

# New Treasures as Well as Old: The Use and Reuse of the Gospel *Kephalaia* in Commentary Manuscripts

Saskia Dirkse, *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*

**Abstract:** This article looks at one of the oldest and most stable Greek gospel paratexts, the *kephalaia* (known also as the Old Greek Chapters) and their use in gospel commentary manuscripts. Although their original purpose remains the subject of speculation, the *kephalaia* fulfill various practical functions, acting as a bookmarking tool through the marginal placement of *titloi* and as an exegetical lens, since each *kephalaion* brings into focus one particular event or theme of the gospel story. As part of the standard paratextual furniture of gospel books since antiquity, the *kephalaia* also appear in many gospel commentaries, usually in unaltered form, where they also operate as structuring elements for the lemmata or as section headings for the ensuing commentary text. A few commentary manuscripts, however, feature *kephalaia* lists that are greatly expanded and specially adapted to the commentary text. This article will focus on one particular set of commentary *kephalaia* attested in three manuscripts and examine the additions, alterations, and refinements that the standard lists and *titloi* undergo to suit them to the commentary's contents. It will also consider how an expanded *kephalaia* system might affect the reader's approach to both the biblical and the commentary text in a way that differs from how the *kephalaia* mediate the text in a standard gospel manuscript.

## Introduction

The gospel *kephalaia* (also known as the Old Greek Chapters) are among the oldest and most textually stable gospel paratexts in the Greek tradition. Their earliest preserved occurrence is in the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus.<sup>1</sup> *Kephalaia* (and their attendant *titloi*) are not unique

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<sup>1</sup> London, British Library, Royal MS 1 D VIII (GA 02), Diktyon 39763 (date: fifth century). For a study of the gospel *kephalaia* in this manuscript, see W. Andrew Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in the Codex Alexandrinus* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 156–81; and Greg Goswell, “Early Readers of the Gospels: The *Kephalaia* and *Titloi* of Codex Alexandrinus,” *JGRChJ* 6 (2009): 135–74. For further reading on gospel *kephalaia*, see Charles E. Hill, *The First Chapters: Dividing the Text of Scripture in Codex Vaticanus and Its Predecessors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Jennifer Knust and Tommy Wasserman, “The Wondrous Gospel of John: Jesus's Miraculous Deeds in Late An-

to manuscripts of the gospels nor even to Bibles; they are also found in many secular works, and some of them go back to the author.<sup>2</sup> This system of text divisions, which is present in most Greek *tetraevangelia*, is made up of three parts. A numbered list of *titloi* (or titles) precedes each gospel. Most *titloi* begin with the preposition *περί* (“on” or “concerning”), followed by a brief synopsis of the titular event in the section of text that follows. These *titloi* are repeated (with or without number) in the upper or lower margins of the gospel text on the appropriate folios. The *kephalaion* number is then often added again in the lateral margin of the same folio to indicate where the text associated with the *kephalaion* begins. In commentary manuscripts that contain a more or less complete text of the gospel, the layout and placement of both the lists and the marginal *titloi* are largely the same as those in *tetraevangelia* without commentaries. In catena manuscripts where the commentary text frames the biblical text, the marginal *titloi* are placed either between the commentary text and the gospel text or (less commonly) in the upper margins above the commentary text. In catena manuscripts where the biblical text and the commentary text alternate in the same column(s), the *titloi* are sometimes also placed in the lateral margins of the page. Parallel *kephalaia*, which show the numbers of the corresponding *kephalaia* in the other gospels, are also found in commentary manuscripts, both in the lists and in the margins. The oldest surviving commentary manuscript, the late antique Codex Zacynthius, which contains the Gospel of Luke and a frame commentary around it, is also the oldest surviving witness of the parallel *kephalaia*.<sup>3</sup>

Although the original purpose of *kephalaia* remains a subject of speculation, they fulfill various practical functions for readers. They act as a bookmark when the lists are paired with corresponding marginal *titloi*, helping the reader situate himself or herself in the text. They also become an exegetical lens, since each *kephalaion* (through its title and placement) brings into focus one particular aspect or theme of the gospel story. As part of the standard paratextual furniture of many *tetraevangelia* and some *evangelia*, the *kephalaia* were inherited by gospel commentaries, especially those that feature a complete or nearly complete witness of the gospel text. Their form and content are usually not altered by the presence of a commentary, but

cient Editorial and Scholarly Practice,” in *Healing and Exorcism in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Mikael Tellbe, Tommy Wasserman, and Ludvig Nyman (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 165–96; Charles E. Hill, “Rightly Dividing the Word: Uncovering an Early Template for Textual Division in John’s Gospel,” in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity Essays in Honour of Michael W. Holmes*, ed. Daniel Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 217–38; James R. Edwards, “The Hermeneutical Significance of Chapter Divisions in Ancient Gospel Manuscripts,” *NTS* 56 (2010): 413–26; Pierre Petitmengin, “Capitula païens et chrétiens,” in *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques*, ed. Jean-Claude Fredouille et al. (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 1997), 491–507; Christian-Bernard Amphoux, “La division du texte grec des Évangiles dans l’Antiquité,” in Fredouille et al., *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques*, 301–12; H. K. McArthur, “The Earliest Divisions of the Gospels,” in *Papers Presented to the Second International Congress on New Testament Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford 1961: The New Testament Message*, vol. 3.2 of *Studia Evangelica*, ed. F. L. Cross, TU 88 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 266–72.

<sup>2</sup> See Hill, *First Chapters*, 42–49 for an overview of the use of the term *kephalaion* in secular and Christian works.

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge (UK), UL, Add. 10062 (GA 040), Diktyon 73427 (date: ca. 700?); the exact date of this manuscript is unclear. For recent work on this codex, see H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, Texts and Studies 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020); H. A. G. Houghton, Panagiotis Manafis, and A. C. Myshrall, *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius: Text and Translation*, TS 3/22 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020); and also D. C. Parker and J. N. Birdsall, “The Date of Codex Zacynthius (Ξ): A New Proposal,” *JTS* 55 (2004): 117–31.

their function does change as they take on the additional role of structuring elements for the lemmata or act as section headings for the ensuing commentary text. A number of commentary manuscripts, however, feature sets of *kephalaia* lists that have been greatly expanded to serve the needs of the commentary. This paper will focus on one particular set of these commentary *kephalaia* attested in several manuscripts and see what kinds of additions, alterations, and refinements are made to the standard lists to fit them to the contents of the commentary.

