

Charles Hill's *The First Chapters: Dividing the Text of Scripture in Codex Vaticanus and Its Predecessors* A Review Article

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Abstract: Charles Hill's *The First Chapters* provides the first ever monograph-length treatment of Codex Vaticanus's chapter numbering. This article engages with three of Hill's main arguments: (1) Hill argues that the chapter numbering was added during the original production of the manuscript. I agree, and I simplify Hill's argument and provide additional palaeographical evidence. (2) Hill argues that Vaticanus's chapter numbering derives from earlier attempts at textual division found in papyri such as P75. I disagree, except perhaps in John 1–5. (3) Hill argues that the most likely provenance for Vaticanus's chapter numbering is third-century Caesarea and that perhaps Origen, Eusebius, and/or Pamphilus created the system. I tentatively agree based on the colophons found in some medieval manuscripts.

Introduction

Charles Hill's *The First Chapters: Dividing the Text of Scripture in Codex Vaticanus and Its Predecessors* is the first ever monograph-length analysis of Codex Vaticanus's system of chapter numbering. In 1857, Samuel Tregelles labeled Codex Vaticanus's chapter numbers with the Latin phrase, *Capitulatio Vaticana*, which Hill adopted and abbreviated as the *CapVat* in his 2022 survey of text divisions in Scripture. The monograph expands upon Hill's earlier discussions of the *CapVat*.¹

1. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *Matthew–Mark*, vol. 1 of *The Greek New Testament* (London: Bagster & Sons, 1857), iii; Charles E. Hill, *The First Chapters: Dividing the Text of Scripture in Codex Vaticanus and Its Predecessors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), viii, 3–4. Others have labeled the *CapVat* numerals to be “sections” (Jesse Grenz) or “paragraphs” (David Parker, Hugh Houghton), but I will stay with Hill's terminology and abbreviation. See Jesse Grenz, “The Scribes and Correctors of Codex Vaticanus: A Study on the Codicology, Paleography, and Text of B(03)” (PhD diss, University of Cambridge, 2021), 57; D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008),

Previous research on the *CapVat* covered the following topics:

- Brief overviews of the *CapVat* (one to two pages in length), usually discussing when and by whom the *CapVat* were added, with a summary of how many divisions per book.²
- The *CapVat*'s relationship with Codex Zacynthius and/or minuscule 579. These are the only two known manuscripts to have the same chapter system as the *CapVat*, although the connection with minuscule 579 seems wrong and requires further analysis.³
- The *CapVat*'s relationship with Latin chapter divisions, especially in Acts.⁴

316; H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, "The Gospel of Luke in the Palimpsest," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker, Texts and Studies 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 36.

Hill's earlier discussions include "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 Honor of Michael W. Holmes On the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster, NTTSD 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 222–25; Hill, "The *Capitulatio Vaticana*: The Earliest Biblical Chapter System, with a New Tradent," in *Papers Presented at the Eighteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2019*, ed. Markus Vinzent, StPatr 123 (Leuven: Peeters, 2021), 25–38.

2. Carlo M. Martini, ed., *Novum Testamentum e Codice Vaticano Graeco 1209 (Codex B), Tertia Vice Phototypice Expressum* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1968), xii–xiii; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Le texte de l'ancien Testament," in *Prolegomena*, vol. 2 of *Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecorum Codex Vaticanus B: Exemplum quam simillime phototypice expressum codicis Vaticani B (Vat. Gr. 1209)* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1999), 10–11; Stephen Pisano, "The Text of the New Testament," in *Prolegomena*, 27–28; Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (London: Clay, 1900), 351–52; Kirsopp Lake and Silva New, *The Text of the New Testament*, 6th ed. (London: Rivingtons, 1953), 55–56, 60.

3. Yvonne Burns, "Chapter Numbers in Greek and Slavonic Gospel Codices," *NTS* 23 (1977): 321–22; Harold H. Oliver, "Helps for Readers' in Greek New Testament Manuscripts" (ThM thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1955), 28–30; H. A. G. Houghton, Panagiotis Manafis, and A. C. Myshrall, *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius: Text and Translation*, Texts and Studies 3/22 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 6; Houghton and Parker, "The Gospel of Luke in the Palimpsest," 36–39; Alfred Schmidtke, *Die Evangelien eines alten Unzialcodex (B 8-Text): Nach einer Abschrift des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903), xvi–xvii, xxvii–xxx.

4. Christian-B. Amphoux, "Les circonstances de la copie du Codex Vaticanus (Vat.gr. 1209)," in *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209): Introduction au fac-similé; Actes du Colloque de Genève (11 juin 2001); Contributions supplémentaires*,

- The *CapVat*'s relationship with the κεφάλαια/τίτλοι and the Eusebian apparatus.⁵
- Literary analysis of how the *CapVat* structures the biblical text.⁶
- Discussions about when and by whom the *CapVat* were added (whether by the original scribes or later).⁷
- Brill's Septuagint Commentary Series uses Codex Vaticanus and its divisions as the base text for the commentary; some volumes briefly discuss the *CapVat* in specific books of the LXX.⁸

Hill's monograph is a reminder that Bibles today use a chapter system developed in the early thirteenth century, mainly through the efforts of Stephen Langton.⁹ But nine hundred years earlier, in the fourth and fifth

ed. Patrick Andrist, *Histoire du texte biblique 7* (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2009), 174–76; Giorgio Giuriso, "Atti degli Apostoli: Le divisioni dei codici Vaticanus e Amiatinus," *Liber Annuus* 61 (2011): 211–27.

5. William H. P. Hatch, *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 23–25. Cf. Hill, *First Chapters*, 52–64.

6. Greg Goswell, "An Early Commentary on the Pauline Corpus: The Capitulation of Codex Vaticanus," *JGRChJ* 8 (2011): 51–82; Jean Duplacy, "Les divisions du texte de l'épître de Jacques dans B (03) du Nouveau Testament (Vatic. gr. 1209)," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. K. Elliott, NovTSup 44 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 122–36; Giorgio Giuriso and Gaetano Massimo Carlino, "I segni di divisione del Codex B nei vangeli," *Liber Annuus* 60 (2010): 137–54; Hermann von Soden, *Untersuchungen: Abteilung die Textzeugen*, vol. 1.1 of *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911), 432–40.

7. Ezra Abbot, "On the Comparative Antiquity of the Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts of the Greek Bible," *JAOS* 10 (1872–1880): 190; Jesse R. Grenz, "Textual Divisions in Codex Vaticanus: A Layered Approach to the Delimiters in B(03)," *TC* 23 (2018): 13–20; Grenz, "Scribes and Correctors of Codex Vaticanus," 57–61; T. C. Skeat, "The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus, and Constantine," *JTS* 50 (1999): 600–601; Pietro Versace, *I marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, *Studi e Testi* 528 (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2018), 13–14, 92–114, 142–87.

8. John W. Olley, *Ezekiel: A Commentary Based on Iezekiël in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 41; W. Edward Glenny, *Hosea: A Commentary Based on Hosea in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 26; A. Graeme Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Nauë in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2005), x–xv.

