

# Synopses and Lists

## Textual Practices in the Pre-Modern World

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Cover image: A fragment of a numbered and tabulated list of 22 biblical and rabbinic passages relating to the Sabbath, each referenced by means of a short lemma (T-S D1.76 from the Cambridge Genizah Collection). Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

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# CHAPTER LISTS IN GIANT AND BENEVENTAN BIBLES: SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS

*Marilena Maniaci*

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## 1.0. Chapter Lists and the History of the Latin Bible

Codices containing the full or partial text of the Latin Old and New Testaments offer a great many research suggestions to scholars interested in the study of synopses and lists. On the one side, both the length of the Bible and its manifold forms and usages encourage the development of practices aimed at organising and retrieving the sacred contents; on the other side, the manuscript Bible, destined by its nature to last, is without doubt the book in which the use and reuse of spaces not occupied by the sacred text occurs with the greatest frequency and in the widest variety.<sup>1</sup>

The typology of book lists includes the so-called *capitula*, or chapter lists,<sup>2</sup> introducing the single biblical books in the majority of Latin Bibles prior to the thirteenth century, the era in which

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<sup>1</sup> See the introductory remarks in Maniaci, ‘Written Evidence’, 85–86.

<sup>2</sup> The term *capitula* should more precisely refer to the sections in which the text is divided, while the initial titles should be called *tituli*, but it is customary to refer to the titles as *capitula* as well. The sets of *capitula*

the Paris Bible made its appearance and brought with it a new chapter subdivision of the biblical text, condemning the old *capitula* to disappear.<sup>3</sup> The Latin *capitula*, which are different in structure and wording from the *kephalaia* attested in Greek manuscripts,<sup>4</sup> briefly summarise, chapter by chapter, the contents of each section of the biblical text, or reproduce the words of the section's initial sentence. The eminent historian of the Vulgate Samuel Berger traced their composition back to Cassiodorus,<sup>5</sup> but some of the various sequences or 'families' attested, which differ (even significantly) by extension and wording of the individual *tituli*, can be traced back to late antiquity.<sup>6</sup>

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listed at the beginning of each biblical book should rather be called *tabulae capitulorum*.

<sup>3</sup> On the Paris Bible, see, among others, the recent overviews by Light, 'Paris Bible'; Ruzzier, 'Miniaturization'; Ruzzier, *Entre Université et ordres mendiants*.

<sup>4</sup> In most Greek Gospel manuscripts, Matthew has 68 chapters, Mark 48, Luke 83, and John 18 or 19. A list of the chapter numbers and titles (*titloi*) is often written at the beginning of each Gospel; the chapter numbers and names (*kephalaia*) are repeated (usually in red ink) on the top (or bottom) of the page where the chapter begins. The *titloi* are listed according to the 'majority text' by Soden, *Die Schriften*, 402–75; for the New Testament, the variants from several individual manuscript witnesses can be found in the apparatus to Swanson's series *New Testament Greek Manuscripts*; see also the forthcoming volume by Dirkse, *Sum of Things Spoken*.

<sup>5</sup> Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 307.

<sup>6</sup> On the history of the Bible text's divisions, see Bogaert, 'Les particularités editoriales'; Houghton, 'Chapter Divisions'.

In a hypothetical—and surely premature—attempt to categorise the different types of lists found in ancient and medieval manuscripts, *capitula* belong to the family of ‘closed’ lists, whose extension and structure is determined by that of the reference text and aim to make it more easily understandable. The fact that biblical books are usually divided into a number of sections corresponding to the number of chapters of the preceding list has led manuscript scholars to consider these lists as actual indexes of content. However, neither the sections inside the books nor the chapter lists are consistently numbered (numbers may also be present in some books and absent in others), and the subdivision proposed by the list does not always correspond exactly to that marked in the text through the use of numbers or other devices. In a single Bible, the *capitula* of individual books or series of books can also belong to different families, and their relationship with the textual tradition of the books they refer to awaits a closer examination. The existence of different sets of lists for the same book, the textual instability of the individual chapter titles (*tituli*) and of their succession even within the same set, and the not always linear relationship with the corresponding biblical text lead one to wonder about the functions of the chapters and the exact meaning of their extensive—but not universal—presence among the paratexts of the Latin Bible between antiquity and the end of the monastic era.

*Capitula* were more generally placed before the individual books—even if there are cases of chapters set before groups of books (such as Kings) or even cases in which, for a single book, each title was arranged within the text, at the beginning of the

corresponding section. The most common layout involved the use of a smaller script, usually identical or similar to that of the following text. Each *titulus* could be introduced by a rubricated initial, and was transcribed on a new line (see fig. 1) or after the previous chapter on the same line (see fig. 2); the arrangement on two narrow columns transcribed one after the other, side by side, is also attested (see fig. 3), and chapter titles could occasionally be inserted within the text, at the beginning of each chapter (see fig. 4). The lists could be introduced and/or followed by a rubricated incipit and/or explicit of a rather standardised formulation, but with variations and errors that can betray—as I will try to show—the relationship between codices belonging to the same branch of tradition or written in the same environment.