## *Kephalaia* of Gospel Commentaries

For this article I focus on commentary manuscripts that are part of the repertory of New Testament manuscripts, that is to say, those that have been assigned a Gregory-Aland number.<sup>4</sup> Most of the gospel commentary manuscripts in this group inherited the *kephalaia* system attested in gospel manuscripts without commentary content (for simplicity, we will call these the standard gospel *kephalaia*), but there is a small group of commentaries with more comprehensive *kephalaia* systems, where into the structure of the standard *kephalaia* are integrated *kephalaia* and *titloi* referring specifically to the contents of the commentary. When used as marginal *titloi*, some *kephalaia* act as structuring elements for the commentary text, while others track the narrative developments in the gospel text.

### BnF grec 201 and Vat. gr. 360

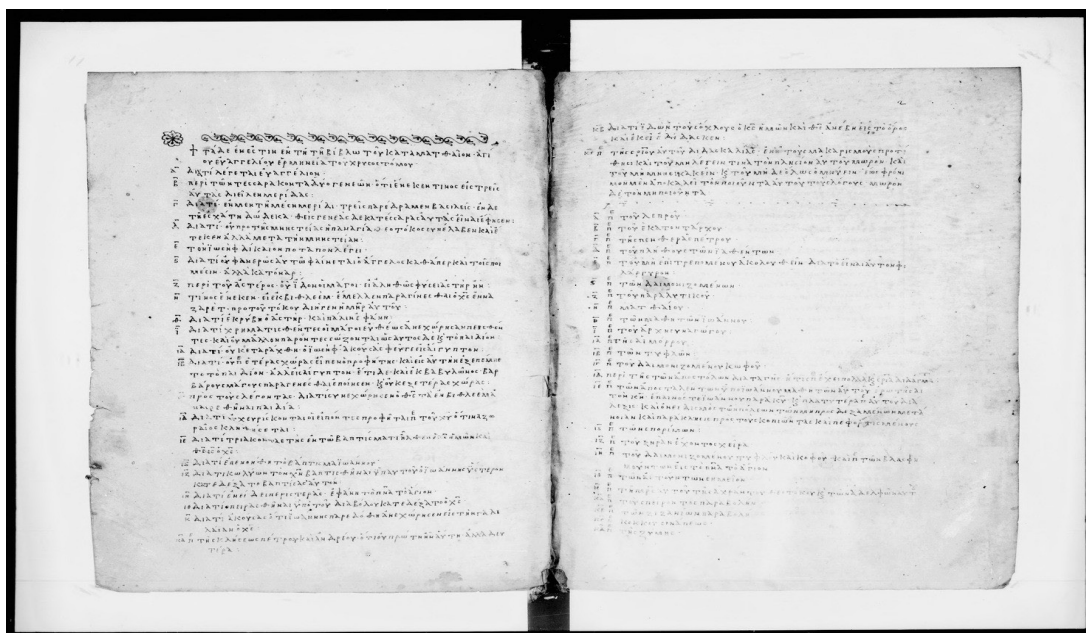
What does this look like in situ? A set of commentary *kephalaia* found in the first few folios of an eleventh-century manuscript currently held in Paris (BnF, grec 201 [GA 055]) features a combination of standard and commentary-specific *kephalaia*.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript features four gospel commentaries, but only three have commentary *kephalaia* lists (presented in the order Matthew, John, and Luke), which are all clustered together in the first few folios.<sup>6</sup> Interspersed

<sup>4</sup> See Kurt Aland et al., *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd rev. and enlarged ed., ANTF 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994). An up-to-date version of the list is maintained at [ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste](http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste).

<sup>5</sup> See Paris, BnF, grec 201 (GA 055), Diktyon 49771 (date: eleventh century), fols. 1v–5r and Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18.4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 15. Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3/25 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021), 8, dates it to the tenth century.

<sup>6</sup> The commentaries in this manuscript follow the so-called Western Order of Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. On this order in commentary manuscripts, see Patton, *Greek Catena*, 116–20. I list here some further information on the content of the gospel commentaries in this manuscript: Reuss classifies the commentary on Matthew attributed to Chrysostom in the manuscript (fols. 6r–112r) as a Type A, Grundform, which consists of excerpts from Chrysostom's homilies on Matthew supplemented by a few scholia from other authors; see Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 19. The commentary on John, likewise attributed to Chrysostom in the manuscript (fols. 115v–191r) and also a Type A, Grundform, consists of excerpts from Chrysostom's homilies on John; see Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 151. Lastly, the commentary on Luke (fols. 191r–230v) is attributed in the manuscript to Titus of Bostra and others; see fol. 191r. It corresponds to Reuss's Type A, Grundform and represents an anonymous continuous commentary that draws mostly on Cyril of Alexandria and, to a lesser degree, on Titus of Bostra and Origen; see Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: Aus Katenen-handschriften*, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), xi. The commentary on Mark (fols. 230v–303v) is distinct from the other three commentaries not only in

between the commentary *kephalaia*, other pieces of content in the manuscript are listed; their presence shows that these first few folios serve as a table of contents not just for the commentaries but also for the manuscript itself. The layout of these commentary *kephalaia* is different from what one might find in a standard list, at least for the *kephalaia* commentary for Matthew.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Grec 201

Fig. 1. Paris, BnF, grec 201 (GA 055), Diktyon 49771 (date: eleventh century), fols. 1v–2r. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

Table 1. *Kephalaia* lists in BnF, grec 201 (GA 055)

Folios	Content Items	Notes
fols. 1v–2r	<i>kephalaia</i> list for Matthew (Part I)	<i>titloi</i> numbered α'–xy'
fols. 2r–3r	<i>kephalaia</i> list for Matthew (Part II)	<i>titloi</i> numbered α'–oe'
fols. 3r	Eusebius Pamphilus and Isidore of Pelusia	unnumbered
fols. 3r–4r	<i>kephalaia</i> list for John	<i>titloi</i> numbered α'–λε'
fols. 4r–5r	<i>kephalaia</i> list for Luke	<i>titloi</i> numbered α'–ξξ'
fols. 5r–5v	title for the catena on Luke and first scholia	the title and scholia are repeated on fol. 191r <sup>7</sup>

The list for Matthew is made up of two parts. The first has twenty-three *kephalaia* and begins with introductory questions, such as the one framed in the first *kephalaion* (“Why is it

terms of its paratextual furniture (it has no initial list of *kephalaia* and *titloi*) but, as Patton points out, in terms of its contents and presentation, this being likely due to its having a different exemplar from that of the other three gospels; see Andrew J. Patton, “Greek Catenae and the ‘Western’ Order of the Gospels,” *NovT* 64 (2022): 125–26.

