripts with *officium deo facere* in Cap. 30 generally also read *moechatio* in Cap. 16 (e.g. VL 15, Bodley 155, the Trier Gospels and ST PETERSBURG, NLR, Q.v.I.26). The patristic references are AU ep 185.20, AU Fau 22.70, AU Gau (seven times), CY ep 58, CY Fo 11, CY te 3.16, LUC Ath 1.19, PETI ap AU Do (three times), TY Apc 3.1; the only instance of *obsequium facere* is BEA Apc 5.12.7, which may represent a partial updating of Tyconius.

(7:38), *quarta diei* rather than *quadriduanus* in Cap. 21 (11:39) and *dilexissetis* rather than *diligeretis* in Cap. 29 (14:28).<sup>85</sup> Further readings are shared with a handful of other Old Latin manuscripts, such as *occidere* in Cap. 22 (12:10), *ter me negabis* in Cap. 29 (13:38) and *putet* in Cap. 30 (16:2). As VL 2 is the principal witness to an African text of John, these similarities (along with the patristic support) suggest that this series is of African origin. Indeed, the match for the text of Cap. 30 in Petilianus and Tyconius would support a claim that this derives from a Donatist source (compare Types A and Ben above).

One further characteristic of these *capitula* is their looseness.<sup>86</sup> For example, the phrase *domus orationis est domus patris mei* in Cap. 5 is far closer to the sentiment expressed in Matthew 21:13 and parallels than John 2:16. *Omnis propheta sine honore est in patria sua* in Cap. 10 also draws on the Synoptic phrasing (Matt. 13:57, Mark 6:4) instead of John 4:44.<sup>87</sup> Cap. 29 reverses the order of verses, quoting John 15:1 before John 14:28. In John 3:5, almost all Latin gospel manuscripts have *non potest* with the infinitive: *non intrabit* in Cap. 6 is a flattened form found in numerous Christian authors which also has Synoptic parallels (e.g. Matt. 7:21, 19:23).<sup>88</sup> An even more interesting detail is found in Cap. 11, where the colonnade around the Pool of Bethesda in John 5:2 is identified with the *porticus Salomonis* of John 10:23. This connection is also made by four Church Fathers: Hilary of Poitiers, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine (three times), and Cassiodorus (probably following Augustine).<sup>89</sup> The surprising conclusion is that the Type I *capitula* were composed with com-

85. The first and last of these are not adopted in the editorial text given in *SDR*, but their biblical affiliation offers a strong case for their authenticity.

86. For looseness as a feature of Donatist *capitula*, see BOGAERT, «Les particularités éditoriales», pp. 14-15.

87. It is possible too that *cessit* in Cap. 8 (referring to John 4:3) draws on Synoptic parallels (e.g. Matt. 4:12, 14:13, 15:21; Mark 3:7; Luke 9:10); this verb is not found in John apart from certain Old Latin manuscripts in John 6:15.

88. FISCHER, *Die lateinischen Evangelien*, p. 53 records one manuscript from the first millennium with *inrabit* in place of *potest introire* (Wb; VL 271, a liturgical *Liber mysticus*). Tertullian, Chromatius of Aquileia, Filastrius of Brescia, Jerome, Augustine, the Council of Carthage in 411 and the early African *De trinitate* (ascribed to Vigilius of Thapsus) are among the early sources for *inrabit*.

89. HIL Ps 91.5; PAU-N carm 28.307; AU Jo 20.2.3; AU Ps 83.10; AU s 272B.4; CAf Ps 25.12. On this possible identification in Possidius' list of Augustine's sermons, see further David F. WRIGHT, «*Piscina Siloa* or *Piscina Salomonis*? (Possidius, *Indiculum* X 6.57)» *Revue des études augustiniennes* 25 (1979) 47-60; Wright observes that it is unlikely that Augustine influenced the *capitula* (p. 55), but the antiquity now demonstrated for this series means that they may have been familiar to Augustine.

paratively little reference to the text of the Gospel and may have drawn on (or subsequently influenced) exegetical tradition.<sup>90</sup>

**Type I<sup>for</sup>. 39 chapters.**

Incipit (I): *De principio euangelii*.

Explicit (XXXVIII): *Ubi tertio se manifestauit discipulis ad mare Tiberiadis et manducauit cum illis*.