Figure 2: Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Casin. 583, p. 51

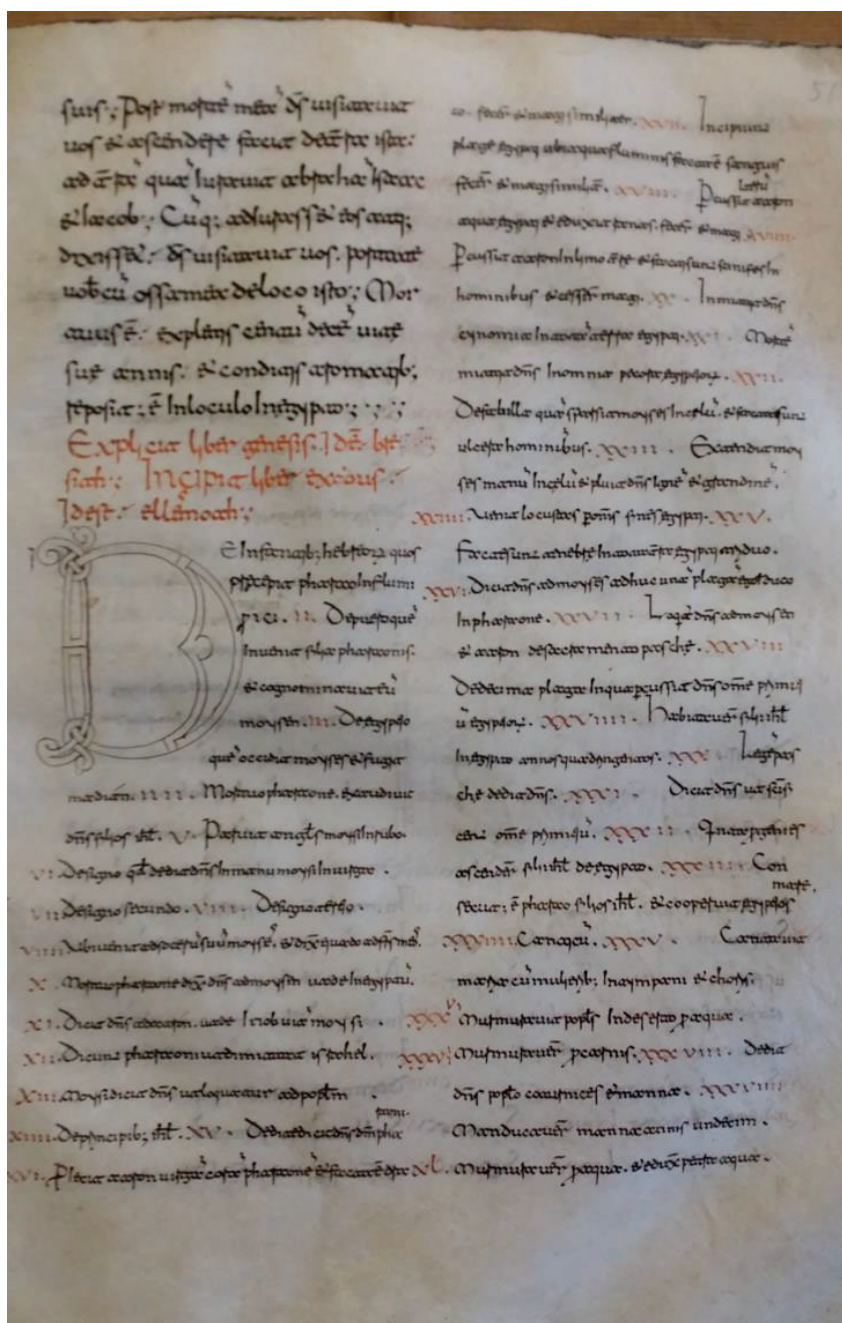




Figure 3: Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Casin. 35, pp. 352v-353r



Figure 4: Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Casin. 760, p. 90



Since, in general, *capitula* as accessory texts were not subject to the revisions and corrections carried out on the main text, their wording is usually more conservative and therefore shows more clearly the continuity of local traditions, even if the preferences accorded to the different sets of lists in the various areas in

which the biblical text circulated—which do not exclude the simultaneous presence of alternative solutions—remain to be explored.

Even if chapter lists were not the object of specific philological attention, it is reasonable to assume that, in their transcription, the scribe, in addition to making errors, jumps, and omissions favoured by the repetitiveness of the texts and the presence of recurrent formulations, felt himself authorised to operate with greater freedom than in the copying of the biblical text—although with limited margins of autonomy, which remain to be specified: as we will see, he or she could choose, for example, to merge two or more successive chapters, or on the contrary to split two long chapters into shorter units, assigning an individual number to each of them.

The essential reference for the study of the divisions of the biblical text is the repertoire of the Belgian Benedictine Donatien De Bruyne: as a member of the commission for the revision of the Vulgate founded at the beginning of the twentieth century by Pope Pius X, in 1914 he printed in semi-anonymous form the *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine*. Sustained by the intuition that paratextual elements could facilitate the grouping of the manuscripts and therefore the emergence of textual families, De Bruyne's repertoire was conceived as a mere support to the edition of the biblical text and is therefore lacking details on the criteria applied for selecting the codices used as the basis for the preparation of: the chapter lists (*sommaires*), which are presented in parallel columns to facilitate their immediate compari-

son; the tables that summarise the different systems of capitulation of the text (*divisions*); and the lists of the sections of the Song of Songs and the Psalter used in the Liturgy of the Hours (*rubriques*). The recent republication of the *Sommaires* (as the *Summaries, Divisions and Rubrics of the Latin Bible*) by Brepols Publishers in 2014, is a very welcome initiative, although it does not fully help to clarify the work method of the Belgian scholar nor to identify the totality of his sources.

This preliminary contribution, which is a prelude to a wider study, aims to provide some examples of the potential interest of an in-depth analysis of the chapters, not only as a tool to highlight relationships between individual codices or operate groupings within specific strands of textual tradition, but also to deepen our knowledge of the practices of manufacture and transcription of the biblical text and of its accompanying paratexts. The objective is not to propose the mature or final results of research already at an advanced stage, but rather to share ideas and questions arising from a series of preliminary surveys, based on the non-exhaustive analysis of data and materials collected on the occasion of previous or ongoing research conducted by myself and other authors.

I will therefore focus on the discussion of two examples: one of them relates to the central Italian ‘Atlantic’ or ‘Giant’ Bibles of the Romanesque period, while the other concerns the tradition of the Bible in medieval Montecassino. It is interesting to observe that the Cassinese book collection also preserves one of the oldest Giant Bibles—Montecassino, Archivio dell’Abbazia,

Casinensis 515—which arrived soon after the mid-eleventh century from Rome or the Roman area: it would therefore be worth evaluating this codex, from the specific point of view of the *capitula*, in terms of its relationship with the local biblical tradition. Given the obvious impossibility of carrying out (at least at this first stage of the research) an overall examination of the *capitula* to all the Old and New Testament books, I have chosen to concentrate my attention on the Octateuch, whose chapters have not been the object of specific analyses since the pioneering work of Henri Quentin in 1922.<sup>7</sup> As for Montecassino, the research devoted by Elisabetta Unfer Verre to Casinensis 557, the first complete Bible set up in the abbey (and more generally in southern Italy), will allow me to briefly extend my gaze to other groups of biblical books.

## 2.0. Chapter Lists in Italian Giant Bibles

The first example I will deal with concerns the so-called Atlantic or Giant Bibles, which are the object of a research project started in 2000 at the University of Cassino with the organisation of a large manuscript exhibition, and continued in the following two decades with the analysis of single witnesses and with contributions aimed at deepening, in particular, the knowledge of the

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<sup>7</sup> Quentin, *Mémoire*; with regard to Montecassino, I could also rely on the ongoing work by my colleague Roberta Casavecchia on the paratexts of the Beneventan Bibles kept in the abbey's library. At my suggestion, she recently conducted a thorough analysis of the *capitula* of the Book of Genesis, currently in press (Casavecchia, 'Bibbia e paratesti'), which takes into account the results of the present contribution.

techniques and contexts of manufacture, the writing, and the decoration of the Bibles.<sup>8</sup> Atlantic Bibles are codices of an imposing size and with a clearly recognisable—although far from perfectly uniform—codicological, graphic, and decorative physiognomy, that were produced in central Italy (and more precisely in Rome and the surrounding area) between the middle of the eleventh and the first decades of the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup> The manufacture of Atlantic Bibles—which is the result of an impressive effort of ‘serial’ production, probably due to the coordinated activity of several copy centres—has been plausibly interpreted as an instrument of political-religious propaganda in the context of the so-called Gregorian reform, initiated at the papal Curia around the middle of the eleventh century, with the aim of restoring the moral integrity and authority of the Roman Church.<sup>10</sup>

The in-depth analysis of a significant sample of individual codices has made it possible to bring to light the existence of an

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<sup>8</sup> Maniaci and Orofino, *Le Bibbie atlantiche*; and the updated bibliographic survey by Maniaci and Orofino, ‘Dieci anni’; for a general overview see also (from a not entirely coincident perspective) Condello, ‘La Bibbia’.

<sup>9</sup> The production of the following decades, variously located in Tuscany, has an imitative character, with objectives and manufacturing methods which differ significantly from the original ones.