9. See discussion of Langton in Joop H. A. van Banning S.J., "Reflections upon the Chapter Divisions of Stephan Langton," in *Method in Unit Delimitation*, ed. Marjo C.A. Korpel, Josef M. Oesch, and Stanley E. Porter, *Pericope* 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 141–61;

centuries, at least two other numbered chapter systems were found in the Greek manuscript tradition.

(1) The system found in most extant Greek manuscripts is self-labeled as a system of *κεφάλαια* (“chapters/headings”) and *τίτλοι* (“titles”).¹⁰ This system first appeared in two manuscripts from the fifth century: Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus, although its divisions probably reach further back in time. This system eventually came to permeate the Byzantine family of manuscripts, and this system covered all the books of the New Testament.

(2) The fourth-century Codex Vaticanus contains a system of numerals placed into the margins of the manuscript but without titles for each section and without a label for itself. So here I adopt Tregelles’s/Hill’s terminology: *Capitulatio Vaticana* (*CapVat*). This system is found in most books of the Septuagint (except Genesis–Numbers, Job, and Esther) and most of the New Testament (except 2 Peter, 2–3 John).¹¹ There are numerals even in some apocryphal books (1 Esdras, Epistle of Jeremiah, Baruch, Susannah, Bel and the Dragon). In this regard, the *CapVat* is more far-reaching than the *κεφάλαια* system by including the Greek Old Testament and some apocryphal writings. Most books also have a second set of numbered sections from a later hand (seventh, eighth, or ninth century; abbreviated

Nelson Hsieh, “Where Did the Bible’s Chapters Come From?” Tyndale House Ink Magazine, November 22, 2023, <https://tinyurl.com/SBLPressTC2024d1>; Otto Schmid, *Über verschiedene Eintheilungen der Heiligen Schrift: Insbesondere über die Capitel-Eintheilung Stephan Langtons im XIII. Jahrhundert* (Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky, 1892).

10. See discussion of the *κεφάλαια*/*τίτλοι* system in Saskia Dirkse, “New Treasures as Well as Old: The Use and Reuse of the Gospel Kephalaia in Commentary Manuscripts,” *TC* 28 (2023): 167–82; Hill, *First Chapters*, 55–61; Jennifer W. Knust and Tommy Wasserman, “Codex Bezae as Repository,” in *Studies on the Intersection of Text, Paratext, and Reception: A Festschrift in Honor of Charles E. Hill*, ed. Gregory R. Lanier and J. Nicholas Reid, *TENTS* 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 142–74; Tommy Wasserman and Jennifer W. Knust, “The Wondrous Gospel of John: Jesus’s Miraculous Deeds in Late Ancient Editorial and Scholarly Practice,” in *Healing and Exorcism in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Mikael Tellbe and Tommy Wasserman, *WUNT* 2/511 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 165–96; James R. Edwards, “The Hermeneutical Significance of Chapter Divisions in Ancient Gospel Manuscripts,” *NTS* 56 (2010): 413–26; Greg Goswell, “Early Readers of the Gospels: The *Kephalaia* and *Titloi* of Codex Alexandrinus,” *JGRChJ* 6 (2009): 134–74; von Soden, *Untersuchungen*, 402–35.

11. Heb 9:14b–13:25, the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, and Revelation are missing from Codex Vaticanus, so obviously these do not have numerals.

CapVat2), who wrote in large, coarse letters, but these are not the focus of Hill's study.¹²

Hill enters the discussion with a 488-page effort that attempts to leave no stone unturned. In chapters 1–2, Hill discusses the use of textual divisions in the Greek, Latin, and Jewish scribal traditions; the emergence of a vocabulary to describe textual division; and two other efforts at numbered textual divisions (the Eusebian apparatus and the Old Greek/Euthalian *κεφάλαια* system). For anyone studying manuscripts, it is important to consider how the *CapVat* relate to other efforts at textual division, and Hill provides an excellent overview in these two chapters. Chapter 3 introduces Codex Vaticanus, its original production, its scribes, and its text. This chapter also contains an important argument for the originality of the *paragraphoi* marks.¹³ Chapter 4 deals with the largest area of debate regarding the *CapVat1*: Were the old numerals part of the original production of the manuscript, or were they added postproduction? Hill provides a detailed defense of the *CapVat1* as part of the original production. Chapter 5 provides a detailed overview of the *CapVat1* in every book in which it is found.

Chapters 6–7 make up more than half of the book, where Hill argues that the *CapVat1* were based on earlier, unnumbered templates/archetypes of textual division. Hill also argues that hints of these archetypes are found in some extant manuscripts, such as Rahlfs 848 and New Testament papyri P66 and P75. Chapter 8 draws together earlier discussions of the origins of the *CapVat1* (pp. 401–12), argues that textual divisions can help to date New Testament papyri on the earlier side of the spectrum (413–22), and gives two examples of the exegetical potential of the *CapVat* (424–28). The epilogue reflects on the use of the *CapVat* in Olympiodorus's commentaries and the survival of the *CapVat* in only three other manuscripts (Codex Marchalianus, Codex Zacynthius, and Vatican Gr. Barb. 549). The *CapVat* were nearly lost to history, but Hill notes that Tregelles's Greek New Testament (published in six volumes from 1857 to 1870) and the thirteenth to twenty-fifth editions of the Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament (published 1927–1963) revived the *CapVat* by including them in their editions. However, the removal of the *CapVat* in NA26/27/28 (1979–present) means that

12. See discussion of these newer/younger numerals in Hill, *First Chapters*, 94–95; Grenz, "Textual Divisions in Codex Vaticanus," 18–20; Versace, *I marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, 31–34, 212–49.

13. Hill, *First Chapters*, 85–90.

we can only hope that “some future Tregelles might restore [the *CapVat*] to the pages of the printed Greek New Testament (perhaps to the Greek Old Testament too), and that perhaps some new Olympiodoruses will uncover their potential contributions to Scriptural exegesis.”¹⁴

This review will focus on evaluating three of Hill's main claims/arguments:

1. Hill argues that the *CapVat1* were part of the original production of Codex Vaticanus and provides some new evidence in a lengthy, detailed argument. I agree and will summarize his argument in a simpler and clearer way, and I also add some new palaeographic evidence.
2. Hill argues that the *CapVat1* derive from older templates/archetypes of textual divisions, which are partially preserved in some extant manuscripts. Hill has amassed large amounts of data, and I cannot evaluate everything. But I reexamined Hill's data in two manuscripts (Rahlfs 848 and P75), and, based on my reexamination, I critique and disagree with his argument regarding *CapVat1* predecessors in Deuteronomy and in John's Gospel (except perhaps in John 1–5).
3. Hill argues that the most likely provenance/origin of the *CapVat1* was in third-century Caesarea, and so the *CapVat1* were in some way related to Eusebius, Pamphilus, and/or Origen, perhaps even as the creator(s) of the system. I tentatively agree with Hill. Such an origin/provenance makes sense given other large-scale projects from Caesarea, such as the Eusebian Apparatus and Origen's Hexapla, but Hill's claim rests entirely on whether or not the colophons of medieval manuscripts can be trusted.

1. The Originality of the *CapVat1*: When and by Whom Were the *CapVat1* Numerals Added?

There is no dispute that the newer marginal numbers (*CapVat2*) were added far after the original production of the manuscript. In this section, we focus on the old numerals (*CapVat1*) and upon answering this question: When and by whom were the *CapVat1* numerals added?