<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to the reviewers for pointing this out to me.



called ‘Gospel?’<sup>8</sup>) but also contains *kephalaia* referring to specific places in the gospel text.<sup>9</sup> The title of the list does not mention the term *kephalaion* at all but presents it instead as a table of contents for the commentary.<sup>10</sup> The second part of the list, consisting of seventy-five *kephalaia*, integrates many of the standard *titloi*, beginning with “on the leper” (Mt/6 in the standard list). Between the end of the commentary *kephalaia* list for Matthew and the one for John that follows it, other texts are listed. These are excerpts attributed to Eusebius and Isidore of Pelusia on the resurrection.<sup>11</sup> We will return in a moment to these particularities of the presentation and layout and why they matter.

John Anthony Cramer printed a similar version of these three lists in the appendices to his *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum* (before the catena to each gospel he printed a standard *kephalaia* list). Cramer used one manuscript, Paris, BnF, Coisl. 23 (GA 39), as the basis for his editions of the catenae of Matthew, Luke, and John, but he also used readings from another eleventh-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4 (Misc. 182), which is also a witness to this more comprehensive *kephalaia* system, though BnF, grec 201 is more complete.<sup>12</sup> We now turn to the content of the lists, for which an excerpt from the commentary *kephalaia* for Matthew will serve as an illustration. The table below shows how the commentary *kephalaia* from BnF, grec 201 compare to a standard *kephalaia* list:

<sup>8</sup> BnF, grec 201, fol. 1v: α' διὰ τί λέγεται εὐαγγέλιον; John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Matthaëum* 1 (PG 57:15.50–54).

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, BnF, grec 201, fol. 1v: διὰ τί πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου κατεδέξατο ὁ Χριστός; (cf. Matt 4:1–11).

<sup>10</sup> BnF, grec 201, fol. 1v: Τὰδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τῇ βίβλῳ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου ἐρμηνεία τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.

<sup>11</sup> BnF, grec 201, fol. 3r: Εὐσεβίου τε τοῦ Παμφίλου καὶ Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πηλουσιώτου περὶ τῆς ζωοποιοῦ ἀναστάσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν; See also John Anthony Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, Tomus I In Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1844), 452. The extracts mentioned by this title are on fols. 112r–115v in the manuscript and follow the order given in Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 6 for type e.1.i (the numbers in square brackets refer to the numbers assigned in von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 363): fols. 112r–113r: Eusebius Pamphilus, von Soden [159]; fols. 113–114r: Isidore of Pelusia, Ep. 212, von Soden [161]; fols. 114r–114v: Isidore of Pelusia, from Ep. 114, CPG 5557; fols. 114v–115v: Eusebius Pamphilus, von Soden [160]. See also Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 6–9, for an overview of the content of this catena manuscript and its other witnesses.

<sup>12</sup> See Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 46–47; and William Lamb, “Conservation and Conversation: New Testament Catena in Byzantium,” in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016), 281, 286, and 288. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4 (Misc. 182) is Diktyon 47130; the biblical text of this codex has not been assigned a GA number. I have not been able to view this manuscript, but Cramer’s list for Luke ends abruptly at Lk/42 because of a lost folio, and several of the *titloi* are incomplete. The Paris manuscript, on the other hand, in addition to being a complete witness, offers some better readings than Cramer’s text (on whose style as an editor, see William Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*, TENTS 6 [Leiden: Brill, 2012], 34). For example: GA 055, Mt/2 (fol. 1v) περὶ τῶν τεσσαρακονταδύο γενεῶν, ὅτι ἔνεκεν τίνος εἰς τρεῖς αὐτὰς διεῖλεν μερίδας, compared to Cramer’s version of Mt/2 περὶ τῶν μβ’ γυναικῶν ὅτι ἔνεκεν τί. See Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum*, 1:449.

Table 2. A comparison between the standard *titloi* and the commentary *titloi* for Matthew in BnF, grec 201 (GA 055)

Standard <i>Kephalaia</i> List for Matthew	Commentary <i>Kephalaia</i> List for Matthew from BnF, grec 201, fols. 1v–2r.
κγ' Περὶ τῶν αἰτούντων σημεῖον. 23. On those who seek a sign.	ιθ' Περὶ τῶν αἰτούντων σημεῖον. 19. On those who seek a sign.
	κ' Περὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀχράντου θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ. 20. On his mother, the immaculate Theotokos, and on his siblings.
κδ' Περὶ τῶν παραβολῶν. 24. On the parables.	κα' Περὶ τοῦ σπείροντος παραβολή. 21. On the parable [of] the sower.
	κβ' Περὶ τῶν ζιζανίων παραβολή. 22. On the parable [of] the tares.
	κγ' Περὶ κόκκου σινάπεως. 23. On the grain of mustard.
	κδ' Περὶ τῆς ζύμης. 24. On the leaven.
	κε' Ἑρμηνεία τῆς παραβολῆς τῶν ζιζανίων, ἐν ᾗ ἔγκειται θαυμαστά. 25. Interpretation of the parable of the tares, which contains wondrous things.
	κς' Περὶ τῆς παραβολῆς τοῦ θησαυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μαργαρίτου. 26. On the parable of the treasure and the pearl.
	κζ' Περὶ τῆς σαγῆνης παραβολή. 27. On the parable of the net.
	κη' Ποῖός ἐστι γραμματεὺς ὁ μαθητευθεὶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν; 28. What kind is the scribe who received instruction concerning the kingdom of heaven?
κε' Περὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἡρώδου. 25. On John and Herod.	κθ' Περὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἡρώδου. 29. On John and Herod.
κς' Περὶ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων καὶ τῶν δύο ἰχθύων. 26. On the five loaves and the two fishes.	λ' Περὶ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων. 30. On the five loaves.
κζ' Περὶ τοῦ ἐν θαλάσῃ περιπάτου. 27. On the walking on the sea.	λα' Περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου κλύδωνος τῆς θαλάσσης. 31. On the second disturbance of the sea.

Three of the five *kephalaia* listed here (Mt/23, 25 and 26) are more or less the same in the commentary *kephalaia* list.<sup>13</sup> Mt/27 and its commentary equivalent differ significantly because the author of the commentary *kephalaia* turns the focus of the *titlos* in a different direction, wishing to establish a contrast between two episodes in Matthew involving rough waters (cf. Matt 8:23–27 and 13:22–36).<sup>14</sup> At Mt/24 (“On the Parables,” 13:3–58), the difference between the standard and commentary *kephalaia* emerges clearly: for the single standard *kephalaion*, the commentary list adds a *kephalaion* before it about the Lord’s family (Matt 12:46–50), assigns

<sup>13</sup> The omission of the fish from Lk/26 is a variant one sees with some frequency in the transmission of the standard list in this *titlos* and also in its parallel *titloi* in Mk/16, Lk/48 and Jn/8.