<sup>10</sup> Supino Martini, ‘La scrittura delle Scritture’, believes in the existence of a single scriptorium located in the papal residence of the Lateran Palace, an hypothesis that seems disproved by the textual and material variety of the extant Bibles; equally improbable seems the idea of a production by itinerant copyists that was proposed by Lila Yawn in ‘Temporary Workshops’ and other contributions.



intricate network of collaborations between artisans, scribes, and illuminators, facilitated by the adoption of working methods that included—according to a use already attested in the most ancient Greek and Latin pandects—a ‘modular’ subdivision of the biblical text into autonomous textual units (books or book sequences) corresponding to finite sequences of quires.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the comparative approach has not been systematically extended so far to the text and paratexts of Atlantic Bibles, including their chapter lists.<sup>12</sup>

In order to attempt a first survey, a census of the Octateuch *capitula* in a sample of eight Atlantic Bibles was carried out, all approximately assigned to the second half of the eleventh and the early years of the twelfth century, selected based on the current presence of the Octateuch and the availability of complete and

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<sup>11</sup> Maniaci, ‘La struttura delle Bibbie atlantiche’. For the relationships between the modular articulation of the Bibles and the organisation of the work of scribes and illuminators, see Larocca, ‘Le più antiche Bibbie atlantiche’; Orofino, ‘Per un’iconografia comparata’.

<sup>12</sup> For some preliminary remarks on the text of the Atlantic Bibles, see Lobrichon, ‘Riforma ecclesiastica’.

sufficiently legible digital reproductions.<sup>13</sup> Even at a still superficial level of analysis, table 1 offers material for some first, interesting remarks.<sup>14</sup>

Table 1: De Bruyne's chapter series for each of the eight Atlantic Bibles, together with the number of chapters actually present in each book, and the number given to the final chapter in each list

Genesis	Series	No. of chapters	Final chapter no.
Pal. lat. 3	Is (46)	46	46
Vat. lat. 4220	Is (46)	46	46
Sion 15	Is (46)	46	46
Vat. lat. 10405	Is (46)	46	46
Casin. 515	Is (46)	46	46
Barb. lat. 587	[D (63)]	62	unnumbered
Vat. lat. 12958	Is (46)	46	46
Laur. Plut. 15.10	Is (46)	46	46

<sup>13</sup> All the Bibles are described in Maniaci and Orofino, *Le Bibbie atlantiche*. Full reproductions (except for Casin. 515) are available at the following links: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 587, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.lat.587](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.587); Pal. lat. 3, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav\\_pal\\_lat\\_3](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav_pal_lat_3); Vat. lat. 4220, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.4220](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4220); Vat. lat. 10405, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.10405](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.10405); Vat. lat. 12958, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.12958](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.12958); Sion, Chapter Library, MS 15, <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/searchresult/list/one/acs/0015>; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 15.10, [http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOMr0cjI1A4r7GxMYg\\_&c=Biblia](http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOMr0cjI1A4r7GxMYg_&c=Biblia).

<sup>14</sup> The sigla in tables 1, 2, and 5 correspond to the classification of the chapter series by De Bruyne, *Sommaires*, based on a choice of reference manuscripts that are not always identifiable and whose selection criteria were not made explicit by the Benedictine scholar and remain difficult to recognise.

<b>Exodus</b>	<b>Series</b>	<b>No. of chapters</b>	<b>Final chapter no.</b>
Pal. lat. 3	A (139)	152	102
Vat. lat. 4220	A (139)	158	156
Sion 15	A (139)	151	151
Vat. lat. 10405	A (139)	158	158
Casin. 515	A (139)	149	151
Barb. lat. 587	Is (21)	23	13 (23)
Vat. lat. 12958	Is (21)	24	24
Laur. Plut. 15.10	Is (21)	22	22
<b>Leviticus</b>	<b>Series</b>	<b>No. of chapters</b>	<b>Final chapter no.</b>
Pal. lat. 3	A (89)	88	88
Vat. lat. 4220	A (89)	88	88
Sion 15	A (89)	85	85
Vat. lat. 10405	A (89)	87	87
Casin. 515	Is (16)	16	16
Barb. lat. 587	Is (16)	16	16
Vat. lat. 12958	Is (16)	16	16
Laur. Plut. 15.10	Is (16)	15	15
<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Series</b>	<b>No. of chapters</b>	<b>Final chapter no.</b>
Pal. lat. 3	A (74)	74	74
Vat. lat. 4220	A (74)	74	74
Sion 15	A (74)	70	70
Vat. lat. 10405	A (74)	74	74
Casin. 515	Ps (50)	48	48
Barb. lat. 587	Ps (50)	50	50
Vat. lat. 12958	Ps (50)	50	50
Laur. Plut. 15.10	Ps (50)	50	49
<b>Deuteronomy</b>	<b>Series</b>	<b>No. of chapters</b>	<b>Final chapter no.</b>
Pal. lat. 3	A (155)	153	153
Vat. lat. 4220	A (155)	154	154
Sion 15	absent	—	—
Vat. lat. 10405	absent	—	—
Casin. 515	absent	—	—
Barb. lat. 587	absent	—	—
Vat. lat. 12958	absent	—	—
Laur. Plut. 15.10	absent	—	—

Joshua	Series	No. of chapters	Final chapter no.
Pal. lat. 3	A (33)	33	33
Vat. lat. 4220	A (33)	33	33
Sion 15	A (33)	34	34
Vat. lat. 10405	A (33)	33	33
Casin. 515	A (33)	34	34
Barb. lat. 587	A (33)	34	34
Vat. lat. 12958	A (33)	34	34
Laur. Plut. 15.10	A (33)	34	34
Judges	Series	No. of chapters	Final chapter no.
Pal. lat. 3	A (18)	17	17
Vat. lat. 4220	A (18)	20	20
Sion 15	A (18)	16	17
Vat. lat. 10405	A (18)	21	21
Casin. 515	A (18)	17	17
Barb. lat. 587	A (18)	20	20
Vat. lat. 12958	A (18)	18	17 (18 unnumbered)
Laur. Plut. 15.10	A (18)	18	18
Ruth	Series	No. of chapters	Final chapter no.
Pal. lat. 3	absent	—	—
Vat. lat. 4220	Tur	10	10
Sion 15	absent	—	—
Vat. lat. 10405	absent	—	—
Casin. 515	absent	—	—
Barb. lat. 587	absent	—	—
Vat. lat. 12958	absent	—	—
Laur. Plut. 15.10	absent	—	—

As shown in table 2, for the first nine biblical books, De Bruyne's census includes a number of chapter sets ranging from 3 to 11, defined on the basis of one or more 'reference manuscripts', identified through acronyms whose meaning is not always clear. In addition, the reason that the Octateuch series are divided into two groups is not made explicit by the Benedictine scholar.