14. Hill, *First Chapters*, 435.

This question is significant because the answer changes our perception of how valuable the *CapVat* are for the history of textual division. If the *CapVat* were added later, even much later than the original production of the manuscript, then the *CapVat* do not attest to the earliest attempts at textual division like what is found in the papyri and in Codices Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus. But if the *CapVat* are original to the production of the manuscript, then the numerals not only attest to early textual divisions from the fourth century but also represent the earliest known system of *numbered* textual divisions for the New Testament.¹⁵

Jesse Grenz has produced a chart of scholars who advocate each view:¹⁶

In-Production	Postproduction
Abbot (1872), Swete (1900), Ropes? (1926), Duplacy (1976), Amphoux (1997), ¹⁷ Bogaert (1999), Olley (2009), Hill (2015), Versace (2018)	Wagstaffe (1739), Westcott and Hort (1896), von Soden? (1911), ¹⁸ Martini (1968), Skeat (1999), Pisano (1999), Auld (2005), Goswell (2011), Glenny (2013)

Grenz helpfully points the way to secondary literature on this question, but upon further examination his chart is less useful for three reasons: (1) Most of the scholars make a brief remark without any argumentation or evidence.¹⁹ In addition to Hill, the following scholars have provided detailed

15. The earliest known *numbered* textual divisions seem to be in Chester Beatty Papyrus 10 (second/third century CE) in LXX Daniel. See the discussion in Hill, *First Chapters*, 278–81. Hill writes that this papyrus “is the earliest manuscript of a biblical book which I am aware of that bears *numbered divisions*” (278, emphasis original).

16. Grenz, “Scribes and Correctors of Codex Vaticanus,” 58.

17. Grenz does not have the 1997 work by Amphoux in his dissertation bibliography, but he is referring to Christian-B. Amphoux, “La division du texte grec des Évangiles dans l’Antiquité,” in *Titres et Articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques: Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly 13–15 décembre 1994*, ed. Jean-Claude Fredouille et al., Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 152 (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 1997), 301–12.

18. Von Soden does not need a question mark; he says about the *CapVat*: “die in δ1 vom Schreiber des Codex selbst am Rande eingetragen” (English: “which in δ1 [= Codex Vaticanus in von Soden’s manuscript abbreviations], the scribe of the Codex itself entered into the margin”) (von Soden, *Untersuchungen*, 432). So von Soden actually belongs in the “in-production” category.

19. Abbot, “On the Comparative Antiquity,” 190; Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 351; James Hardy Ropes, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Text of Acts*, vol. 3.1 of *The Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan, 1926), xli; Amphoux, “La division du texte grec,” 304, 310; Bogaert, “Le texte de l’ancien Testament,” 10; Olley, *Ezekiel*, 41; Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton

discussions and actual arguments: Jean Duplacy,²⁰ T. C. Skeat,²¹ Pietro Versace,²² and Jesse Grenz.²³

(2) Many of the scholars in the chart are not speaking about the *CapVat* as a whole but about the *CapVat* in specific parts of Codex Vaticanus. For example, Swete considers Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel to be *prima manu*, but he says nothing about the *CapVat* in the New Testament.²⁴ James Hardy Ropes, J. Armitage Robinson, and B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort only discuss the *CapVat* in Acts and nothing else.²⁵ Skeat is only concerned about the *CapVat* in the Pauline Epistles, while Duplacy focuses only on the Epistle of James.²⁶ Thus, we cannot automatically apply a scholar's comments about the *CapVat* in specific books to his or her view about the *CapVat* as a whole.

(3) Grenz's 2021 dissertation adopted a twofold framework of viewpoints on the *CapVat*₁ (in-production versus postproduction), whereas his 2018 article had a threefold framework (original, contemporary, and fourth–fifth century). But neither of these captures one of the nuances that Grenz and Hill disagree about: Were the numerals added *during* copying

John Anthony Hort, eds., *Introduction and Appendix*, vol. 1 of *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (London: Macmillan, 1881), 266; von Soden, *Untersuchungen*, 432; Martini, *Codice Vaticano Graeco*, xii–xiii; Pisano, “The Text of the New Testament,” 27; Stephen Pisano, “The *Vaticanus graecus* 1209: A Witness to the Text of the New Testament,” in Andrist, *Le manuscrit B de la Bible*, 78; Auld, *Joshua*, x; Goswell, “Early Commentary on the Pauline Corpus,” 51; Glenny, *Hosea*, 26.

Also see Thomas Wagstaffe, “Some Account of the Famous Vatican MS,” fol. 102v, which is an unpublished set of papers held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma under shelf mark Gesuitico 1162 n. 7. Thanks to An-Ting Yi for allowing me to view images of this manuscript. See further An-Ting Yi, “Thomas Wagstaffe and His Unpublished Account of Codex Vaticanus (Vat. Gr. 1209),” *Annali Di Storia Dell'Esegesi* 39 (2022): 417–42.

20. Duplacy, “Les divisions du texte,” 127–29.

21. Skeat, “Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus, and Constantine,” 600–601.

22. Versace, *I marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, 13–14, 18–19.

23. Grenz, “Scribes and Correctors of Codex Vaticanus,” 57–61; Grenz, “Textual Divisions in Codex Vaticanus,” 13–22.

24. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 351.

25. Ropes, *Text of Acts*, xli; J. Armitage Robinson, *Euthaliana: Studies of Euthalius, Codex H of the Pauline Epistles, and the Armenian Version*, Texts and Studies 3 (Cambridge: Clay, 1895), 36; Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, 266.

26. Skeat, “Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus, and Constantine,” 600–601; Duplacy, “Les divisions du texte,” 127–29.

of the main text²⁷ or *after* the copying of the main text but still during the original production?

In other words, Grenz's in-production category needs two subcategories: *during* copying of the main text and *after* copying of the main text. Such a distinction seems like nitpicking, but it also creates a false dichotomy because most likely there was a mixture of some numerals being added *during* copying of the main text and some (most?) numerals added *after* copying.²⁸

These complexities force us to be more nuanced and detailed in answering when and by whom the were *CapVat1* added. Hill's answer focuses on building a palaeographic argument.²⁹ His argument roughly agrees with the following two-part formulation:³⁰

1. There were two *CapVat1* numerators: Numerator 1 was *not* one of the scribes of the main text but was a corrector of the text and acted in a supervisory role in the scriptorium, while Numerator 2 was one of the main scribes known as Scribe B.
2. The location of the change in numerators (midway through Isaiah and midway through Luke and at the end of quires) suggests that the two numerators were working together. Since Numerator 2 was one of the main text scribes (Scribe B), the two numerators

27. Some scholars use the Latin phrase *in scribendo* (literally, "while writing") in order to indicate something that happened "during the process of copying."

28. See Hill's discussion of red ink in *First Chapters*, 139–45. The progressive darkening of the red ink would imply that some of the numerals were added *during* copying, while the number imprints on opposite pages would suggest that some of the numerals were added quickly before the ink had fully dried, thus were added *after* copying the main text. However, in response to a draft of this article, Grenz said: "I do not find this argument convincing at all." Grenz will discuss this in more detail in the forthcoming published version of his dissertation.