<sup>14</sup> GA 055, fol. 58r, the lemma begins where the *titlos* is located in the outer margin. See also Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum Patrum*, 1:117.17.

each of the seven parables an individual *kephalaion*, and closes with a *kephalaion* on those questioning the Lord's identity (Matt 13:43–58). Following the arrangement of themes in the commentary text, the author of the commentary *kephalaia* zooms in on certain aspects of the text, the parables in this case, that the author of the standard *kephalaia* (which generally favor the miraculous over the didactic for their narrative focus) gathers into a single catch-all *titlos*.

The previous section looked at the integration of gospel *kephalaia* into more comprehensive lists of commentary *kephalaia*. In this section we will examine an unusual case of paratextual *Rückwanderung* where these same commentary *kephalaia*, attested in BnF, grec 201 and Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4 and discussed above, appear to have been reused and, perhaps more significantly, repurposed for a thirteenth-century New Testament manuscript (*Tetraevangelion* and *Praxapostolos* without the Apocalypse) currently held in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 360 (GA 131), Diktyon 66991.<sup>15</sup> The gospel portion of Vat. gr. 360 does not feature a commentary text, so the commentary *kephalaia* for Matthew, Luke, and John appear to have been altered to fit gospel texts without commentary content.

Table 3. *Kephalaia* lists in Vat. gr. 360 (GA 131)

Folios	Content Item	Notes
fols. 11v–12r	<i>kephalaia</i> list for Matthew	<i>titloi</i> numbered $\alpha'$ – $\delta\delta'$ , corresponding to Part II of the <i>kephalaia</i> list for Matthew in GA 055 (see table 1). This list is one <i>kephalaion</i> short, because $\mu\varsigma'$ in the commentary list has been omitted here.
fols. 46v	<i>kephalaia</i> list for Mark	<i>titloi</i> numbered $\alpha'$ – $\mu\varsigma'$ , final two standard <i>kephalaia</i> omitted. Not present in GA 055.
fols. 69v–70r	<i>kephalaia</i> list for Luke	<i>titloi</i> numbered $\alpha'$ – $\lambda\epsilon'$
fols. 70r	Eusebius Pamphilus and Isidore of Pelusia	unnumbered, same <i>titlos</i> as in GA 055
fols. 106r	<i>kephalaia</i> list for John	<i>titloi</i> numbered $\alpha'$ – $\iota\eta'$

Some of the alterations made to the commentary *kephalaia* are straightforward. For example, the title of the *kephalaia* for Matthew no longer has any references to Chrysostom's commentary.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, the twenty-three *kephalaia* that make up the first part of the commentary *kephalaia* list, before the numbering begins again, are omitted. Many, but not all, of these twenty-three *kephalaia* deal with commentary-specific material. Consequently, in omitting the whole first part of the list of Matthew and beginning only at the first *kephalaion* in the second part, “On the Leper,” which corresponds to Mt/6 (Matt 8:1–4) in the standard list, all

<sup>15</sup> For the thirteenth-century date, see Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, II, *Codices 330–603* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937), 48; and Karl Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht* (Rome: Verlag des päpstlichen Bibelinstituts, 1926), 174. But also compare Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste*, 54 (fourteenth century); and Caspar René Gregory, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908), 156 (fourteenth or fifteenth century). An interesting footnote to the history of this manuscript is given by Gregory, who notes that this manuscript, which has a fair number of marginal glosses in Latin, was probably used for the Aldine Greek New Testament of 1518. Unfortunately, this edition, unlike its Erasmus counterpart of 1516, did not feature gospel *kephalaia*. Gregory also noted that the number of *kephalaia* in this manuscript was unusually high; see Gregory, *Die griechischen Handschriften*, 861.

<sup>16</sup> Vat. gr. 360, fol. 11v: κεφάλαια εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον.

*titloi* pertaining to places in the text prior to Matt 8:1 have also been omitted. The contours of the scribe's editing process are thus still clearly visible.

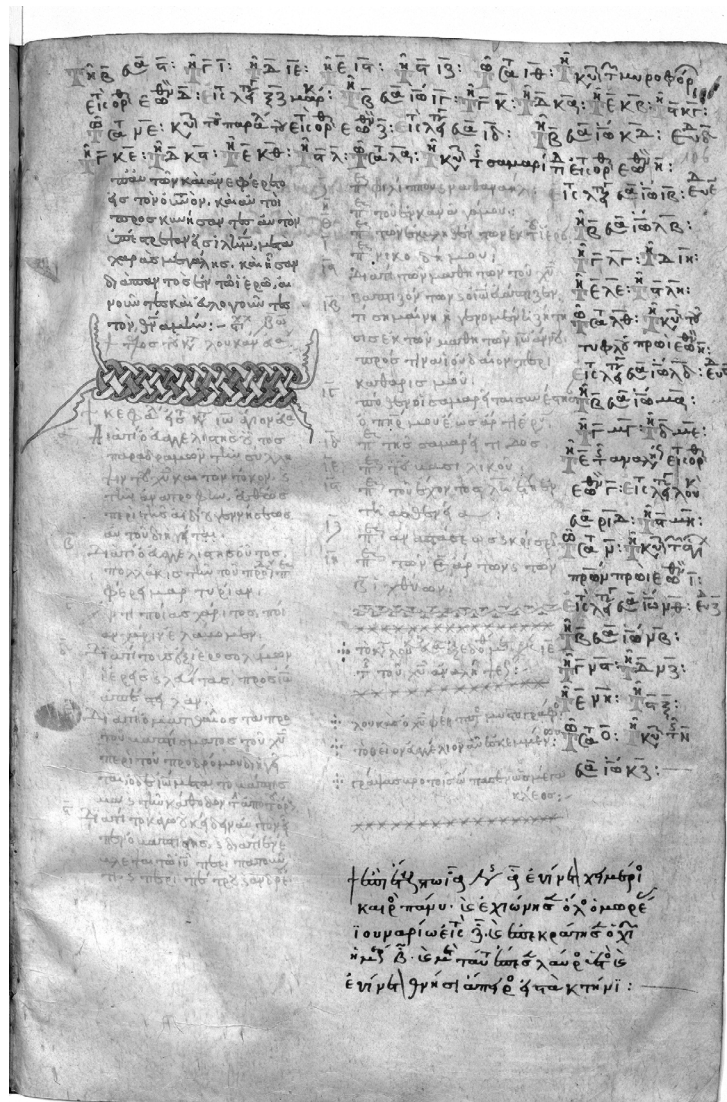


Fig. 2. Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 360 (GA 131), fol. 106r, *kephalaia* list for John