In Codex Forojuliensis (CLA 285, now divided between Cividale, Prague and Venice), John is preceded first by Type B *capitula* described as *breues* and then by this unique series under the heading of *capitulationes*.<sup>91</sup> Within the 39 numbered titles, there are 13 more subdivisions identified by *ekthesis* in *SDR*. Almost all the numbered titles begin with *de* or *ubi*, indicating that this is a unified system. The series has several of similarity with other types, as in the addition of *et ementes* in Cap. 4 (2:15, *cf.* Matt. 21:12 and parallels; also Types D, P<sup>i</sup>, W) and the use of the non-biblical *increpare* for Jesus' rebuke of Thomas in Cap. 38 (20:27; also Types Cat and I). A number are shared with Cy alone, such as the beginning of a new chapter at John 11:53 (Cy 36 and I<sup>for</sup> 25), the quotation of John 12:36 (*abscondit se*; I<sup>for</sup> 28 and Cy 41) and the term *aduocatus* in 14:16 (I<sup>for</sup> 31 and Cy 49); John 14:8 only features in Cy (49), Ben (37) and I<sup>for</sup> (30), while John 15:14 (*amicos*) is limited to Cy (50), D (34) and I<sup>for</sup> (32). However, there is also much biblical material which is unique to I<sup>for</sup>, including references to John 5:30 (Cap. 12) and 17:15 (Cap. 35) and numerous details (e.g. *lucerna* in Cap. 12 (5:45), *Capharnaum* (6:24) and *qui de caelo descendi* (6:48) in Cap. 14, *manducauit cum illis* (*cf.* 21:13) in Cap. 39. Some of these have Old Latin characteristics, including *de superioribus sum* in Cap. 19 (8:23; VL 3, 5, 8, 13), *occidere* in Cap. 25 (11:53; VL 2, 3, 14) and both *ubi honorificat patrem* (17:1-5; *cf.* VL 3, 5, 13, 14) and *conserues a malo* (17:15; VL 15, *cf.* 10, 13) in Cap. 35; of particular interest is *plurimi discipuli* in Cap. 15 (6:66), only matched by Jerome, *Epistula* 40.1.3. These indicate that I<sup>for</sup> is not dependent on another series for common Old Latin renderings and should therefore be treated as a further independent set of Old Latin *capitula*.<sup>92</sup>

90. It is conceivable that the Synoptic parallels may derive from a list of Ammonian sections with titles similar to those found in VL 10, 39, 40 and 46: in Canons comprising two or more Gospels, the Matthaean (or Synoptic) text is usually quoted, although this does not explain all the inaccuracies.

91. For other uses of this term, see PETITMENGIN, «*Capitula païens et chrétiens*», p. 495 and Type Cat.

92. Old Latin forms shared with other series include *natoria* in 5:2 (Cap. 10, *cf.* Types A, B, Cat, I), *ianua* in 10:1-7 (Cap. 22, *cf.* Types A, B, Ben, Cat), *dedicatione*

**Type In.** 36 chapters.

Incipit (I): *Iohannes testimonium perhibet de ipso et clamat dicens.*

Explicit (XXXVI): *Postea manifestavit se iterum Iesus ad mare Tiberiadis.*

This series is only present in the sixth-century Burchard Gospels (WÜRZBURG, *Univ.*, M.p.th.f. 68) two later copies (WÜRZBURG, *Univ.*, M.p.th.f. 65 and 66). The divisions are identical to Type I as found in Codex Aureus (VL 15), a close relation to the Burchard Gospels in John, but the titles have been replaced by the opening words of each chapter. Their biblical text is typical of an early Vulgate witness with a sprinkling of Old Latin features, such as *die tertia* in 2:1 (Cap. 2), the omission of *eis* from 8:21 (Cap. 17), *altera die* in 12:12 (Cap. 23) and *turbatus est in spiritu* in 13:21 (Cap. 26): all these are paralleled by the subsequent text of the Gospel. An even more compelling demonstration of this connection is Cap. 11, beginning *et ascendit Iesus*: the first half of John 5:1 is also omitted by the first hand. However, there remain six minor discrepancies between the *capitula* and the Gospel, which may be explained as misreadings of the exemplar or subsequent alterations to its text prior to copying.<sup>93</sup>

**Type P<sup>i</sup>.** 35 chapters.

Incipit (I): *Ubi Iohannes testimonium perhibet de Christo.*

Explicit (XXXV): *Ubi dominus resurgens ianuis clausis discipulis apparuit. item post dies octo similiter tertioque ad mare Tiberiadis piscantibus apostolis se praeibit ac Petro dicit pasce oues meas.*

SDR lists thirty-two manuscripts with Type P<sup>i</sup> in John, of which five are used for the edition: LONDON, *BL*, Add. 10546 (K); LONDON, *BL*, Harley 2790 (H); NANCY, *Cathedral* s.n. (N); BAMBERG, A.I.5 (B); PARIS, *BnF*, lat. 13169 (P). The last is VL 29, a mixed-text manuscript which only has *capitula* before John and no chapter divisions in the text: it introduces the series as *capitula parabolarum*. The sole pre-ninth-century

---

in 10:22 (Cap. 23, *cf.* Types A, B), *flores* in 12:13 (Cap. 26, *cf.* Types Cat, D, I), *Graeci* in 12:20 (Cap. 27; *cf.* Types A, B, Cy), *tritici* in 12:24 (Cap. 27, *cf.* Types Cat, Cy), *uinea* in 15:1 (Cap. 32, *cf.* Types A, B) and *amat* in 16:27 (Cap. 34, *cf.* Type C).