Table 2: Summary of De Bruyne's series of chapters for each book of the Octateuch, showing the number of series he found, the sigla of the manuscripts on which he based his survey, and the number of chapters found in each of them

Book	No. of series	Sigla and number of chapters
<b>Genesis</b>	11 (6 + 5)	A (82), Fr (no numbering), B (157), D (63), X (34), C (38) / Afr [Afr <sup>sp</sup> ] (75), Y (31), Is (46), Is <sup>br</sup> (46), W (61)
<b>Exodus</b>	9 (5 + 4)	A (139), Fr (no numbering), B (97), D (124), C (18) / Afr [Afr <sup>sp</sup> ] (80), Compl (81), Is (21), A <sup>r</sup> (71)
<b>Leviticus</b>	9 (5 + 4)	A (89), Fr (no numbering), B (69), D (161), C (16) / Afr <sup>sp</sup> (33), Compl (30), Is (16), Sg (21)
<b>Numbers</b>	11 (6 + 5)	A (74), Fr (no numbers), A <sup>add</sup> (74), B (98), D (75), C (20) / Afr [Afr <sup>sp</sup> ] (61), Compl (29), Is (23), Ps (50), Sg (63)
<b>Deuteronomy</b>	10 (5 + 5)	A (155), Fr (no numbering), B (141), D (121), C (20) / Afr <sup>sp</sup> (103), Compl (25), Is (18), Ps (34), Sg (45)
<b>Joshua</b>	8 (4 + 4)	A (33), Fr (no numbering), B (110), C (11) / Afr <sup>sp</sup> (20), Compl (19), Is [Is <sup>1</sup> , Is <sup>2</sup> ] (14), Ps (20)
<b>Judges</b>	8 (4 + 4)	A (18), Fr (no numbering), B [B <sup>r</sup> ] (60), C (9) / Afr <sup>sp</sup> (32), Compl (30), Is [Is <sup>1</sup> ] (10), Ps (19)
<b>Ruth</b>	3 (3 + 0)	Tur (10), Fr (no numbering), L (14)

None of the Bibles considered in this first survey contains, for all the Octateuch books, a single set of chapters belonging to the same series. Altogether, four series of *capitula* are attested, A, Is, Ps, and Tur. The D series exhibited for Genesis in the so-called Santa Cecilia Bible (Barb. lat. 587) is a later restoration, and indeed the Barberini Bible appears among the witnesses on which De Bruyne's edition is based. The A series, which is the most represented in the Octateuchs, is the only one witnessed for the books of Joshua and the Judges; the book of Genesis, on the other

hand, is always introduced by chapters belonging to the Is series. Chapters to Ruth are present only in Vat. lat. 4220 (mentioned by De Bruyne among the ‘reference manuscripts’ for the series Tur), while those to Deuteronomy are often omitted (in fact, they appear only in Pal. lat. 3 and Vat. lat. 4220, in both cases according to the A series).

The books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers show the greatest variety of choices. Four of the codices under examination (Pal. lat 3, Vat. lat. 4220 and 10405, and the Bible held in Sion’s Chapter Library) bear for all three books *capitula* of the A series; three manuscripts (Barb. lat. 587, Vat. lat. 12958, and Laur. Plut. 15.10) adopt for Exodus and Leviticus the Is series (in the case of Exodus, with the presence of three titles which are not in De Bruyne’s list)<sup>15</sup> and for Numbers the Ps series; the Cassinese Bible 515 is close to this second group (but for Exodus it has chapters of the A series, like the four manuscripts of the first group).

Already at this first and quite elementary level of analysis, *capitula* confirm their usefulness for suggesting groupings and relationships between manuscripts, within a textual and book tradition which is only apparently homogeneous (far from the “véritable édition” postulated by Berger)<sup>16</sup> and for which the studies conducted in the last 20 years—by combining the analysis of

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<sup>15</sup> Chapters after De Bruyne, *Sommaires*, n. 2: “ubi accepta uxore duos filios genuit et de visione in rubo”; after n. 8: “in consumatione decime plage”; after n. 9 (only in Vat. lat. 12958): “in marat et demanna in deserto in primum.”

<sup>16</sup> Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 141–42.



structure, writing, and decoration—have instead contributed to identify the co-presence of distinct strands.

A closer look at the single witnesses of the *capitula* belonging, for each book, to the same series offers further elements of interest. In fact, the table shows how the number of *tituli* attested in each manuscript often diverges from that of the codices taken as a reference by De Bruyne. In contrast to more stable sequences (among which the Is series of Genesis stands out in particular), there is the case of the Exodus chapters, where there are always more items than in the reference series (due to the lists of the 10 plagues of Egypt and the 10 commandments always being assigned individual numbering);<sup>17</sup> in all the other cases, the shifts in the number of *tituli* range from four fewer than those printed in the *Sommaires* of De Bruyne (as in the A series to Leviticus in the Bible of Sion), to three more (as in the Is series to Exodus in Vat. lat. 12958).

The table also allows another observation, namely that the actual number of titles listed at the head of each book does not always correspond to the numbering given by the scribe (which in the Atlantic Bibles always appears in Roman numerals before the text). Taking Exodus as an example, an evident misalignment occurs in Pal. lat. 3, in which the last chapter appears as 102, due to a jump backwards from 62 to 11 between chapters 44 and 45 of De Bruyne's A series, at the transition from the recto to the verso of folio 21 (the scribe mistakenly follows the final number 10 of the first column of folio 21r, instead of the final number of

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<sup>17</sup> De Bruyne, *Sommaires*, between chapters 16 and 17 and chapters 37 and 38.

the second column); in Barb. lat. 587 the last chapter of the Is series, represented in the codex by 23 titles, is numbered 13, due to a jump backwards from 20 to 11 between De Bruyne's chapters 18 and 19, which occurs, again, at the passage between the recto and the verso of folio 20.

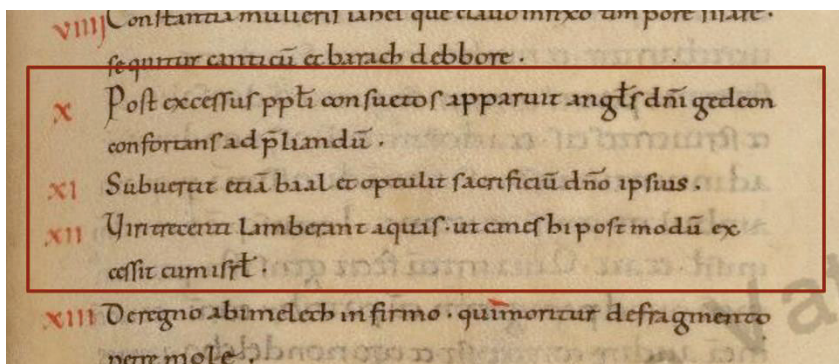
These two examples, which could be easily multiplied, suffice to clarify that the comparison between the lists cannot limit itself to considering the initial and final titles and the numbering of the latter. For the same number and succession of *tituli*, the same series can end, in the manuscripts attesting it, with a different number (as it does in the case of Vat. lat. 4220 and 10405, again for the book of Exodus, due to the repetition of number 12 three times in Vat. lat. 4220).