In the list for John, however, the commentary-specific *kephalaia* have not been entirely edited out. Jn/1, for example, reads “Why does this evangelist, passing over Christ’s conception, his delivery, and his upbringing, immediately refer to his eternal birth?”<sup>17</sup> This question is addressed in BnF, grec 201 in the commentary’s opening paragraphs (see fol. 116r), but in Vat. gr. 360, without the presence of the reference text, the question remains unanswered (at least from the text itself). The scribe of this manuscript seems to have wanted his *kephalaia* list to correspond, at least numerically, to the standard number of *kephalaia* found in the list for John, which is eighteen.<sup>18</sup> This posed a problem, since his exemplar must have had a *kephalaia* list for John that featured around thirty-five *titloi* (see table 1). This desire to adhere to the

<sup>17</sup> Vat. gr. 360, fol. 106r: Διὰ τί ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς οὗτος παραδραμὼν τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸν τόκον καὶ τὴν ἀνατροφὴν εὐθέως περὶ τῆς αἰδίου γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ διηγεῖται;

<sup>18</sup> This tendency, which the scribe of this manuscript shares with others, was noted by Hermann von Soden, *Untersuchungen: Die Textzeugen*, part 1.1 of *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ält-*



number eighteen caused him to adopt a rather Procrustean editorial treatment of the text of the commentary *kephalaia* in his copy, as we see in table 4 below:

Table 4. Comparison of the standard *titloi* for John (1–10) with the *titloi* for John in Vat. gr. 360 (GA 131)

Standard <i>Titloi</i> for John	<i>Titloi</i> for John in Vat. gr. 360 (GA 131), fol. 106r
α' Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κανᾶ γάμου. 1. On the wedding at Cana.	α' Διὰ τί ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς οὗτος παραδραμὼν τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸν τόκον καὶ τὴν ἀνατροφὴν εὐθέως περὶ τῆς αἰδίου γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ διηγεῖται; 1. Why does this evangelist, passing over Christ's conception, his delivery, and his upbringing, immediately refer to his eternal birth?
β' Περὶ τῶν ἐκβληθέντων ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. 2. On those thrown out of the temple.	β' Διὰ τί ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς οὗτος πολλάκις τὴν τοῦ Προδρόμου προφέρει μαρτυρίαν; 2. Why does this evangelist often mention the Forerunner's witness?
γ' Περὶ Νικοδήμου. 3. On Nicodemus.	γ' Ἀντὶ ποίας χάριτος ποίαν χάριν ἐλάβομεν; 3. Which grace have we received for which grace?
δ' Ζήτησις περὶ καθαρισμοῦ. 4. The discussion about purification.	δ' Διὰ τί τοὺς ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀπέστειλαν. 4. Why did they send priests and Levites from Jerusalem to John?
ε' Περὶ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος. 5. On the Samaritan woman.	ε' [Διὰ τί] ὁ Ματθαῖος τὰ πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ τοῦ Προδρόμου διηγεῖται, ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης τὰ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ τὴν κάθοδον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους; 5. Why is Matthew's account of the Forerunner from before Christ's baptism while John gives what took place after the baptism and the descent from the mountain?
ς' Περὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. 6. On the official.	ς' Διὰ τί τὸ κάγω οὐκ ᾔδιν αὐτὸν εἶπεν ὁ βαπτιστής, καὶ διὰ τί ἐνέβλειψεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ περιπατοῦντι, καὶ περὶ Πέτρου καὶ Ἀνδρέου. 6. Why did the Baptist say, "I myself did not know him" (John 1:31), and why did he watch Jesus walk by? And on Peter and Andrew.
ζ' Περὶ τοῦ τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ. 7. On the man who had an infirmity for thirty-eight years.	ζ' Περὶ Φιλίππου καὶ Ναθαναήλ. 7. On Philip and Nathanael.
η' Περὶ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων καὶ τῶν δύο ἰχθύων. 8. On the five loaves and the two fishes.	η' Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κανᾶ γάμου. 8. On the wedding at Cana.
θ' Περὶ τοῦ ἐν θαλάσῃ περιπάτου. 9. On the walking on the sea.	θ' Περὶ τῶν ἐκβληθέντων ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. 9. On those thrown out of the temple.

*esten erreichbaren Textgestalt, hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911), 403. The lists for Matthew and Luke are also of a nonstandard length.

ι' Περὶ τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλοῦ. 10. On the man blind from birth.	ι' Περὶ Νικοδήμου. 10. On Nicodemus.
ια' Περὶ Λαζάρου. 11. On Lazarus.	ια' Διὰ τί τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτίζοντων καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτιζεν; 11. Why, when Christ's disciples were performing baptisms, did John also baptize?
ιβ' Περὶ τῆς ἀλειψάσης τὸν κύριον μύρω. 12. On the woman who anointed the Lord with ointment.	ιβ' Τί σημαίνει γενομένη ζήτησις ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰωάννου πρὸς τινὰ Ἰουδαῖον περὶ καθαρισμοῦ; 12. What does it mean, "then there arose a question between some of John's disciples and a certain Jew about purifying?" (cf. John 3:25)
ιγ' Περὶ ὧν εἶπεν Ἰούδας. 13. On the things which Judas said.	ιγ' Πόθεν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται συνέστησαν; 13. Where did the Samaritans come from?
ιδ' Περὶ τοῦ ὄνου. 14. On the ass.	ιδ' Περὶ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος. 14. On the Samaritan woman.
ιε' Περὶ τῶν προσελθόντων Ἑλλήνων. 15. On the Greeks who approached him.	ιε' Περὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. 15. On the official.
ισ' Περὶ τοῦ νιπτῆρος. 16. On the washing vessel.	ισ' Περὶ τοῦ τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ. 16. On the man who had an infirmity for thirty-eight years.
ιζ' Περὶ τοῦ παρακλήτου. 17. On the Comforter.	ιζ' Περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ κρίσεως. 17. On resurrection and judgment.
ιη' Περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος. 18. On the petition for the Lord's body.	ιη' Περὶ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων καὶ τῶν δύο ἰχθύων. 18. On the five loaves and the two fishes.

What would the effect of this *kephalaia* list with repurposed content be on the attentive reader? The *titloi* in the list refer to content that is not in the text that follows. Moreover, the *kephalaia* apparatus that attends the Gospel of John consists of unnumbered but standard marginal *titloi*, with the result that these two sets of *titloi* do not match. Although it is difficult to tell from the reproduction, it appears that the initial *kephalaia* list and the marginal *titloi* are the work of the same (or a similar) hand. The effect of these mismatches must certainly have been confusion on the part of the reader. The imperfect transposition of commentary *kephalaia* for John onto a *tetraevangelion* with no commentary content represents an instance of fossilization, where the scribe, in an effort to remain faithful to the exemplar, reproduces a paratext without an appropriately corresponding reference text, which thus loses its ability to generate meaning as a paratext.<sup>19</sup> Another small fossil occurs in the *kephalaia* list for Luke, where the *titlos* mentioning the texts on the resurrection by Eusebius and Isidore of Pelusia makes an appearance at the end of the *kephalaia* on fol. 70r, while the corresponding patristic extracts are not present in the manuscript. This awkward editing on the scribe's part raises the question of what kind of exemplar was being used. If the copyist was trying to produce a *tetraevangelion* without commentary content from a commentary manuscript, the exemplar would likely have been a catena manuscript in frame format, as producing a continuous biblical text from a commentary with an alternating format would be time-consuming, and errors and omissions could easily be introduced.<sup>20</sup> Another possibility, which cannot be entirely ruled out because of the fact that Vat. gr. 360 has nonstandard lists but standard marginal *titloi*, is that the scribe copied the biblical text from one manuscript and the paratexts from another.