93. These are as follows: *in Hierosolymis* in Cap. 11 but *Hierosolymam* (first hand; corrector *Hierosolymis*) in 5:1; *uidens* in Cap. 2 but *uidet* in 1:29; *consequentes* in Cap. 3 but *eos sequentes* at 1:38; *colligerunt autem* in Cap. 22 but *colligerunt ergo* in 11:47 (where there is no VL parallel for *autem*); *diligitis* and *seruaretis* in Cap. 28 but *diligentis* (first hand; corrector *diligitis*) and *seruate* at 14:15 (where, again, *seruaretis* is not found in Old Latin manuscripts).

witness in McGurk is the Livinus Gospels (GHENT, *St Bavo* 13), apparently not used by De Bruyne, which has the heading *capitula* and lacks the final three titles. The dependence of Type W on this series, however, would push its composition back to before the sixth century. PARIS, *Arsenal*, 1184 divides the final title into four, giving a total of thirty-eight headings.

The chapter divisions and text of the series often overlap with Type I: it appears to represent an intermediate stage between Type I and Type W, abbreviating the Type I *capitula*, frequently adding the phrase *ubi dicit* and expanding some of the biblical quotations. Very few of the non-Vulgate forms from Type I remain, which suggests that the *capitula* have been compared with the biblical text. Cap. 13, for example, reads *multi discipulorum* instead of *aliqui de discipulis* (6:66). In Cap. 23 *ramos palmarum* replaces *flores palmarum* and material is cited from the rest of John 12:13; the same is true of the next title, with *tanta signa* for *multa signa* followed by the subsequent part of 12:37. Likewise, the form of John 14:15-16 in Cap. 27 matches later versions (cp. Type I Cap. 28). Most of the additional biblical material corresponds to the Vulgate, with a handful of minor exceptions. These include *pellit* in Cap. 5 (in place of *eiecit* at 2:15) and *saluat* in Cap. 9 (the Vulgate reads *sanaret* at 4:47), both of which may be loose references rather than quotations, and *perhibet* rather than *perhibebit* in Cap. 30 (15:26). The most striking is *ianuis clausis* in the long final *capitulum*, apparently pertaining to 20:19 (where it is only attested in VL 2, cf. VL 27). However, as this phrase occurs in the Vulgate at 20:26 it is possible that the compiler took it from there (cf. Types D and Vich).

**Type Vich.** 13 chapters.

Incipit (I): *De diuinitate uerbi dei et Iohannis missione ... atque angelos super se descendentes et ascendentes uisuros praedicat.*

Explicit (XIII): *Iesus flagellatur, spinis coronatur, uestitur purpura, alapis caeditur ... Iohannem in pace quieturum designat.*

This series only occurs in two manuscripts, both held in the Town Museum in Vic in Catalonia: the eleventh-century MS 89, and its twelfth-century copy, MS 119. The divisions are similar to the fourteen chapters of Types A and B, with chapters 11 and 12 combined. Similar opening lines for Capp. 2, 3, 6 and 11 might suggest that one of these was taken as a model, but this lengthy series seems to be a new composition for an existing set of divisions, citing verses not present in any other set of

*capitula* (e.g. 1:51, 5:16, 7:6, 7:40-1, 10:39 etc.). The biblical text is for the most part consistent with the Vulgate, including characteristic readings such as *probatica piscina* in John 5:2 (Cap. 5), *ostium* in 10:7 (Cap. 9), *gentibus* in 12:20 (Cap. 10) and *alapam* in 18:22 and 19:3 (Capp. 12, 13). Differences such as *saluificet* in Cap. 2 (cf. 3:17), *uero* in Cap. 3 (cf. 3:30), *iuxta puteum* in Cap. 4 (4:6) and *comederint* in Cap. 6 (6:26) may be ascribed to the heavy redactional activity of the compiler, although *crucem portat* (cf. 19:17; VL 10, 13, 14) and *ianuis clausis* (20:19; cf. Types D and P<sup>i</sup> above) find some support elsewhere.