On the other hand, series composed of the same number of titles and closed by the same ordinal number may present significant structural differences. This can result from various processes:

1. The splitting of one of De Bruyne's titles into two or even three distinct ones. This occurs in Vat. lat. 10405, Numbers, 33 + 34 and 35 + 36; and in Vat. lat. 4220, Judges, 10 + 11 + 12 (see fig. 5).
2. The merging of two of De Bruyne's titles into one. An example of this is Vat. lat. 10405, Numbers, 44 (= 42 + 43).
3. The omission of a title due to the scribe's distraction. This occurs in Sion, Numbers, 6, to cite just one of many examples.
4. The omission or duplication of numbers (of which some examples have already been mentioned) that occurs in a

very variable manner from manuscript to manuscript, and that in some cases may reveal unexpected relationships between witnesses or confirm those suggested by other clues (of a palaeographic, codicological, art historical, or philological nature).

Figure 5: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4220, f. 79r



X. Post excessus populi consueto apparuit angelus domini gideon confortans ad praeliandum. Subuertit etiam baal et obtulit sacrificium domino. Ipsius uiri trecenti lambierant aquas ut canes. Is postmodum excessit cum israel.

Given the impossibility of discussing all the anomalies found in the manuscripts, I will limit myself to some rather randomly chosen examples. Firstly, in some cases, the absence of individual chapters is common to all the manuscripts belonging to the same series. This can be seen, for example, with for the omission of the *titulus* 135 of the A series of the book of Exodus, which occurs in all the relevant codices (table 3).

Table 3: De Bruyne's numbering for the A series *tituli* in Exodus, and the corresponding numbers in each of the witnesses of this series

De Bruyne	Casin. 515	Pal. lat. 3	Sion 15	Vat. lat. 4220	Vat. lat. 10405
129	142	93	142	147	149
130	143	94	143	148	150
131	144	95	144	149	151
132	145	96	145	150	152
133	146	97	146	151	153
134	147	98	147	152	154
135	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
136	148	99	148	153	155
137	149	100	149	154	156
138	150	101	150	155	157
139	151	102	151	156	158

Secondly and more frequently, deductions or additions with respect to the reference texts printed in De Bruyne appear to be variously distributed within the sequences. For example, the A series of Leviticus chapters in Pal. lat. 3 (fols 34v–35r) and Vat. lat. 4220 (fols 35v–36r) consists of 88 *tituli* and is closed in both cases by number 88. But while the scribe of the Palatine manuscript omits number 66 of De Bruyne's list (also absent in the Sion Bible), the Vatican codex omits number 62. As for the chapters to the book of Numbers, three of the four representatives of the A series have 74 *tituli*, with the last one numbered 74; but while in the cases of Pal. lat. 3 (fol. 44rv) and Vat. lat. 4220 (fol. 45rv), the sequence is identical to that printed in De Bruyne, in Vat. lat. 10405 (fol. 41rv), the final figure 74 results from the merging of two pairs of titles ( $44 = 42 + 43$  De Bruyne and  $64 = 63 + 64$  De Bruyne) and from the splitting of two single titles into pairs ( $33 + 34 = 33$  De Bruyne and  $35 + 36 = 34$  De Bruyne). Groupings and doublings also occur in other series. For example, the first *titulus* of Judges is split in two in five of the seven witnesses

of the A series: Pal. lat. 3, fol. 78v; Casin. 515, p. 177; Barb. lat. 587, fol. 73v; Vat. lat. 12958, fol. 69r; Laur. Plut. 15.10, fol. 82r.<sup>18</sup>

Thirdly, in the only two codices bearing chapters to Deuteronomy—Pal. lat. 3 (fol. 54rv) and Vat. lat. 4220 (fols 58v–59v)—the difference in numbering between the two series is due to the omission of two titles (94 and 103) in the former and one (21) in the latter. This can be easily explained, in all cases, as a *saut du même au même*.

The coexistence of choices attributable to specific strands of tradition (which may differ from book to book), and to individual errors of copying, prevents the definition of clusters based solely on the distribution of the *capitula*, which cannot, moreover, be founded on a narrow and rather random selection of codices or on the analysis of the Octateuch alone, but needs to be correlated with the results of palaeographic, codicological, artistic, and text-critical analysis. Even from a first survey, however, the potential of a more detailed study of the *capitula* emerges quite evidently: a rather clear opposition appears between two groups (Pal. lat. 3, Vat. lat. 4220, Sion 15, and Vat. lat. 10405 on the one hand; Barb. lat. 587, Vat. lat. 12958, and Laur. Plut. 15.10 on the other), with Casin. 515 in an intermediate position; the second group is marked by a particularly close affinity between Vat. lat. 12958 (the so-called Pantheon Bible) and Barb. lat. 587 (the Santa Cecilia Bible), which are among the most richly illuminated witnesses of the Atlantic family. The relevance of these

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<sup>18</sup> The first chapter is absent in Sion 15, fol. 73r.

groupings ought to be verified—in a further phase of the research—through the analysis of the palaeographic, decorative, and textual characteristics of the Bibles and of their possible relationships, as well as through an extension of the census proposed here to other important Atlantic witnesses of the most ancient period.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.0. Chapter Lists in the Bibles Kept at the Montecassino Abbey

For those wishing to analyse the evolution of the Bible as a book during the Middle Ages, Montecassino represents a unique situation, given the large number of testimonies still held *in loco*, distributed over the central Middle Ages and produced both in the abbey's scriptorium and the foremost regions of medieval Europe.<sup>20</sup> Such testimonies make it possible to follow the physical, textual, graphic, and decorative transformations undergone by the Bible, and also to document the role played by Montecassino, both as a centre with a strongly characterised local tradition and as a magnet for new cultural and technical trends developed elsewhere and embraced early on at the abbey, which added its own touches of originality.

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<sup>19</sup> For the recurrence of the same scribes in several Atlantic Bibles, see Larocca, 'Le più antiche Bibbie atlantiche'; the same phenomenon is analysed, with reference to decorators and illuminators, by Orofino, 'Per un'iconografia comparata'. References to other contributions from the two authors may be found in Maniaci and Orofino, 'Dieci anni', 8n11, 8n14.

<sup>20</sup> Casavecchia et al., *La Bibbia a Montecassino*.



As already mentioned, the library of Montecassino preserves an Atlantic Bible, Casin. 515, which arrived in the abbey in an incomplete form—perhaps through the abbot reformer Desiderius—and was supplemented by typically Beneventan initials, not of the best quality (see figs. 6 and 7).<sup>21</sup> It serves here as a link to the second example, drawn from another recently ended project, dedicated to the cataloguing of all the manuscript of the Cassinese collection containing part or the totality of the biblical text (in a ‘natural’ sequence, with the exclusion of liturgical codices).<sup>22</sup> The descriptive protocol chosen for the Bibles adopts a ‘syntactic’ approach<sup>23</sup> and includes the census and the systematic identification of all the paratexts (prologues, titles, and chapters).

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<sup>21</sup> On Casin. 515, see Dell’Omo, ‘Il codice Casin. 515’; Maniaci and Orofino, ‘Montecassino, Bibbia, riforma’, 395–402, 405–7. These have different views concerning the role of Desiderius in the arrival of the Bible at Montecassino.

<sup>22</sup> Casavecchia et al., *La Bibbia a Montecassino*, contains the descriptions and bibliography of all the Cassinese Bibles mentioned in the following pages.

<sup>23</sup> On which see Andrist et al., *La syntaxe du codex*; a new (revised and expanded) edition in English is currently in preparation.