<sup>19</sup> For a parallel in the Latin West, see H. A. G. Houghton, "The St Petersburg Insular Gospels: Another Old Latin Witness," *JTS* 61 (2010): 114–15.

<sup>20</sup> I am grateful to the editors for pointing this out.

This claim is, however, difficult to substantiate. It remains to be seen whether and, if so, how the Paris and Vatican manuscripts are connected. Given the overlap between the *kephalaia* and *titloi* in these two manuscripts, it seems almost certain that these two paratexts are at least connected. Comparing the two sets offers a revealing glimpse into the transformations that may take place during the transmission process and how paratexts can be adapted and repurposed to answer to the needs of a new textual setting.<sup>21</sup>

## From East to West and Back Again: The Early-Modern Reception of the *Kephalaia* in Theophylact of Ohrid's *Commentary on the Four Gospels*

We now turn to a different scenario, where a gospel commentary acquired a set of supplementary *kephalaia* when it came into print. The *kephalaia* found in the witnesses of Theophylact's *Commentary on the Four Gospels* are for the most part identical to those found in gospel manuscripts with no commentary content. A set of expanded commentary *kephalaia* is, however, found in a small number of manuscripts, and these expanded *kephalaia* will be the focus of this section. Theophylact's *Commentary* was very popular in the Byzantine world; as Georgi Parpulov puts it, it was "a best-selling work" that was "preserved in an impressive number of pre-seventeenth-century copies."<sup>22</sup> In early modern Europe there was interest in Theophylact as a biblical exegete, too: the first printed edition of a work by Theophylact, a Latin translation of his commentaries on the Pauline epistles, appeared in 1477.<sup>23</sup> His *Commentary on the Four Gospels* also first appeared as a Latin translation by the Protestant Reformer Johannes Oecolampadius; it was printed by Andreas Cratander in Basel in 1524 and reprinted several times in the years following.<sup>24</sup> The *editio princeps* of the *Commentary*'s Greek text was published in Rome in 1542, one of only three works to come of a publishing project sponsored by Cardinal Cervini (the future pope Marcellus II) in collaboration with the printer Antonio Blado.<sup>25</sup> The

<sup>21</sup> See also Jeremiah Coogan's contribution in this volume, which deals with recycling contents for new textual settings.

<sup>22</sup> Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Theophylact of Ohrid, *Enarrationes in Epistolas S. Pauli*, trans. Christophorus Persona (Rome: Ulrich Han, 1477).

<sup>24</sup> See Andrew J. Brown, "The Gospel Commentary of Theophylact, and a Neglected Manuscript in Oxford," *NovT* 49 (2007): 185–96. Brown notes that Oecolampadius used a single, fourteenth-century manuscript, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.III.15 (GA 817), Diktyon 8888, as the basis for his translation (which, in turn, was used by Migne for the Latin translation in the PG edition); this codex was also used by Erasmus in the preparation of his edition(s) of the New Testament. On this codex, see Patrick Andrist, "Érasme 1514–1516 et les étapes de la préparation du texte biblique et des prologues grecs du Novum Instrumentum: Le témoignage des manuscrits," in *La Bible de 1500 à 1535*, ed. Gilbert Dahan and Annie Noblesse-Rocher (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 139–40. The manuscript features *kephalaia* lists for Mark, Luke, and John and marginal *titloi*, but these are not preserved in Oecolampadius's translation; rather, he devises an alphabetical thematic index of his own, which he places before the translation. See Theophylact of Ohrid, *In Quatuor Evangelia Enarrationes*, trans. Johannes Oecolampadius (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1524), \* 2 and following.

<sup>25</sup> Theophylact of Ohrid, *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα Εὐαγγέλια* (Rome: Blado, 1542). For further information on the team assembled by Cervini to bring his project to fruition, see Paolo Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes: The Roman Curia and the Use of Printing (1527–1555)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 68–70. On two significant figures involved in the project, the Greek humanist and cartographer

story of Cervini as a publisher of Greek texts and that of the skilled and learned associates that assisted him in this endeavor in various capacities has recently been revisited by Paolo Sachet, who lays out the timeline of this project, the principal actors involved, and some of the manuscripts used for the edition of Theophylact's *Commentary*.<sup>26</sup> A notable feature of this edition is the expanded *kephalaia* list printed before each gospel commentary.

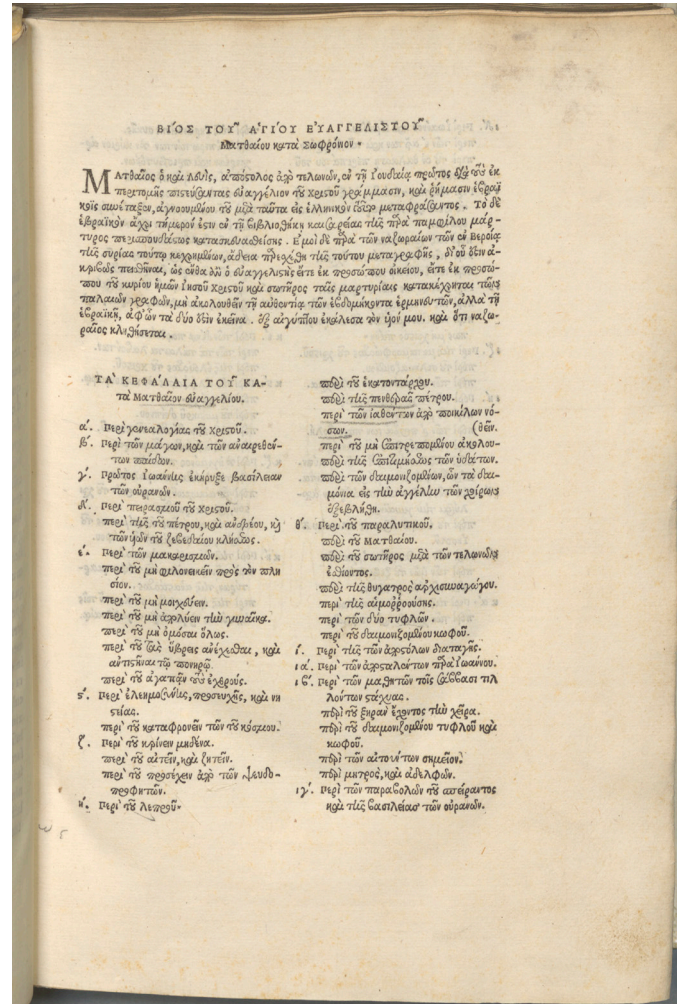


Fig. 3. *Kephalaia* list for Matthew in the 1542 editio princeps of Theophylact's *Commentary on the Four Gospels* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 P.gr. 479, fol. \* iii r)