**Type W.** 35 chapters.

Incipit (I): *Testimonium Iohannis de Christo.*

Explicit (XXXV): *Resurrectio domini.*

Type W is peculiar to the sixth-century Kilian Gospels (WÜRZBURG, *Univ.*, M.p.th.q. 1a), occurring with the heading *breues* before Mark, Luke and John (the beginning of Matthew is not extant). It appears to be dependent on Type P<sup>i</sup>: the scope of every *capitulum* for John is an exact match and five titles are identical (Capp. 8, 11, 16, 18 and 34). On the other hand, the biblical text is accommodated to the Vulgate three times (*icit* in Cap. 5, addition of *autem* in Capp. 24 and 30), while direct quotations replace the summaries of Type P<sup>i</sup> in Capp. 23, 28 and 31. This shows that the adaptation of an existing series could be combined with the introduction of new material.

**Type Win.** 42 (unnumbered) chapters.

Incipit: *Ubi in principio uerbum esse et apud deum esse et deus esse. euangelizante Iohanne memoratur ... omnes in se credentes facit filios dei fieri per gratiam suam.*

Explicit: *Ubi dominus Petro pascendas oues aequae tertio commendans. ... et de conclusione euangelistae quod uerum sit testimonium eius.*

This is the only set of titles for John listed by Berger which is not included in *SDR*.<sup>94</sup> It is found in a single manuscript, OXFORD, *Bodleian L.*, Auct. E. inf. 2, the second part of a two-volume Bible copied in Winchester in the twelfth century. Although the *capitula* before Matthew correspond to Type P<sup>i</sup>, those for the other three Gospels all seem to be expanded versions of earlier series. The source for John is clearly Type C although the division of titles (marked by large capital letters) is not

---

94. BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 355, Type I.13.



identical. In addition to distinctive phrases such as *excitandi mysterium corporis sui proponit* (Cap. 5), *mulieri Samaritanae plurima mystice loquitur* (Cap. 8), *pharisaeos de proprio testimonio reluctantes arguit* (Cap. 21), *hora clarificationis suae praedicat* (Cap. 30) and *prolixa et multimoda oratione commendat* (Cap. 38), there is considerable verbal overlap throughout. That this is secondary to Type C is indicated by the replacement of pronouns, the omission of Cap. 12 and substitution by Vulgate forms, as in *sub condicione qua amplius non peccaret* (Cap. 20; Type C reads *ulterius*). The additional biblical material (e.g. the extracts from John 19 in the Passion narrative) also corresponds to the Vulgate.

**Type Z.** 40 chapters.

Incipit (I): *De incarnatione uerbi et testimonio Iohannis*.

Explicit (XL): *Ubi dominus interrogat Petrum si diligat eum et ubi dixit ei sequere me*.

This series is known only from one twelfth-century gospel book with glosses, OXFORD, *Bodleian L.*, Laud lat. 25. The nature of the *capitula* in this manuscript is more complicated than is apparent from *SDR*. On fol. 11v there are partial and disordered lists of titles quoting verses from each Gospel. These are followed by two complete sets of *capitula* for Matthew and John, apparently in the same hand, which are the sole instances of Type Z.<sup>95</sup> All the titles begin with *ubi* or *de* and usually quote biblical material from the beginning of each chapter. The gospel text matches the Vulgate, with *probatica piscina* in 5:2 (Cap. 12), *ostium* in 10:1 (Cap. 22), *gentiles* in 12:20 (Cap. 28) and *palmites* in 15:5 (Cap. 32); even *super puteum* in 4:6 (Cap. 10), the single possible exception, has some currency in Vulgate manuscripts. As there is no match with any other series of divisions for John, it seems best to describe this series as a one-off based on the Vulgate.<sup>96</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

This survey has demonstrated that a surprising number of series of *capitula* were composed with reference to pre-Vulgate versions of John

95. A collation with the text in *SDR* provides the following emendations: Cap. 9, *discipulorum* corr., added above *Iesu*; Cap. 12, *ierosolanis] ierosolimis*; Cap. 28, *iesum] iesu*; Cap. 31, <*seruabit*> (word supplied from trimmed margin); Cap. 40, *ei* corr., added above line.

96. The divisions are present in the Gospel (see Appendix), but were added variously in red after the copying of the glosses and subsequently overwritten with modern chapter numbers in a similar red.

and continued to be transmitted in manuscripts with Jerome's revised text of the Gospel. The most ancient is the remarkable African **Type Cy**, dated by De Bruyne to the middle of the third century. As observed above, this is the earliest known series of gospel chapters in any language. **Type I** is likely to be the next oldest set: the early readings such as *moechatione* in John 8:3 and *officium deo facere* in 16:2 along with similarities to the text of Codex Palatinus suggest that it was composed in Africa in the fourth century. It is possible that its compilation was undertaken in conjunction with the revision of the gospel text underlying Group 2A, although witnesses to the latter are generally closer to the Vulgate. Numerous revisions and reworkings are evident both in the variations within Type I and the headings of other thirty-six (and thirty-five) chapter series. Of these, **Type Cat** and the original version of **Type D** incorporate additional material from an Old Latin version of the text, while **Type P<sup>i</sup>** comes from the early period of the Vulgate and **Type W** is an abbreviation of Type P<sup>i</sup> not later than the sixth century.