29. There are other arguments used for/against the originality of the *CapVat1*, but I do not think these are convincing one way or the other and leave the issue at an impasse: (1) arguments related to the unique numbering of the Pauline Epistles, (2) arguments related to the inconsistency between the *CapVat1* and the main text block's divisions, and (3) arguments related to the interaction between the *CapVat1* and other marginalia such as *diplai*. See discussion of these issues in Hill, *First Chapters*, 117, 120, 127 (on Pauline numerals); 123–24, 128–29 (on inconsistency); and 134–38 (on interaction with marginalia). The palaeographic argument is the most important and most convincing.

30. Hill read a draft of this article and agreed that I have represented his view properly.

worked together during the original production of Codex Vaticanus.

Point 1: There were two numerators: N1 was a corrector/supervisor; N2 was Scribe B. This first point unfolds in three parts:

1. There were two *CapVat1* numerators.
2. Numerator 1 was not one of the main scribes of the text but was a corrector/supervisor.
3. Numerator 2 was one of the main scribes of the text (Scribe B).

(1) There were two *CapVat1* numerators. Numerator 1 (N1) covered Deuteronomy to Ps 11; Proverbs to Isa 44; Daniel; Luke 22 to Heb 9 (pp. 191–630, 714–1044, 1206–33, 1345–1518; a total of 973 pages), while Numerator 2 (N2) covered Isa 45 to Ezekiel; Matt 1 to Luke 22 (pp. 1045–1205, 1235–44; a total of 271 pages). These two numerators were discovered by observing two locations with a change in numeral hands. Constantinus Tischendorf was probably the first to observe a change in old numeral hands in Luke 22 (pp. 1344–45).³¹

The change on page 1345 is easily noticeable by comparing N1's and N2's *mu* and *alpha*:

Numerator 1 (N1)
 $\overline{\text{PMA}}$ at Luke 23:2 (p. 1345, col. 3)

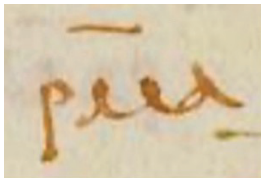


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Numerator 2 (N2)
 $\overline{\text{MA}}$ at Mark 10:1 (p. 1292, col. 1)

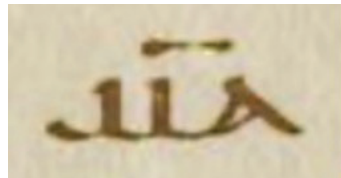


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

31. On page 1344 of Codex Vaticanus, the numeral $\overline{\text{PAH}}$ (138) at Luke 22:47 is the last numeral for N2, while on the next page (1345), N1 picks up with $\overline{\text{PM}}$ (140) at Luke 22:66. The numeral $\overline{\text{PAO}}$ (139) is skipped, and N1 seems to have gone back to add $\overline{\text{PAE}}$ (135) on page 1344, which N2 missed. See Constantinus Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1867), xxviii. Tischendorf points to the two different forms of the *xi*, which are not easy to reproduce with a computer font, but can be easily seen in the manuscript by comparing the use of *xi* in marginal numbers in Matt 10 (pp. 1246–47) versus John 18 (pp. 1376–77).

Also distinctive are the letters *lambda* and *delta* in N1 versus N2:

Numerator 1 (N1)
 $\overline{\Lambda\Delta}$ at Acts 25:23 (p. 1420, col. 2)

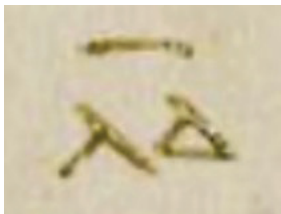


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Numerator 2 (N2)
 $\overline{\rho\Lambda\Delta}$ at Luke 22:14 (p. 1343, col. 3)

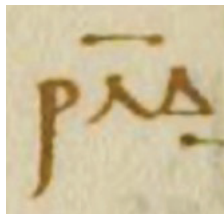


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

There is also an earlier change in numeral hands between Isa 44 and 45 (pp. 1044–45).³² Notice the distinctive forms of *mu*. N1's *mu* is “wavy,”³³ while N2 has straight verticals and a curl on the left side:

Numerator 1, $\overline{M\Gamma}$ at Isa 43:1 (p. 1042, col. 2) Numerator 2, $\overline{M\Xi}$ at Isa 45:1 (p. 1045, col. 1)

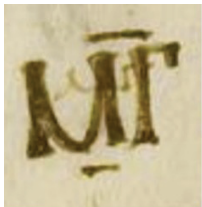


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

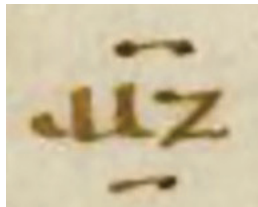


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Furthermore, Tischendorf drew attention to the distinctive forms of *xi* used by each numerator:³⁴

32. At Isa 44:21 on page 1044, N1 finishes with $\overline{M\zeta}$ (46), while on the next page (1045), at Isa 45:1, N2 begins in a very different handwriting with $\overline{M\Xi}$ (47).

33. In the picture below, Numerator 1's $\overline{M\Gamma}$ is underneath the much larger and darker $\overline{M\Gamma}$ of the later numerator.

34. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, xxviii.

Numerator 1, $\overline{\Xi H}$ at John 19:1 (p. 1377, col. 3) Numerator 2, $\overline{\Xi H}$ at Matt 10:37 (p. 1247, col. 3)

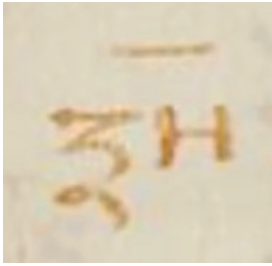


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

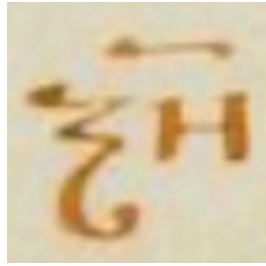


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Numerator 2's *xi* "has an ornate, curled tail that moves *counterclockwise*,"³⁵ whereas Numerator 1's *xi* moves clockwise. The clockwise versus counterclockwise tails are quite distinct.

(2) T. C. Skeat observed that the old numeral hand in the Pauline Epistles (Numerator 1) was neither of the two scribes of the main text. Skeat observes:

There is no attempt to reproduce uncial forms, as there is in the numbers inserted in the early part of the gospels, and the hand could better be described as semi-cursive. Particularly noticeable letters are the *theta*, which is very small, oval and slightly tilted, the slightly sloping hasta of *kappa* and the almost microscopic *omicron*. The hand is in fact very like that which has added the section numbers in John. In any case, it is clear that these numbers were *not* added in the scriptorium but after the manuscript had left it.³⁶

Skeat's observations about the *theta*, *kappa*, and *omicron* cannot really be disputed, and he rightly connects the numerals in the Pauline Epistles with the numerals in John (Numerator 1 did cover both of these books). But the conclusion he draws goes beyond the evidence: yes, the numeral hand in the Pauline Epistles is neither of the two main text scribes, but *it does*

35. Hill, *First Chapters*, 80, emphasis original.

36. Skeat, "Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus, and Constantine," 601. Skeat seems to have influenced the comments of Goswell, "Early Commentary on the Pauline Corpus," 51; J. K. Elliott, "T. C. Skeat on the Dating and Origin of Codex Vaticanus," in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, ed. J. K. Elliott, NovTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 282.

not logically follow that a third hand must be from outside the scriptorium. Other scribes worked in the scriptorium as correctors.