Figure 6: Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Casin. 515, p. 426

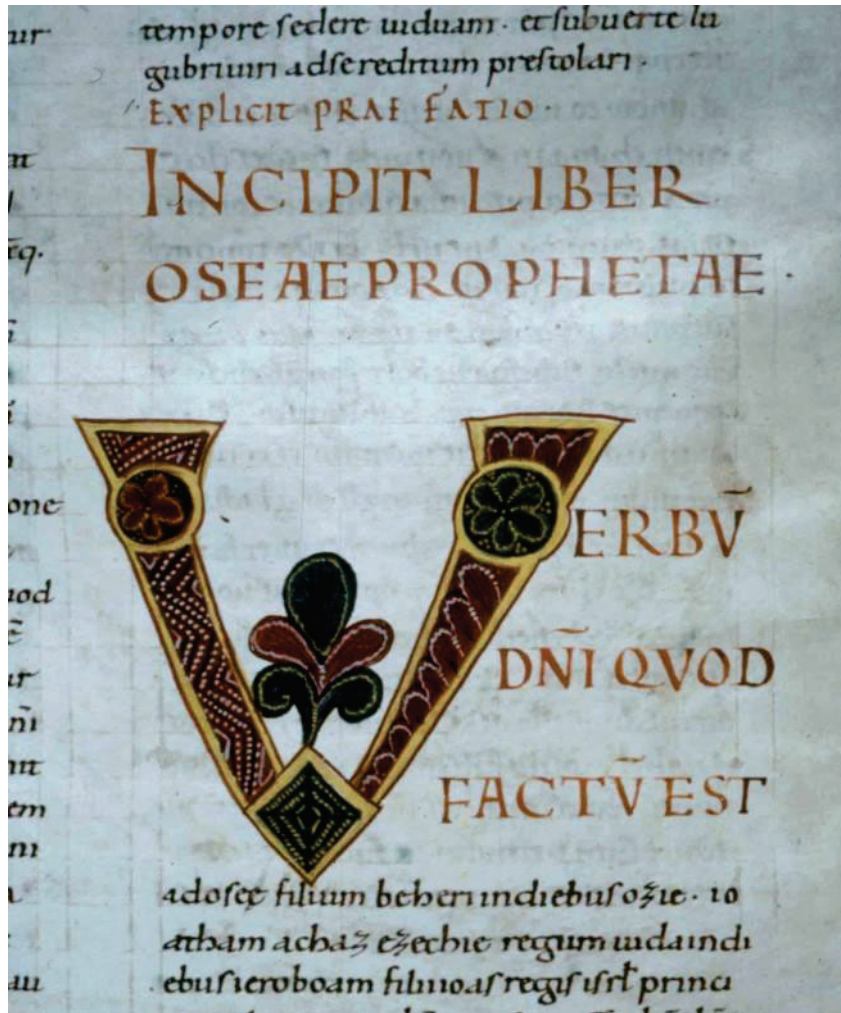


Figure 7: Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Casin. 515, p. 515



Among the slightly over a hundred biblical witnesses preserved at the abbey (including a series of fragments), 21 codices (corresponding to 27 production units) are written in Beneventan

minuscule.<sup>24</sup> Despite the presence of an Atlantic Bible in Montecassino from shortly after the middle of the eleventh century, none of the biblical codices of local manufacture contains the complete sequence of the Old and New Testaments: the idea of the Bible as a pandect is in fact foreign to Longobard southern Italy, and Beneventan Bibles contain instead partial groupings of books, according to a division of the Bible into five parts (Octateuch; Prophets; Kings-Maccabees; Pauline Epistles; Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse) which reflects its use during the Divine Office through the liturgical year.<sup>25</sup>

Six of the biblical codices belonging to the Cassinese collection contain the Octateuch (in a more or less complete form), which was used for morning readings between Septuagesima and Lent (table 4).<sup>26</sup>

Table 4: Date and contents of Cassinese Octateuchs

Shelfmark	Date	Contents
520	second half of 11th century	Gen., Exod., Lev., Num., Deut., Josh., Judg., Ruth
531	early 11th century	Gen., Exod., Lev., Num., Deut., Josh., Judg. (mutilated)
565	first half of 12th century	Gen.    Exod., Lev., Num., Deut., Josh., Judg., Ruth
583	first half of 11th century	Gen. (acephalous), Exod., Lev., Num., Deut., Josh. (mutilated), Judg. (acephalous and mutilated)

<sup>24</sup> Casavecchia et al., 'Montecassino e la Bibbia'.

<sup>25</sup> Brown, 'I libri della Bibbia'.

<sup>26</sup> The double vertical lines mark the modular units within the individual Bibles. See Maniaci, 'La struttura delle Bibbie atlantiche'. The dating of Casin. 583 refers to the first unit of the codex, containing the Octateuch.

759	early 11th century	Gen.    Exod., Lev., Num., Deut.    Josh., Judg., Ruth (mutilated)
760	early 11th century	Gen., Exod., Lev., Num., Deut., Josh., Judg., Ruth

In his fundamental study of the Octateuch text that appeared in 1922, Henri Quentin noted how the Cassinese group—supplemented by two complete later Bibles of local production, Casin. 557 and 35 (discussed further in the following section), and by two other manuscripts containing Genesis and Exodus (Casin. 534 and 557)—have well-marked characteristics, distinguished by the presence of rare or unique lessons.

A first examination of the *capitula* in this group of manuscripts—undertaken by Roberta Casavecchia<sup>27</sup> and currently being extended to other Cassinese Bibles—and a comparison with the *capitula* of the Atlantic Bible preserved in the abbey allows some interesting observations (table 5).

Table 5: De Bruyne’s chapter series for each of the eight Cassinese Bibles, together with the number of chapters actually present in each book, and the number given to the final chapter in each list

Genesis	Series	No. of chapters	Final chapter no.
Casin. 515	Is (46)	46	46
Casin. 520	A (82)	81	81
Casin. 531	A (82)	80	80
Casin. 565	A (82)	81	81 (added by later hand)
Casin. 583	acephalous	acephalous	acephalous
Casin. 759	A (82)	81	81
Casin. 557	A (82)	81	102
Casin. 35	A (82)	81	81

<sup>27</sup> See Casavecchia et al., ‘Montecassino e la Bibbia’, 49–51; Casavecchia and Maniaci, ‘Partial Bibles’; Casavecchia, ‘Bibbia e paratesti’.