The other major Old Latin series is that of the fourteen-chapter **Type A** (formerly known as **B<sup>r</sup>**). Its correspondence with the early form of text found in VL 14 (matching VL 4 and VL 47 in the early chapters of John) again points to a fourth-century origin. It was suggested above that the choice of topics in these *capitula* might indicate a Donatist origin, matching the series identified for other biblical books. Type I, however, with its more marked African characteristics, has an equally strong contention to be a product of a Donatist milieu. **Type B** (formerly known as **B=A**) is a shorter form of Type A, abbreviated at a fairly early stage but preserving the form of the biblical quotations. In addition, it appears that **Type Ben** and **Type I<sup>for</sup>** (the latter only found in Codex Forojuliensis) are independent compilations with some Old Latin characteristics.

The remaining series are of Vulgate origin. **Type In**, peculiar to the Burchard Gospels, was produced in the fifth or early sixth century: it replaces Type I with the opening words of each chapter, possibly taken from the exemplar used for the subsequent text of John. **Type C**, the *capitula* with the distinctive heading *capitula lectionum* found in Codex Amiatinus and several insular manuscripts, is a new series based on a Vulgate text; **Type Win** is a later expansion of these. **Type Vich** and **Type Z** are very rare and are not attested before the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively: their similarity to earlier series of divisions suggests that they were composed to supply or replace lists of headings for a text of the Gospel which already had numbered divisions.

As well as providing important evidence for the history of the Latin versions of the text of John, these series of *capitula* are also significant for studying the production of gospel codices and the use and interpretation of the Bible. The fact that the most archaic *capitula* (Type Cy) are only preserved in two Vulgate manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries, with all witnesses to Type A of a similar date, demonstrates the eclectic nature of the prefatory material in gospel books. The transmission of these ancient forms and, indeed, the difference between most series and the subsequent text of the Gospel suggests that this discrepancy was not often noted, and one may wonder how frequently the *capitula* (or, indeed, the chapter numbers) were used as a system of reference: it is also not unusual for the numeration of the titles to bear no relationship to the divisions alongside the following text of the Gospel. The number of different series produced between the fourth and sixth centuries is remarkable: perhaps it reflects a growing emphasis on the form of the scriptural text along with the fixing of the canon. It is noteworthy that this activity is confined to the Latin tradition, and there is no overlap with Greek systems.<sup>97</sup> It is also interesting to speculate on the extent to which textual features of the *capitula*, such as the conflation in Type I, may have influenced the form in which Christian authors quoted or expounded the gospel.<sup>98</sup>

De Bruyne remarks that the creation of each new set of *capitula* represented a new edition of the biblical text, while Berger asserts that the study of the summaries is indispensable for the history of the biblical text.<sup>99</sup> I hope that this survey building on their valuable work will lead to this evidence being given renewed attention and that the new edition of the *Vetus Latina Iohannes* will provide a sound basis for fresh research on the Latin versions of John.

*University of Birmingham,  
Institute for Textual Scholarship  
and Electronic Editing  
(H.A.G.Houghton@bham.ac.uk)*

Hugh A. G. HOUGHTON

---

97. On the sets of Latin *capitula* for Hebrews and the Song of Songs which are related to Greek series, see BOGAERT, «Les particularités éditoriales», p. 8.

98. See also P. PETITMENGIN, «Les plus anciens manuscrits de la Bible latine» in J. FONTAINE and C. PIETRI (edd.) *Le monde latin antique et la Bible* (Bible de tous les temps 2), 89-128, especially pp. 102-3.

99. DE BRUYNE, «Quelques documents nouveaux», p. 295; cf. DE BRUYNE, «Casiodore et l'Amiatinus», p. 263; BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 315.

## APPENDIX

TABLE OF DIVISIONS IN *CAPITULA* SERIES  
AND OLD LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

This table is based on that in *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine* (pp. 521-6) and the transcriptions of Old Latin manuscripts in the *Vetus Latina Iohannes Electronic Edition*. Several alterations have been made to the earlier table, including the correction of misprints and the comparison of divisions with the titles of each series in order to arrive at an archetype for each. It should be remembered that the signalling of divisions in gospel manuscripts often fails to correspond exactly to the archetypal divisions, especially in the more widely-attested series.