Pietro Versace's study of the scribal hands in Codex Vaticanus has concluded that Numerator 1 (labeled B₃ in Versace) was also extensively involved in the marginalia of the manuscript.³⁷ This scribe (B₃) added extensively to the margins: corrections, textual variants, and stichometric signs. B₃ also added letters/words at the beginnings and endings of lines. Versace's study of B₃'s handwriting and marginalia shows that B₃ worked alongside the two main scribes of the text, as a "supervisor" (Hill's term).³⁸ I do not presume to be able to improve Versace's palaeographic observations, so I refer the reader to Versace's discussion and examples of B₃ to test whether Versace's B₃ = Numerator 1.

(3) We have identified Numerator 1 as a corrector/supervisor in the scriptorium, but what about the identity of Numerator 2? Numerator 2 seems to be Scribe B. The most convincing way to prove this is palaeographically, by comparing the handwriting of Scribe B and Numerator 2.

Hill helpfully discusses the letter forms that match Numerator 2 with Scribe B: both have decorative, curled forms of *mu* and *xi*.³⁹ Hill describes the typical *mu* in the main text as having "straight verticals with no decorative curls."⁴⁰ Here are two examples of Scribe B's regular *mu*:

Scribe B's regular *mu* (p. 1235, col. 3, line 1)



Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Scribe B's regular *mu* (p. 1254, col. 3, line 3)

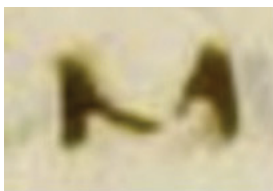


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

In contrast, the decorative *mu* introduces curls on both sides. Hill points out that Scribe B's decorative *mu* can be found in the un-reinked running titles written by Scribe B, such as on page 1291:

37. Versace, *I marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, 18–23, 134–87.

38. Hill, *First Chapters*, 149.

39. Hill, *First Chapters*, 79–80, 133.

40. Hill, *First Chapters*, 133.

Scribe B, running title with decorative *mu*
(p. 1291)⁴¹

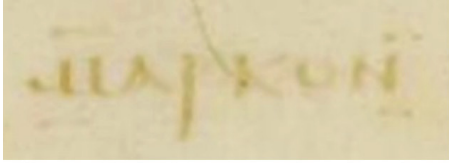


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Numerator 2, numeral \bar{M}
(p. 1291, col. 2)

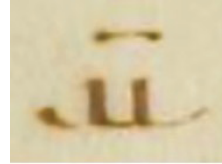


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Hill says that the “more decorative form [of *mu*] does occur in the text block near the end of lines,”⁴² but he does not provide any examples. Versace gives an example in Scribe B’s text of Col 3:24:⁴³

Un-reinked decorative *mu* at Col 3:24 (p. 1505, col. 3, line 5)



Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

This also matches the decorative *mu* used by Numerator 2, as seen above. Additional examples occur on page 1385, column 3, lines 3, 10, 29 (with long tail); page 1386, column 1, line 11; and page 1386, column 3, line 32.

We have already mentioned Numerator 2’s decorative *xi*, but Hill points out that it also occurs in Scribe B’s running titles for Acts, so we can connect Scribe B with Numerator 2.⁴⁴

41. In response to a draft of this article, Jesse Grenz says: “Hill assumes the running titles were added by the scribe of the main text. I am not so sure.”

42. Hill, *First Chapters*, 133.

43. Versace, *I marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, 14. What is particularly helpful about this example is that the *mu* is not reinked, which proves that this decorative *mu* is indeed from the original Scribe B.

44. What is interesting in Acts is that the running titles sometimes revert to the normal *xi* with no decorative curls and a flat, horizontal line at the bottom, which is the same *xi* used in the main text. After looking at all the running titles of Acts, I found seventeen decorative forms of *xi* in running titles of Acts: pages 1382 (superscription), 1387, 1389, 1391, 1395, 1397, 1399, 1401, 1403, 1405, 1407, 1411, 1415, 1419, 1421, 1423, 1425 (subscription). I found five normal forms of *xi* in running titles of Acts on pages 1385, 1393, 1409, 1413, 1417. The five normal forms of *xi* could be another hand and not Scribe

Scribe B, running title of Acts
with decorative *xi* (p. 1419)

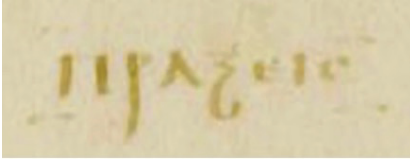


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Numerator 2, $\overline{\Xi\text{H}}$ at Matt 10:37
with decorative *xi* (p. 1247, col. 3)

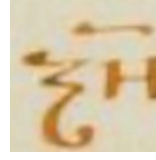


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

I also found one instance of a decorative *xi* in Scribe B's text block at John 19:5 with $\epsilon\xi\eta\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$:

Decorative *xi* in Scribe B's main text block at John 19:5 (p. 1378, col. 1, line 5)

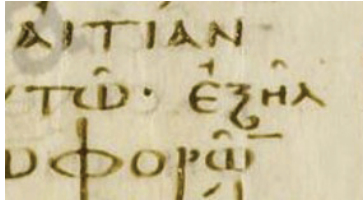


Image: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

This example further helps to identify Numerator 2 with Scribe B by his decorative *xi*. I think matching Scribe B with Numerator 2 is most convincing with the decorative forms of *mu* and *xi* as discussed above, but Versace also points to forms of *alpha* and *epsilon* as identifying Numerator 2 as Scribe B.⁴⁵

Having identified N₁ as a corrector/supervisor in the scriptorium and N₂ as Scribe B, we can now summarize the numeral hands as shown in the following chart.

B, but the letter forms of *rho* and *alpha* seem to still match Scribe B. Probably Scribe B forgot to use the decorative form of *xi* in running titles, and in these five instances Scribe B reverted to the normal form of *xi*. This alternating between the normal and decorative forms of *xi* would seem to confirm that Scribe B wrote the running titles in Acts.