<b>Exodus</b>	<b>Series</b>	<b>No. of chapters</b>	<b>Final chapter no.</b>
Casin. 515	A (139)	149	151
Casin. 520	A (139)	158	156
Casin. 531	A (139)	156	156
Casin. 565	A (139)	156	unnumbered
Casin. 583	A (139)	157	157
Casin. 759	A (139)	157	157
Casin. 557	A (139)	157	165
Casin. 35	A (139)	156	155
<b>Leviticus</b>	<b>Series</b>	<b>No. of chapters</b>	<b>Final chapter no.</b>
Casin. 515	Is (16)	16	16
Casin. 520	A (89)	86	84
Casin. 531	A (89)	86	unnumbered
Casin. 565	A (89)	86	unnumbered
Casin. 583	A (89)	86	86
Casin. 759	A (89)	86	86
Casin. 557	A (89)	86	unnumbered
Casin. 35	A (89)	86	85
<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Series</b>	<b>No. of chapters</b>	<b>Final chapter no.</b>
Casin. 515	Ps (50)	48	48
Casin. 520	A (74)	73	71
Casin. 531	A (74)	73	73
Casin. 565	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 583	A (74)	73	73
Casin. 759	A (74)	73	73
Casin. 557	A (74)	73	unnumbered
Casin. 35	A (74)	73	73
<b>Deuteronomy</b>	<b>Series</b>	<b>No. of chapters</b>	<b>Final chapter no.</b>
Casin. 515	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 520	A (155)	21	21
Casin. 531	A (155)	21	21
Casin. 565	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 583	A (155)	21	21
Casin. 759	A (155)	21	21
Casin. 557	A (155)	21	unnumbered
Casin. 35	A (155)	21	21

Joshua	Series	No. of chapters	Final chapter no.
Casin. 515	A (33)	34	34
Casin. 520	A (33)	33	33
Casin. 531	A (33)	32	32
Casin. 565	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 583	A (33)	33	33
Casin. 759	A (33)	33	33
Casin. 557	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 35	A (33)	33	33
Judges	Series	No. of chapters	Final chapter no.
Casin. 515	A (18)	17	17
Casin. 520	A (18)	18	18
Casin. 531	A (18)	18	17
Casin. 565	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 583	mutilated	mutilated	mutilated
Casin. 759	A (18)	18	18
Casin. 557	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 35	A (18)	18	18
Ruth	Series	No. of chapters	Final chapter no.
Casin. 515	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 520	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 531	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 565	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 583	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 759	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 557	absent	absent	absent
Casin. 35	absent	absent	absent

As in the Atlantic Bible, the *tituli* normally appear at the top of the biblical book, almost always introduced by a rubricated initial and an initial title (and sometimes closed by a final one) and preceded by Roman numerals also transcribed in red ink. The chapters of some books are not numbered, specifically Leviticus in Casin. 531; Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus in Casin. 534 (numbers in front of the Genesis chapters are added by a later hand); and Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomius in Casin. 557. The table omits one manuscript, Casin. 760, in which—unlike in the

other Bibles—the *tituli* are incorporated in the text in the form of rubrics.

A first noteworthy fact is that, unlike what happens in Atlantic Bibles, both the *capitula* of the Cassinese Octateuchs and those of the two later complete local Bibles in Carolingian minuscule all belong to the A series (but with specific common traits that distinguish them from those of the Atlantic Bibles).<sup>28</sup>

A second, striking, peculiarity concerns the sequence of the Deuteronomy chapters—omitted by most of the examined Atlantic Bibles—that in all Cassinese Octateuchs (including Casin. 760), as well as in the two local Bibles, systematically end at chapter 21; this is also found in Bibles of Spanish origin.<sup>29</sup>

Other elements common to the Cassinese group, which help to make it identifiable, concern the systematic omission, in all the witnesses of the Octateuch (but also in the two later local pandects) of the same *tituli* of the A series—number 34 of Genesis; numbers 33, 121, and 122 of Exodus; numbers 54, 63, and 89 of Leviticus; number 71 of Numbers—which are always present in the Atlantic Bibles; also common to the entire local tradition is the permutation of Genesis chapters 75 and 76 of De Bruyne's A series.

Minor divergences in the numbering of the chapters of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers occur in two codices, Casin. 759 and Casin. 520, which are certainly related from both textual and

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<sup>28</sup> Unfer Verre, 'Una Bibbia di Montecassino', 1818–22.

<sup>29</sup> Quentin, *Mémoire*, 360.



art historical points of view.<sup>30</sup> Casin. 759 was in fact produced in the early years of the eleventh century in Capua (in the scriptorium founded by the Cassinese monks after they had fled the Saracen raid that destroyed Montecassino in 883) and probably served as a model for the manufacture of Casin. 520.

An even more evident relationship exists between Casin. 531, 583, and 759, three Octateuchs which can all be dated to the first decades of the eleventh century. Particularly significant is the position of the same initial title of Exodus, placed right before the *capitula* rather than at the opening of the biblical text, as well as the same ungrammatical version of the rubric introducing the list of chapters in Numbers (“Incipiunt capitula de liber [sic] Numeri”: Casin. 531, p. 190; Casin. 583, p. 168; Casin. 759, p. 299).

Within this relatively compact group, Casin. 565, produced at the beginning of the twelfth century, stands out for the absence of the *capitula* to Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges: the last two are also omitted by the later Casin. 557, which I will go on to discuss as the last of my three examples.

#### 4.0. Chapter Lists in the First Southern Italian Complete Bible

About a century after the making of the Cassinese Atlantic Bible, the first complete Bible of southern Italian origin was produced

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<sup>30</sup> Compared to Casin. 759, Casin. 520 doubles the figure 121 in the chapter numbering of Exodus (p. 137), omits the numbering of chapters 16 and 18 in Leviticus (p. 242), and doubles the figure 32 in the chapter numbering of Numbers (p. 314).

in the third quarter of the twelfth century in Montecassino: the so-called *Ferro Bible* (Casin. 557), named after its unknown main copyist who signed himself, in a way that was totally unusual in the Latin tradition, highlighting the word in the text that corresponds to his name by writing it in capital letters, sometimes touched with red ink. *Ferro* also signed another codex written at Montecassino, Casin. 264: this glossed Exodus bears a colophon containing the name of abbot Theodinus (1166–67), offering us a close reference point for the dating of the Bible. The small dimensions and the very tiny script qualify the *Ferro Bible* as a book not intended for liturgical use, but for study and consultation, which testify to early connections between the Montecassino cultural environment and that of the great abbeys and cathedrals where biblical exegesis found a strong revival in twelfth-century northern Europe.<sup>31</sup>

When the *Ferro Bible* was produced, Montecassino lacked a local tradition which could serve as a model (in terms of size, order of the books, layout, text, and paratexts). The Cassinese Bible therefore appears as an unprecedented experiment, straddling tradition and innovation: this is clearly demonstrated by the text, which is composed by combining several local anti-graphs, but with significant novelties, such as the presence of *Ezra-Nehemiah* and *Paralipomena* (the latter never directly attested in Beneventan Bibles, although occasionally mentioned in

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<sup>31</sup> On the *Ferro Bible*, see Unfer Verre, 'Un contributo'; Unfer Verre, 'Una Bibbia di Montecassino'; see also more recently Zambardi, 'Le Bibbie glossate', with a focus on a glossed Exodus also written by *Ferro* (Casin. 264).