## KEY

R = rubrication (no number present)

C = double-height capital (no number present)

CC = outsize capital (no number present)

() = division indicated in manuscript (e.g. capitals, rubrication) but no number visible

*italic font* = division reconstructed from title

<sup>x</sup> = superscript letter indicates manuscript with variant placing of division

 = verse absent from manuscript

 = manuscript no longer extant

Verse	Incipit (Vulgate)	SDR series (in groups; revised and supplemented)												Vetus Latina manuscripts (in groups)																								
		Cy	A <sup>1</sup>	B	Vich <sup>2</sup>	Q	I	In	P <sup>13</sup>	W <sup>2</sup>	Cat	D <sup>2</sup>	Ben	C	I <sup>6c</sup>	P	Z <sup>i</sup>	10	13	9A	11	22	47	6	7	8	11A	14	15	48	27							
1:1	in principio erat	1			/	(1)						/	/	1	1	/	1																					
1:6	fuit homo missus																																					
1:9	erat lux vera	2																																				
1:15	Iohannes testimonium																																					
1:19	et hoc est testimonium	3	1	1																						1	1											
1:26	respondit eis Iohannes																																					
1:28	haec in Bethania	4																																				
1:29	altera die uidet																																					
1:35	altera die iterum	5				(2)																																
1:38	conuersus autem																																					
1:40	erat autem Andreas																																					
1:41	inuenit hic primum																																					
1:43	in crastinum uoluit	6																																				
2:1	et die tertio nuptiae	7	2	2	2	(3)	4	4	4	4	4	5	5 <sup>5</sup>	4	3	4	5									2	4	4	4		(4)	3	1	C	A[1]			
2:12	post hoc descendit	8																																				
2:13	et prope erat pascha																																					
2:13b	et ascendit Hierosol.																																					
2:14	et inuenit in templo																																					
2:23	cum autem esset	9																																				
3:1	erat autem homo	10				(4)	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	6	6	7									6	(6)	6	6					6	C	Γ[3]		
3:13	et nemo ascendit																																					
3:16	sic enim dilexit deus																																					
3:22	post haec uenit																																					
3:24	nondum enim missus																																					
3:25	facta est ergo quaestio	11																																				
3:35	pater diliget filium																																					
4:1	ut ergo cognouit																																					
4:3	reliquit iudaeam	12	4	4	4	(6)	8	8	8 <sup>8</sup>																													
4:4	oportebat autem																																					
4:5	uenit ergo in ciuitat.																																					

1 Formerly known as Type B; the divisions are not included in SDR and are based principally on VATICAN Reg. lat. 14 (R) and ROTEN A.1 (O).

2 Not present in SDR; reconstructed from *capitula* titles (Types Vich and W) or supplied from manuscripts (Types D and Z).

3 Type P<sup>i</sup> divisions have been revised based on the extent of the *capitula* titles as well as divisions in Harley 2790 (H) and Arsenal 1184 (A).

4 The first *capitulum* in Type I appears to quote John 1:15, which may have led to confusion over the placing of this division (compare VI, 6, 7, 15).

5 SDR has no division corresponding to *capitulum* 5 in Type Ben, and only 49 in total (despite the 50 *capitula*). All subsequent numbers have therefore been increased by one (matching the *capitula*).

6 The division at 2:13 is missing from Harley 4773 (M); division 6 occurs at 3:1 and all subsequent divisions are decreased by one.

	Cy	A	B	Vich	Q	I	In	P <sup>a</sup>	W	Cat	D	Bon	C	I <sup>er</sup>	P	Z	10	13	9A	11	22	47	6	7	8	11A	14	15	48	27									
4:6	13																																						
4:6b						9	9	8 <sup>a</sup>	8 <sup>o</sup>	9	10												9	9	9	9	(9)												
4:7																															E [5]								
4:28b	14																																						
4:10	15													9																									
4:13					(7)	10	10	9 <sup>a</sup>	9	10	11 <sup>r</sup>												10	10	10	10	(10)	10	C										
4:14	16							9 <sup>u</sup>				10																											
4:16																																							
4:46b	17										[11] <sup>m</sup>		9																										
4:54		5 <sup>o</sup>																																					
5:1		5 <sup>o</sup>	5	5	(8)	11	10	10	10	11	12	11	10	10	9	12						5	11	(11)	11	11	(11)	11	C										
5:1b							11																																
5:5																																							
5:9b	18																																						
5:14	19																																						
5:18b											13	12	11																										
5:21														11																									
5:25					(9)																																		
5:28																																							
5:30																																							
5:31																																							
6:1		6 <sup>o</sup>			(10)	12	12	11	11	12	14		12	13	10	13						6	E [5]	6	12	(12)	12	(12)	12	C									
6:3		6	6	6								14																											
6:4																																							
6:5																																							
6:7	20																																						
6:15	21														11																								
6:15b																																							
6:16																																							
6:19																																							
6:22																																							
6:26b	22				(11)						15		14	14																									
6:35																																							
6:41																																							
6:44																																							
6:17																																							
6:18																																							