45. Versace, *I marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, 14.

Codex Vaticanus: Older Set of Marginal Numerals (CapVat1)								
Scribes of Main Text:	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe A or C	Scribe B				
	Gen-1 Kgdms 19:11-1 Kgdms 19:11-Ps 77:71	Ps 77:71-Tob	Ps 77:71-Tob	Hos-Heb 9				
MS page #	Gen-Num	Deut-Ps 11	Ps 12-151	Prov-Isa 44	Isa 45-Ezek	Daniel		
Books covered (total no. sections); for Isaiah, Daniel, and Luke: (nos. included)	pp. 1-191	pp. 191-630	pp. 630-713	pp. 714-1044	pp. 1045-1205	pp. 1206-33	Matt-Luke 22	Luke 22-Heb 9
	Gen (0)	Deut (150)	Ps 12-151 (0)	Prov (61); Eccl (25)	Isa 45-66 (nos. 21 total) ^d	Sus (1-3)	Matt (170)	Luke 22-24 (nos. 140-152)
	Exod (0)	Josh (48)	Judg (46)	Song (40); Job (0)	47-74)	Dan (4-19)	Mark (62)	John (80)
	Lev (0)	Ruth (10)	1-4 Kgdms (250) ^a	Wis (0); Sir (0)	Jer (100) ^e	Bel (20-21)	Luke 1-22	Acts (36); Jas (9)
	Num (0)	1-2 Chr (93)	1-2 Esd (23)	Esth (0); Jdt (0); Tob (0)	Lam (85)		(nos. 1-138) ^e	1 Pet (8); 2 Pet (0?) ^f
		Pss 1-11 (28)		Hos (11); Amos (6)	Ep Jer (6)			1 John (11); 2 John (0?)
				Mic (7); Joel (3)	Ezek (56)			3 John (0?); Jude (2)
				Obad (0?); Jon (3)				Pauline Ep., excluding Pastorals and Philemon
				Nah (3); Hab (4)				(93 total) ^g
				Zeph (5); Hag (3)				
				Zech (18); Mal (6)				
				Isa 1-44 (nos. 1-46) ^b				
Old Numerator	-	Grenz H1; Hill N1	-	Grenz H1; Hill N1	Grenz H2; Hill N2	Grenz H1; Hill N1	Grenz H2, Hill N2	Grenz H1; Hill N1
ator		Versace B3		Versace B3	Versace B1	Versace B3	Versace B1	Versace B3
Ink color	-	Apricot	-	Apricot	Red	Red?	Red	Red (Lk-Jn); Apricot

a. The numeration in 1-4 Kingdoms is consecutive, but there is a large omission on pages 324-56, where numerals $\overline{\Lambda\Delta}$ (34) to $\overline{\text{O}\Sigma}$ (76) are missing. For the significance and a possible explanation of this large omission, see Hill, *First Chapters*, 157.

b. The numbering of Isaiah is consecutive up to 74; Numerator 1 numbered 1-46, while Numerator 2 numbered 47-74.

c. Versace and Hill have one numeral in Jeremiah attributed to Versace's B3 / Hill's N1 (numeral MΘ) at Jer 28:1 (p. 1096 of the manuscript)

d. Susanna, Daniel, and Bel and the Dragon are numbered consecutively from 1 to 21. For a listing of the divisions, see Hill, *First Chapters*, 176.

e. Luke's numbering is consecutive up to 152, but there is a change in Luke 22: N2 wrote 1-134, 136-138, while N1 wrote numerals 135, 140-152. The numeral 139 is missing/omitted.

Table notes continued at bottom of page 249.

Point 2: The location of the change in numerators suggests that the two numerators were working together.

We have established palaeographically that Numerator 2 = Scribe B, who was obviously part of the original production, and Versace established palaeographically that Numerator 1 was a corrector of the manuscript.⁴⁶ But even if one disagreed with Versace's conclusion, there are two additional arguments to establish that Numerator 1 was part of the original production.

(1) The transition of numerators always takes place at the end of a quire, which is a natural transition point for scribes.⁴⁷ If the numerals were added much later, it is unlikely that the numerators would have noticed the quire arrangements and coincidentally changed at a new quire. Thus, it makes better sense that the *CapVat*₁ were part of the original production because the end of a quire is a natural transition point for a change in numerator.

(2) The change in numeral hands *midway* through Isaiah and *midway* through Luke suggests that Numerators 1 and 2 were working together as colleagues in the scriptorium. If not, why would a numerator suddenly stop partway through a book, unless he expected someone else in the scriptorium to finish numbering the book? Furthermore, "not only does one numerator finish the other's work, but they do it in both orders: In Isaiah, N₂ completes N₁'s numbers and in Luke N₁ completes N₂'s."⁴⁸ Further, since Numerator 2 is Scribe B, this establishes that Numerator 1 was work-

f. In 2 Peter, 2 John, and 3 John, it is unclear whether there were no old numerals at all, or whether the newer numerals obliterated any visible sign of older numerals underneath. The newer numerals are placed at 2 Pet 1:1; 3:1; 2 John 1, 12; 3 John 1. See the discussion of 2 Peter's lack of numeration in Hill, *First Chapters*, 323–25.

g. The Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews) are numbered consecutively, but the Pastoral epistles and Philemon are missing from the manuscript. The numeration is as follows: Romans (1–21) = 21 sections; 1 Corinthians (22–42) = 22 sections (numeral 37 is written twice); 2 Corinthians (43–53) = 11 sections; Galatians (54–58) = 5 sections; Ephesians (70–75) = 6 sections; Philippians (76–79) = 4 sections; Colossians (80–85) = 6 sections; 1 Thessalonians (86–89) = 4 sections; 2 Thess (90–93) = 4 sections; Heb 1:1–9:11 (only 59–64 are visible since the manuscript has a lacuna after Heb 9:14, but the numeration was originally up to 69) = 11 sections. While Hebrews is physically located after 2 Thessalonians in Vaticanus, the numeration of Hebrews (nos. 59–69) indicates that the exemplar must have placed Hebrews between Galatians (nos. 54–58) and Ephesians (nos. 70–75).

46. Versace, *I marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, 18–23, 134–87.

47. Hill, *First Chapters*, 139–40.

48. Hill, personal communication.

ing together with Scribe B and so was also part of the original production of Codex Vaticanus.⁴⁹

Conclusion on the Originality of the *CapVat1*

The debate surrounding Codex Vaticanus's marginal numbers has moved forward considerably with recent scholarship providing actual arguments and not just making claims without evidence. Hill (building upon Versace) solidifies the palaeographic argument for originality.

Most active in this debate are Grenz and Hill, who are now much closer in viewpoint than before. Grenz's 2021 dissertation brought his view close to Hill's view, at least when compared to his 2018 article. Grenz recognizes the same two numerators as Hill and Versace, and he says regarding Numerator 2, "While certainty is not possible, we find some similarities in the hand of scribe B and Old-NumH2," but Grenz still insists, "Even if assigned to one of the original scribes, [the numeration] must have happened at a time after the copying had finished."⁵⁰ Grenz's dissertation was completed before Hill's *The First Chapters* was published, but he will have a more detailed interaction with the arguments presented in Hill's *The First Chapters* in his forthcoming published dissertation.

2. The Predecessors of the *CapVat1*: Do the *CapVat1* Derive from Earlier Templates/Archetypes of Textual Divisions?

One of the main theses of Hill's monograph is that the *CapVat1* derive from earlier templates/archetypes of unnumbered textual divisions. In Hill's own words: "The [*CapVat1*] numbers simply memorialize, for the reading and

49. Grenz, "Textual Divisions in Codex Vaticanus," 18, uses the change in numerator midway through Isaiah and Luke as an argument *against* the *CapVat1* as part of the original production because the change in numerators does not align with the change in scribes (see chart above for where changes in main text scribes happen). In response to a draft of this article, Grenz wrote: "Why would scribe B stop copying numbers in Luke if he was still copying the main text? Or why would scribe B only start copying section numbers once he got to Isaiah 45?" If (as Grenz insists) the numerals were added *after* copying the main text, then his objection can be answered in several ways: most important, the change in numerators corresponds with a new quire, but also scribal fatigue or the use of a different exemplar for numeration versus for text can explain why numerators might stop midway through a book and another numerator finish the job.