The text of the 1542 edition (including the expanded commentary *kephalaia* lists before each gospel) was incorporated into another edition of the *Commentary* with parallel Latin

Nikolaos Sophianos and the printer Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, see Evro Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy: Printers and Publishers for the Greek World* (Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 1994), 460–72 and 402–20. The two other works produced by the press were a treatise on the astrolabe by Sophianos and one volume of Eustathius of Thessaloniki's commentaries on Homer; see Paolo Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes*, 225.

<sup>26</sup> Sachet, *Publishing for Popes*, 81–88, with mentions on p. 82 of specific manuscripts associated with this edition. Sachet also touches on the interdenominational discord that underpins these various efforts to bring Theophylact's work into print both in translation and in Greek, an aspect that we will have to pass over in the present essay.



translation by the Dominican theologian Bernardo Maria de Rubeis (de Rossi).<sup>27</sup> This, in turn, was the text that was taken up by Migne in his edition of the *Commentary*.<sup>28</sup> All three editions have the expanded *kephalaia* lists among their paratexts.

How does the expanded *kephalaia* system in the printed edition of the *Commentary* compare to the standard *kephalaia* found in most manuscript witnesses? To distinguish between the standard *kephalaia* and *titloi* found in most manuscripts and the *kephalaia* and *titloi* found in the printed editions of Theophylact, we will refer to the former as Manu-Mt/1 and to the latter as Print-Mt/1. The difference is in both the layout and the content. In figure 3 we see that Print-Mt/1 is “On the Genealogy of Christ” (περὶ γενεαλογίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ), which starts at the beginning of the gospels (like the Eusebian sections) rather than at Matt 2:1 (like Manu-Mt/1). We also see that most rows in the *kephalaia* list for Matthew begin with the familiar *περὶ* construction. There are twenty-eight *kephalaia* in the printed list for Matthew, but there are ninety-one “items” beginning with *περὶ* distributed over those twenty-eight *kephalaia*. Not every row has been assigned a number, nor does every *περὶ* phrase correspond to one *titlos*. For example, Print-Mt/2 is “On the Wise Men and on the Children That Were Slain” (περὶ τῶν μάγων, καὶ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων παιδῶν), which corresponds to two separate *kephalaia*, Manu-Mt/1 and Manu-Mt/2, in the standard list. This occurs again for Print-Mt/24 “On the day and the hour of the end of the world” (περὶ τῆς συντελείας, ἡμέρας, καὶ ὥρας), which corresponds to Manu-Mt/57 and Manu-Mt/58. The printed list for Matthew contains all standard *titloi* found in the manuscripts. As four of the *titloi* have been collapsed into two joint *titloi*, this means that the standard *titloi* account for sixty-six items. What about the remaining twenty-five? These supplementary *titloi*, which are very similar in style to the standard ones, are inserted at various points in the list, but there are clusters in Print-Mt/5, Print-Mt/6, and Print-Mt/7 (corresponding to the Sermon on the Mount) and in Print-Mt/28 (corresponding to the events surrounding the resurrection). Readers familiar with the Gospel of Matthew may have already noted that twenty-eight is the number of chapters in the Langtonian chapter system we use today.<sup>29</sup> This means that whoever arranged this list took the manuscript *kephalaia* as their starting point, added supplementary *titloi* where they thought the manuscript *titloi* provided insufficient coverage, and arranged the totality of this material into *kephalaia* that correspond to the Western chapters. That this editorial maneuver was the work of the editors preparing the *editio princeps* (or another person tied to the project) cannot at present be proven conclusively. There are, however, several reasons to strongly suspect that the layout and the supplementary *titloi* were a Western innovation. First, the use of the Western chaptering system to number the gospel passages is rare in Byzantine manuscripts, though there are instances where they have been added by a later Western hand.<sup>30</sup> The use of the Western chapters to organize *titloi* is, to my knowledge, not found except in a very limited number of manuscripts, which we come to now.

<sup>27</sup> See Bernardo Maria de Rubeis, ed., *Theophylacti Bulgariae Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, Commentarius in Quatuor Evangelia 1 (Venice: Joseph Bertella, 1754).

<sup>28</sup> PG 123–124. See also Brown, “The Gospel Commentary of Theophylact,” 193–94. Brown notes here that the parallel Latin translation was “partly derived from” Oecolampadius’s translation.

<sup>29</sup> Joop van Banning, S.J., “Reflections upon the Chapter Divisions of Stephan Langton,” in *Method in Unit Delimitation*, Pericope 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 141–61.

<sup>30</sup> In a fourteenth-century, three-volume pandect held at Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Cl.II.187 (Rahlfs: 0106; GA 582), Diktyon 15673, the gospels are numbered using the Western chaptering system by what seems to be the first hand. This manuscript was once in the possession of Cardinal Bessarion; see Alexander Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 184. The gospels in this manuscript unfortunately do not have *kephalaia* lists.

If an unfamiliar paratext appears in an edition, the usual course of action is to look for witnesses of the edition's main text that also feature this paratext. I combed through all the manuscripts containing Theophylact's commentaries for which I was able to find images, basing my search on the list of manuscripts published by Parpulov in his recent *Catena Manuscripts*, and was able to locate three manuscripts with partial witnesses; all three witnesses are later additions to medieval codices.<sup>31</sup> They are:

1. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu 1 (GA 649), Diktyon 673 (date: beginning of the fourteenth century). This paper codex was damaged at some point and then restored in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The list with the *kephalaia* for Matthew corresponding to the edition is on fol. 1r–v, which is part of this restoration.
2. Hagion Oros, Monê Ibêrôn, 2 (GA 989) Diktyon 23599 (date: 1075–1150). The *kephalaia* list corresponding to the edition is found on a sixteenth-century paper addition added to this illustrated parchment manuscript.
3. Sinai, Monê tês Hagias Aikaterinês, gr. 305 (GA 1255) Diktyon 58680 (date: twelfth century), only contains Theophylact's commentary on Luke. The extended commentary *kephalaia* list is part of a later paper restoration to older parchment portion of the codex. The original production unit begins at fol. 10r.