7 There is no division 13 for P<sup>a</sup> in SDR or Hanley 2790 (11).

	Cy	A	B	Vich	Q	I	In	P <sup>i</sup>	W	Cat	D	Ben	C	P <sup>oe</sup>	P	Z	10	13	9A	11	22	47	6	7	8	11A	14	15	48	27						
6:51	ego sum panis vitus															15																				
6:59	haec dixit in synagoga								13	13		17											(13)			(13)										
6:60	multi ergo audientes					13	13																13		13											
6:63	spiritus est qui												17																							
7:1	post haec ambulabat	7	7	(12)	7	7	14	14	14	14	16	18	18	16		16		(13)	R	8	9	Z[7]	7	14	(14)	14	(14)	14	C							
7:2	erat autem in prox.											18									11															
7:7b	quia ego testifonium	24																																		
7:9	haec cum dixisset																																			
7:11	Iudaei ergo quaerebant	25																																		
7:14	iam autem die festo																																			
7:15	et mirabantur Iudaei	26																																		
7:16	respondit eis Iesus																																			
7:30	quaerebant ergo cum	27																			12															
7:31	de turba autem multi																																			
7:32	audierunt pharisaei																																			
7:37	in nouissimo autem	28		(13)	15	15	15	15	15	15	17	19																								
7:45	uenerunt ergo											20																								
7:46	responderunt ministris	29 <sup>o</sup>																																		
7:17	responderunt ergo	29 <sup>o</sup>																																		
8:1	Iesus autem perrexit				16	16	16	16	16	16	18	21	20	20	19																					
8:3	adduceunt autem scribae	30																																		
8:12	iterum ergo locutus																																			
8:12b	ego sum lux mundi																																			
8:20	haec uerba locutus est																																			
8:21	dixit ergo iterum eis		8	8 <sup>e</sup>	8	(14)	17	17			20	23	22																							
8:22	dicebant ergo									17																										
8:30	haec illo loquente	31																																		
8:31	dicebat ergo Iesus																																			
8:46	quis ex uobis arguit																																			
8:51	amen amen dico uo.																																			
8:52	dixerunt ergo Iudaei																																			
8:59b	et exiit de templo																																			
9:1	et praeteriens uidit	32		(15)	18	18	18	18	18	18	21	25	25	21																						
9:39	dixit et Iesus in iudic.											26	26 <sup>o</sup>																							
9:39b	ut qui non uident	33																																		

8 Between John 8 and 11, the divisions given in SDR for 1<sup>oe</sup> (20 at 8:12, 21 at 8:31, 22 at 9:1, 23 at 10:1, 24 at 10:22) do not correspond to the *capitula*; the table has been adjusted to match these.  
9 The division at 8:22 in Type B (which is not a logical break) seems to be an error in SDR; all manuscripts investigated place it at 8:21.

	Cy	A	B	Vich	Q	I	In	P <sup>a</sup>	W	Cat	D	Ben	C	P <sup>re</sup>	P	Z	10	13	9A	11	22	47	6	7	8	11A	14	15	48	27						
9:41				9																																
10:1		9	9	9	(16)	19	19	19 <sup>a</sup>	19	19 <sup>b</sup>	22 <sup>r</sup>		26	22	14			R	10			9														
10:7																							19	(19)	19	(19)	19		CC							
10:10b												27																								
10:11											22 <sup>m1</sup>																									
10:17																																				
10:22	34					20	20	20	20	20	23	28	27	23	21								20	20	20	20?	20									
10:25b																																				
11:1	35		12			21	21	21	21	21	24	29	28	24	25								21	21	21	21?	21	C	[A][11]							
11:37	36					22	22				25	30	29	25	26								22	(22)	22	(22)	22									
11:47																						10														
11:55		10	10 <sup>2</sup>	10				22 <sup>a</sup>		22	26 <sup>r</sup>	31																								
12:1	37 <sup>a</sup>		12					22 <sup>a</sup>	22		26 <sup>r</sup>																									
12:2	37 <sup>b</sup>																																			
12:4																																				
12:12	38					23	23	23	23	23	27	32	30	26	16	28																				
12:14	39																																			
12:18	40																																			
12:20	41																																			
12:24																																				
12:26											28 <sup>b3</sup>																									
12:27																																				
12:36b																																				
12:37	42					24	24	24	24	24	29																									
12:42	43																																			
12:44																																				
12:46	44									24																										
13:1		11	11	11	(17+)			25 <sup>r</sup>			30	35	33	29	17	29																				
13:2						25	25	25 <sup>a</sup>	25	25																										
13:3	45																																			
13:4																																				
13:16																																				
13:21						26	26			26	31	36																								
13:23	46																																			
13:27																																				

10 In *SDR* division 19 in *Cat* is located at 10:7, but the *capitulam* quotes 10:1.

11 As *capitulam* 22 in *D* quotes 10:1, the division at 10:11 in Harley 4773 (*M*) is erroneous.

12 In *SDR* division 10 in *B* is located at 11:1, but the division of the *capitula* suggests it should be at 11:55 (matching *Type A* and the majority of manuscripts investigated) or possibly 12:1 (also well attested in manuscripts).