50. Grenz, "Scribes and Correctors of Codex Vaticanus," 59.

study of Scripture, pre-existing templates of *unnumbered* divisions, and our best evidence for the carriers of these unnumbered templates comes from [papyri in] Egypt.”⁵¹ Hill emphasizes a close connection in terms of textual divisions between:

- Rahlfs 848 (middle first century BCE) and *CapVat1* in Deuteronomy⁵²
- Rahlfs P967 (late second/early third century CE) and *CapVat1* in Ezekiel⁵³ and Daniel⁵⁴
- P75 (third century CE), P66 (third century CE), and *CapVat1* in Luke⁵⁵ and John⁵⁶
- P64/67 (third century CE) and *CapVat1* in Matthew⁵⁷
- P15 and *CapVat1* in 1 Corinthians⁵⁸

I find the sample sizes far too small in Hill's argument regarding P64/67 and *CapVat1* in Matthew and regarding P15 and *CapVat1* in 1 Corinthians. For example, on the basis of three positive agreements with P64/67 and *CapVat1* (Matt 5:21, 27; 26:31) and two “negative agreements” in *not* having a textual division when compared to other witnesses (Matt 5:26; 26:33), Hill thinks that the correspondence between P64/67 and the *CapVat1* “is quite impressive and strongly suggestive of a genealogical relationship between the two text-articulation templates.... [P64/67 is] a real precursor to B [Codex Vaticanus]. [P64/67] seems to be an early, unnumbered witness to the *CapVat*.... [P64/67 is] an early witness to the unnumbered archetype of the *Capitulatio Vaticana*.”⁵⁹ But I still think the amount of extant data in P64/67 and P15 are far too little to make such claims.

51. Hill, *First Chapters*, 406, emphasis original.

52. Hill, *First Chapters*, 195–211.

53. Hill, *First Chapters*, 213–47. See especially 222.

54. Hill, *First Chapters*, 276–97. See especially 295–97.

55. Hill, *First Chapters*, 357–74. See especially 371–74.

56. Hill, *First Chapters*, 337–49.

57. Hill, *First Chapters*, 383–84.

58. Hill, *First Chapters*, 394–96.

59. Hill, *First Chapters*, 384.

The *CapVat1* and Rahlfs 848 in Deuteronomy

In Codex Vaticanus, Deuteronomy is the first book containing the *CapVat1*. For the New Testament, we have no extant manuscripts from the first century CE, so it is remarkable that we have a Septuagint manuscript of Deuteronomy, Rahlfs 848 (P.Fouad 266b), which is dated to the first century BCE, about four hundred years earlier than Codex Vaticanus.⁶⁰

Because of Rahlfs 848's old age, Hill says that Rahlfs 848 "holds a special meaning for our study.... The [*CapVat1*] numbers preserve with a rather amazing fidelity *the same pattern* of ancient scribal breaks ... in the older manuscript [Rahlfs 848].... [*The CapVat1*] divisions themselves, at least for Deuteronomy, are very old, at least four centuries older than Vaticanus."⁶¹ For Hill, "the *CapVat* numbers, at least in Deuteronomy, have as their ultimate source *the unnumbered textual articulations of the earlier manuscript tradition*."⁶² Hill also uses the language of the *CapVat1* preserving "*an existing template* of divisions" and preserving an "*inherited tradition*."⁶³ On what basis does Hill draw this connection and make these claims?

According to Hill, Rahlfs 848 has twenty-two major textual divisions (intra-linear blank spaces and/or *paragraphoi*) in its fragmentary text of Deut 17:14–33:29. According to Hill, seventeen out of twenty-two (77.3 percent) of these divisions match *CapVat1*. Hill focuses on the textual divisions after Deut 21:1, where there is a diagonal slash in the manuscript, which might have been a colophon marking the end of Deut 20.⁶⁴ Hill focuses on this section because there are seventeen textual divisions here in Rahlfs 848, and sixteen out of seventeen (94.1 percent) match *CapVat1*. Hill also draws attention to so-called negative matches:⁶⁵ Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* do not have a textual division at Deut 25:7, while Codex Alexandrinus does, and Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* do not have any textual divisions at all in Deut 28, unlike Codex Alexandrinus.

60. On this first-century dating, see Zaki Aly and Ludwig Koenen, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 27 (Germany: Habelt, 1980), 4; E. G. Turner and P. J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed., Bulletin Supplement 46 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 96.

61. Hill, *First Chapters*, 207–8, emphases added.

62. Hill, *First Chapters*, 209, emphases added.

63. Hill, *First Chapters*, 209, emphases added.

64. Hill, *First Chapters*, 201.

65. Hill, *First Chapters*, 203–4.

After examining the edition and plates of Rahlfs 848 for myself,⁶⁶ I think the connection between Rahlfs 848 and the *CapVat1* is weaker than Hill portrays it. I would agree that the *CapVat1* for Deuteronomy do come from something earlier: five numerals are missing/skipped in Deuteronomy (nos. 5, 7, 70, 99, 100), but the numeration continues as if they existed, which suggests that the *CapVat1* were added from an exemplar with the numerals. But I am not confident that Rahlfs 848 is a good representative of the “earlier manuscript tradition” (to use Hill’s phrase) that forms the basis for the *CapVat1* divisions. The rationale for my disagreement with Hill is in three parts.

(1) Six out of the seventeen (35.3 percent) of Hill’s agreements between Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* (Deut 22:8, 10, 11; 24:8, 19; 31:16) should be viewed as *uncertain*, because the left margin of Rahlfs 848 is missing in these instances, so we cannot confirm a major textual division in the form of an *ekthesis* or *paragraphos*. Yes, there is blank space in these instances and some of these are larger (about two-letters width at Deut 22:8; 24:8, 19; 31:16). But the editors of Rahlfs 848 observe: “Frequently small blanks indicate new verses, sentences, or cola.... The size varies according to the function of the blank.”⁶⁷ A further study of all the blank spaces in Rahlfs 848 and their varying widths could perhaps give more insight. But these six instances of alleged agreement should be considered *possible* matches with the *CapVat1*, since we cannot confirm the presence of a *paragraphos*, which is the usual marker of major textual divisions in Rahlfs 848.

(2) I have found five additional textual divisions in Rahlfs 848 that Hill has overlooked. These could create additional disagreements, depending on whether they are interpreted as minor breaks at the verse/sentence level or as major breaks at the paragraph level:

- Deut 20:6 (*paragraphos*)
- Deut 28:9b (line break, but left margin is not visible)
- Deut 28:61 (line break, or intralinear space of two-letters width, but left margin is not visible)
- Deut 32:20 (intralinear space of two-letters width and the left margin is visible, so we can confirm there was no *paragraphos* here)

66. Aly and Koenen, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint*.

67. Aly and Koenen, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint*, 5.

- Deut 32:26 (intra-linear space of 1.5 to two-letters width, but left margin is not visible).⁶⁸

None of these matches *CapVat1* numbers. Only one of these matches with an *ekthesis* in Codex Vaticanus (Deut 20:6), while the other four have a middle dot in Codex Vaticanus (Deut 28:9b, 61; 32:20, 26).