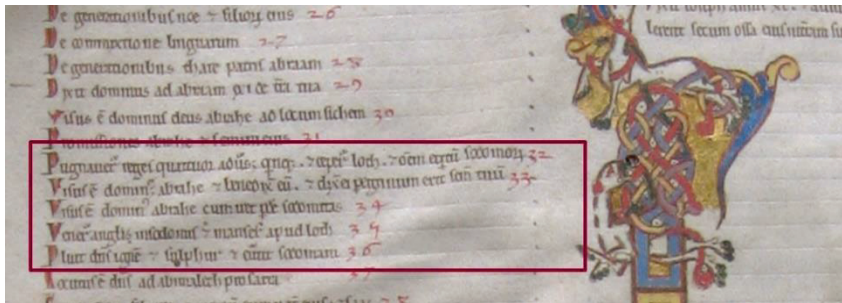
the catalogues), of Baruch (also attested for the first time in the Ferro Bible), of the Epistle of Jeremiah, and of four versions of the Psalter (Hebrew, Gallican, *Vetus*, and Roman), for whose co-existence the Cassinese Bible constitutes an absolute unicum. Also noteworthy is the presence of prologues and other paratexts typical of Beneventan manuscripts, alongside others belonging to external traditions.

In the Ferro Bible, most of the books are still preceded by chapter lists (with the exception of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–4 Kings, 2 Paralipomena, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, and all the Prophets). For the Pentateuch, as we have seen, these are fully in line with the *capitula* attested in the group of Cassinese Octateuchs,<sup>32</sup> with which they share the absence of: chapter 34 of Genesis (see fig. 8); 33, 121, and 122 of Exodus; 54, 63, and 89 of Leviticus; 71 of Numbers; and the interruption to chapter 21 of Deuteronomy. As already mentioned, the absence of the chapters to Joshua and Judges and some peculiarities in the sequence of the *tituli* of Genesis (the omission of no. 34, also found in Casin. 759) point to a particularly close relationship between the Ferro Bible and the Octateuch Casin. 565, which can be assigned to the beginning of the twelfth century and is in turn connected to Casin. 760 through a misunderstanding of the decorator (*E[c]* instead of *H[aec]* at the beginning of Exodus).

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<sup>32</sup> On the texts of the *capitula*, see Thiele, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 134–35; Thiele, *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)*, 89–90.

Figure 8: Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Casin. 557, p. 6



semini ejus.

XXXII. Pugnaverunt reges quatuor adversus quinque et ceperunt loth et omnem equitatum sodomorum.

XXXIII. Uisus est dominus abrahamae et benedixit eum et dixit ei : peregrinum erit semen tuum.

XXXIII. Uisus est dominus abrahamae et dedit ei signum circumcisionis et de isaac.

XXXV. Uisus est dominus abrahamae cum iret perdere sodomitas.

XXXVI. Uenerunt (5 + duo) angeli in sodomis et manserunt apud loth.

A complete survey of the chapters, conducted by Elisabetta Unfer Verre, reveals the dependence of Casin. 557 on the Casinese tradition for the other biblical books as well;<sup>33</sup> unlike what happens for the text and for the prologues, the text of the chapters is not subject to revisions and updating: this is probably a symptom of an early loss of interest in this type of text, destined to disappear with the diffusion of the model of the Parisian Bible.

<sup>33</sup> Unfer Verre, 'Una Bibbia di Montecassino', 1818–22.

The choices documented by the Bible named after Ferro, who is not only its main scribe but probably also its *concepteur*, completely ignore—not only for the texts and the order of the books, but also for the selection of the chapters—the model of the Atlantic Bibles, represented in Montecassino by Casin. 515, which was surely present in the abbey when the later pandect was transcribed.

A further century later, another locally made pandect, Casinensis 35, exhibits a biblical text that is still, for the most part, a typically Cassinese one, and a sequence of chapters laid out on two narrow columns placed side by side, which is still completely in line, for the Octateuch, with local customs (as is shown by the presence of the ‘short’ version of the *capitula* to Deuteronomy or by the absence of the same *tituli* omitted in the Cassinese Octateuchs).

## 5.0. Some Final Remarks

What can be inferred from this preliminary (and largely provisional) survey?

First of all, the potential of a systematic analysis of biblical chapters lists is clearly confirmed even by the few examples discussed here. For scholars interested in the tradition of the biblical text and its circulation in different periods and contexts, chapter lists represent on the one hand a particularly useful tool to highlight relationships between individual witnesses or groups of codices; on the other hand, they are also clues to cultural rather than editorial choices, perpetuated over time even after their rationale and their connection to the text had been forgotten (as

evidenced by the misalignment between *capitula* and text partitions and the convergence of several strands of traditions in the same Bible). For book historians, the arrangement of the lists on the page, the use of visual and art historical devices to highlight the individual *tituli*, and the presence and hierarchy of initial and final titles (both of the biblical books and their accompanying texts) are all aspects that may allow us to better understand the work of artisans and copyists and the challenges involved in transcribing the ‘Book among the books’, in the multiplicity of its forms. In the specific perspective of paratextual studies, chapter lists obviously play a privileged role in the analysis of the interplay between the biblical books and the variety of their surrounding (organising, interpretive, navigational, accompanying, etc.) tools and materials.<sup>34</sup> Last but not least, chapter lists are texts of varying structure and length, which can—and should—also be analysed from the point of view of their contents (descriptions, quotes or paraphrases, summaries, etc.), literary choices, and quality.<sup>35</sup>

From a methodological and organisational point of view, the future development of this research needs to be set in the context of a broader project, whose formulation will have to take

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<sup>34</sup> See the stimulating theoretical contribution by Andrist, ‘Definition of Paratexts’.

<sup>35</sup> Chapter lists, and the interest in them, are of course not limited to the Bible. See, e.g., Colombi, ‘Una prima ricognizione’; Colombi, ‘Titoli e capitoli’, with further bibliography and interesting methodological remarks.

into account the evidence that has emerged from this first survey, and the following facts in particular.

The study of Bible chapters is an immense work, which requires great patience. It cannot be limited to a single group of books, but should be extended to all attested series and to groups of witnesses which are representative of specific Bible types. This is true not only in the case of the Atlantic Bibles, but also—to mention another potentially interesting example—in the case of the so-called Turonian or Alcuin Bibles. For example, a quick survey conducted on Bern, Burgerbibliothek 3 revealed that the Oc-tateuch only has A series chapters, exactly corresponding to the De Bruyne sequence.

The examination of the attested sequences cannot be limited to comparing simply the first and the last number of the series published in De Bruyne's *Sommaires*. Instead, it must include the systematic verification of the presence, absence, unification, duplication, and permutation of titles; the omission or duplication of numbers; and any other possible variations to the sequences.

The analysis of the sequences must be integrated with an analysis of their layout and of the visual and textual devices used (of a codicological, graphic, or decorative nature). This must be done to determine the identification, legibility, and functionality of the lists. There must also be a simultaneous examination of all the accompanying paratexts, such as the prologues and initial or final titles—these are mostly banal and repetitive, but can sometimes shed light on direct or indirect relationships between individual manuscripts or groups of codices.

The *tituli* transcribed at the head of a biblical book must be compared with the actual internal partitions within the book itself. As has been mentioned, these often do not correspond.

The study of the tradition of the chapters and the relationships between the witnesses cannot ignore the textual and philological analysis of the individual titles—the ‘great absent’ from this contribution. The relationship between the subdivision provided by the titles and the not necessarily compliant subdivision of the biblical text must also be verified.

The research on chapter lists should include the re-edition, in electronic format, of the fundamental repertoire by Donatien De Bruyne, based on a wider census of manuscripts and on their opportune and motivated selection.