13 This division (and the corresponding title) are missing from Harley 4773 (*M*); subsequent divisions in this manuscript are now 2 below the expected number.



	Cy	A	B	Vich	Q	I	In	P <sup>i</sup>	W	Cat	D	Ben	C	P <sup>oe</sup>	P	Z	10	13	9A	11	22	47	6	7	8	11A	14	15	48	27			
13:33						27	27	26	26	27	32			30								27	(27)	27			27	27					
13:36	47											37																					
14:1													35			30																	
14:5	48																																
14:8	49													31																			
14:12b																																	
14:15					(18+)	28	28	27	27	28	33	38	36			31							28	28	28		(28)	28					
14:22	50							28 <sup>111</sup>	28																								
14:27								29	29	29 <sup>a</sup>	34	39	37	[32]	19	32						12	29	(29)	29		(29)	29					
15:1		12	12		(19+)			29 <sup>11</sup>	29	29 <sup>b</sup>		40																					
15:11										<sup>b</sup>																							
15:12																																	
15:17					(20+)																												
15:26								30	30	30	35			38		34																	
16:1						30	30																										
16:2b										30																							
16:15													39																				
16:16					(21+)																												
16:19b																																	
16:23b	51																																
16:25											36			34																			
16:29b	52																																
16:31																																	
16:33																																	
17:1		13	13	12	(22+)	31	31	31	31	31	37			40	35							13	31	(31)	31		31	31					
17:1b																																	
17:1c										31																							
17:11b						32	32	32	32	32	38			20																			
18:1					(23+)			33	33 <sup>18</sup>		39	42	41	36		38																	
18:3															21																		
18:10	54																																
18:12																																	
18:13	55					33		<sup>m</sup>	33																								

14 Division 28 for P<sup>i</sup> is missing from Arsenal 1184 (A), and the remaining four numbered divisions are one short of the expected numeral.

15 In *SDR* division 29 in Cat is located at 15:11, but the *capitulum* quotes 15:1 and 4.

16 In *SDR* division 38 in C is duplicated at 13:26.

17 In *SDR* division 14 in B is located at 18:1, but the division of the *capitula* suggests that it comes later (18:28 in the majority of manuscripts).

18 In *SDR* division 33 in P<sup>i</sup> is located at 18:1 (as in Harley 2790), but the *capitulum* refers to 18:13 (where Arsenal 1184 has another capital letter).

	Cy	A	B	Vich	Q	I	In	P <sup>a</sup>	W	Cat	D	Ben	C	P <sup>oc</sup>	P	Z	10	13	9A	11	22	47	6	7	8	11A	14	15	48	27					
18:15												43																							
18:18	56																																		
18:28		14	14		(24+)			34 <sup>II</sup>	34			44						R	14		14														
19:1	57			13								45											34	34	34	34	34								
19:16b	58						34	34				46																							
19:17																																			
19:23	59				(25+)							47						R																	
19:25										34																									
19:26	60										40 <sup>20</sup>																								
19:26b																																			
19:30	61																																		
19:31b	62																																		
19:38												48																							
19:40	63																																		
20:1					(26+)	35	35	35 <sup>II</sup>	35	35	47 <sup>20</sup>	49	42	37				R						35	35										
20:16b	64																										(35)	35	CC						
20:19	65																																		
20:19																																			
20:21																																			
20:21	66																																		
20:26																																			
20:26																																			
20:28	67																																		
20:30																																			
20:30																																			
21:1																																			
21:1					(27+)	36	36																												
21:12b	68																																		
21:12b																																			
21:14																																			
21:14																																			
21:15																																			
21:15																																			

19 A division in P<sup>a</sup> at 18:13 is supported by the *capitulum* and Arsenal 1181; see the note above on 18:1.

20 The Triev Gospels are lacunose from 19:9 to 21:20; divisions 40–43 have been reconstructed from the *capitula*.

21 The *capitula* in Rouen A.1 suppose a fifteenth division at this point, not present in the other witnesses or Type B.

22 There are no divisions between 18:2 and 19:42 in Harley 4773 (M); they resume at 20:1 with the expected numeral 40.