Table 5. The presence of *kephalaia* lists with text corresponding to the printed edition in three manuscripts of Theophylact's *Commentary on the Four Gospels*

Manuscript	<i>Keph.</i> List for Matt	<i>Keph.</i> List for Mark	<i>Keph.</i> List for Luke	<i>Keph.</i> List for John
Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu 1 (GA 649)	same text as the edition, <i>titloi</i> numbered individually	standard	standard	standard
Hagion Oros, Monê Ibêrôn, 2 (GA 989)	same text and layout as the printed edition	standard	standard	standard
Sinai, Monê tês Hagias Aikaterinês, gr. 305 (GA 1255)	n/a	n/a	same text as the edition, <i>titloi</i> not numbered at all	n/a

There are a few important takeaways: first, all three witnesses are written on material support (paper in all three cases) that was added to the manuscript as part of a restoration process. Second, these restorations seem to have taken place during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Lastly, the two witnesses of the *kephalaia* list for Matthew are preceded by a prologue on the evangelist attributed to “Sophronius,” which is a Greek translation of an excerpt from Jerome's *De viris illustribus*.<sup>32</sup> This same prologue appears before the *kephalaia* in the *editio princeps* (see figure 3 above). In GA 1255, the *kephalaia* list is similarly preceded by a prologue attributed to Dorotheus of Tyre (see fol. 1r), which is likewise present in the *editio princeps* (see

<sup>31</sup> Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 213–14. Parpulov updates the list found in Aland et al., *Kurzgefaßte Liste*, 402–3 (which has around 130 witness), and adds new witnesses, bringing the total to 144. I was not able to consult the following manuscripts: GA 315, 888, 1304, 1707, 2107, 2185, 2202, 2395, 2470, 2577, 2578, 2879, 2989, 2995, and 2998.

<sup>32</sup> See Maurits Geerard, ed., *CPG*, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), 300 (no. 3635). See also Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf von Harnack, “Hieronymus *De viris illustribus* in griechischer Übersetzung (Der sogenannte Sophronius),” *TU* 14.1b (1896).

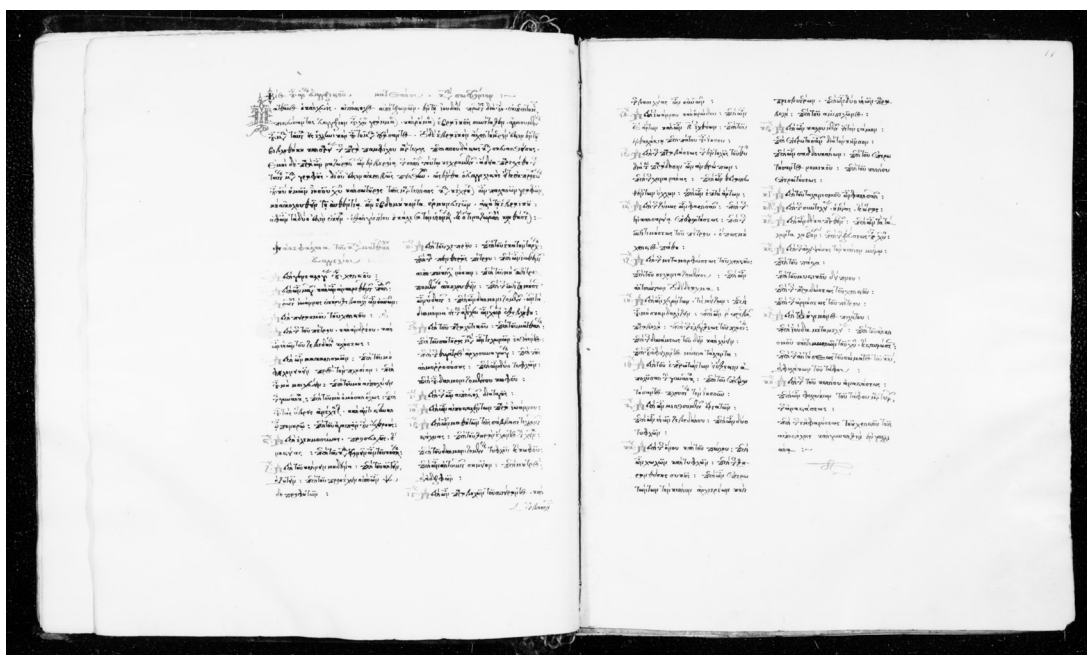


Fig. 4. Hagion Oros, Monê Ibêrôn, 2 (GA 989), fols. 10v–11r, *kephalaia* list for Matthew (Library of Congress Collection of Manuscripts from the Monasteries of Mt. Athos)

p. 205). Considering these points, it seems very probable that the three handwritten *kephalaia* lists that correspond to the printed edition were indeed copied from it by the scribes working on the restorations and were not the work of a Byzantine scribe. The likely authors of the new arrangement of the *kephalaia* lists into Western chapters and the supplementary *titloi* are the humanist editors who brought the work to print. There are other examples of humanists introducing their own Greek gospel paratexts into editions of Scripture,<sup>33</sup> but this is an interesting example of the reception of commentary *kephalaia*, where the humanist editors, for whatever reason, thought the *kephalaia* system that they found in their exemplars ought to be reorganized and supplemented.

## Conclusion

This discussion of the relationship between the standard version of the *kephalaia* found in noncommentary manuscripts of the gospels and an expanded version found in manuscripts of the gospels with commentaries has shown that many commentary manuscripts inherited the gospel *kephalaia* system that had developed in late antiquity and continued to be a fixture in gospel manuscripts with and without commentary content. At the same time, as weighty as this tradition was, it did not prevent some medieval scribes and editors from adapting, rearranging, and expanding the paratexts they inherited, in contrast to the Holy Writ itself. The case of the *kephalaia* in Vat. gr. 360 shows that, once the standard *kephalaia* were adapted to fit the contents of a commentary, they could not simply be reintroduced back into a *tetraevangelion* with no commentary contents without creating gaps and inconsistencies between the main text and its paratext. This example also raises more general questions about the journey of exegetical content brought into *tetraevangelia* to enrich the paratextual offerings and

<sup>33</sup> For examples of humanist editors composing Greek paratexts, see the last chapter in my book *The Greek Gospel Kephalaia: A Diachronic Study with Critical Editions and Translation*, Manuscripta Biblica, Paratextus Biblici (Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming).

whether other cases exist where the contours of this editorial process are still visible. The case of the expanded *kephalaia* found in the print edition of Theophylact's *Commentary on the Four Gospels* shows that, even though the *kephalaia* in most Byzantine copies of Theophylact's work adhere closely to the late antique standard, in the post-Byzantine period at least some scribes were open to what Western editors could bring to this Byzantine classic.