The *paragraphos* in Rahlfs 848 at Deut 20:6 definitely creates a disagreement with the *CapVat1*. The space of one-letter width at Deut 32:26 is probably too small a space to be considered a major textual break, so we can exclude it from consideration. Elsewhere, Hill considers spaces of one- to two-letters width in Rahlfs 848 as sufficient to establish six agreements with the *CapVat1* (Deut 22:8, 10, 11; 24:8, 19; 31:16); if we apply Hill's logic, then the line breaks and spaces of two-letter width at Deut 28:9b, 61; 32:20 in Rahlfs 848 would create three further disagreements with *CapVat1*.

The textual division at Deut 32:20 also creates further problems for Hill's data. Elsewhere, Hill considers spaces of one- to two-letters width in Rahlfs 848 as sufficient to establish six agreements with the *CapVat1* (Deut 22:8, 10, 11; 24:8, 19; 31:16), but the left margin is missing at these locations so we cannot confirm if there was a *paragraphos*. But Deut 32:20 in Rahlfs 848 has a space of two-letters width *and the left margin is visible*, yet with no *paragraphos*. This suggests that a space of two-letters width was not necessarily a marker of major textual division in Rahlfs 848. So, Hill's six agreements between *CapVat1* and spaces of one- to two-letters width in Rahlfs 848 (Deut 22:8, 10, 11; 24:8, 19; 31:16) should be considered possible, yet uncertain and questionable.

These additional textual divisions in Rahlfs 848 mean that Hill's statistics need to be revised. Hill noted that Rahlfs 848 has seventeen out of twenty-two matches with *CapVat1* (77.3 percent agreement). But after adding in four additional disagreements, the statistics fall to seventeen matches with *CapVat1* out of twenty-six major textual divisions in Rahlfs 848 (65.4 percent agreement versus Hill's 77.3 percent). Further, only eleven out of those seventeen matches are confident matches; the other six cannot be confirmed to be matches, since the left margin is missing.

68. There is also a blank space of one-letter width in Deut 26:15b between $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ and $\gamma\eta\nu$, but this is probably as a result of a correction and not intended as a textual division, as the editors say: "The blank makes no sense unless $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ is a correction of the type discussed on col. 33,15. It seems the scribe expected a word longer than $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ when he originally left the blank; cf. $\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (instead of $\eta\mu\iota\nu$) in 407 Sa⁶⁹ (Aly and Koenen, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint*, 80).

(3) The third reason for weakening the connection between Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* is that the *type* of agreements tend to be formulaic catch phrases (ἐάν δέ) or obvious discourse markers (imperatives/prohibitions, introduction/conclusion to speeches), rather than unique or surprising textual divisions. In other words, the relationship between manuscripts has to be measured both *quantitatively* (statistical agreement, percentages) and *qualitatively* (the types of agreement and whether some might be coincidental).

The phrase ἐάν δέ (“And if...”) is a formulaic catch phrase used to create textual divisions throughout the Septuagint. Thirty-nine times in Deuteronomy, ἐάν δέ is paired with a *CapVat1* number (Deut 4:25; 7:1; 12:29; 13:6, 12; 15:5, 7, 12; 17:2, 8, 14; 19:1; 20:1, 10, 19; 21:1, 10, 15, 18, 22; 22:6, 8, 13, 22, 23, 25, 28; 23:9, 21, 24; 24:1, 5, 7, 10, 19; 25:1, 5, 11; 26:12), usually in the context of *case law* (“If ‘x’ happens, Israel is to do ‘y’”). Twice ἐάν by itself occurs with a *CapVat1* number (Deut 13:18; 23:10). Out of the 145 visible *CapVat1* numbers in Deuteronomy,⁶⁹ ἐάν δέ or ἐάν begins a new chapter division forty-one times (28.3 percent). Seven out of the seventeen matches (41.2 percent) between Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* are matches with ἐάν δέ (Deut 21:1, 18; 22:8, 10, 11; 24:19; 25:5). These could very well be coincidental matches because of how formulaic ἐάν δέ is in Deuteronomy.

Imperatives and prohibitions with the future-tense form (“You shall,” “You shall not,” or “There shall be,” “There shall not be,” etc.), imperatives in the aorist or present-tense forms, and interjections (ἰδοὺ, “behold/look!”) are also common grammatical forms paired with *CapVat1* numbers. This match occurs in forty-eight out of the 145 (33.1 percent) visible *CapVat1* numbers in Deuteronomy.⁷⁰ Six out of the seventeen matches (35.3 percent) between Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* are matches with an imperative or prohibition (Deut 22:10, 11; 23:15; 24:8; 25:4, 17). Rahlfs 848 is highly fragmentary, and it could be that Rahlfs 848 marks many (or most) of Deuteronomy’s imperatives with a *paragraphos*, but we cannot know because Rahlfs 848 is too fragmentary.

Narrative introductions and conclusions to speeches (“And Moses said,” etc.) are also formulaic, common locations for a *CapVat1* number: twelve out of the 145 (8.3 percent) visible *CapVat1* numbers in Deuter-

69. *CapVat1* numbers 5, 7, 70, 99, 100 for Deuteronomy are missing or too faded to be visible.

70. Deut 4:9b, 16, 32; 5:32; 9:1; 11:18, 26, 32; 14:1b, 3, 21; 15:19; 16:1, 9, 13, 18, 21; 17:1a, 6; 18:1, 10; 19:14, 15; 22:1, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 30; 23:1, 7, 13, 15, 17a, 17c, 18, 19; 24:6, 8, 14, 16, 17, 18; 25:4, 13, 17; 30:15.

onomy match a narrative introduction or conclusion.⁷¹ Four out of the seventeen matches (23.5 percent) between Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* are with narrative introductions/conclusions (Deut 29:1; 31:16, 22, 48).

Emmanuel Tov makes an important observation when trying to establish a genealogical relationship between manuscripts with regard to textual divisions: "An agreement between any two sources in the use of an open or closed section does not necessarily imply dependence, since sometimes the context simply requires such a section break."⁷² In other words, I am inclined toward coincidental agreement between Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* when the locations are obvious, natural locations for textual division, that is, two scribes independently created the same textual division.

Conclusion about Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* of Deuteronomy

I have given three reasons for why I do not affirm as close a connection as Hill between these two manuscripts: (1) six of Hill's seventeen agreements are uncertain (35.3 percent) because the left margin is missing at these locations; (2) there is at least one more disagreement than Hill has presented (Deut 20:6) and possibly three more disagreements, for a total of four more disagreements; and (3) the formulaic catch phrase *ἐάν δέ* ("And if...") and narrative introductions/conclusions to speeches are eleven out of the seventeen agreements (64.7 percent). Agreements with these formulaic phrases and with obvious, natural locations for textual division should not be surprising and could easily be coincidental.

A close connection between Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1* is important to one of Hill's main theses in his monograph: that the *CapVat1* divisions are older than Codex Vaticanus itself, even four hundred years older in the case of Deuteronomy. This is a bold claim, since New Testament papyri such as P66 and P75 are only about 100–150 years older (optimistically two hundred years older) than Codex Vaticanus. But based on my own *quantitative/statistical* and *qualitative* comparison of Rahlfs 848 and *CapVat1*, I cannot agree with Hill that the *CapVat1* of Deuteronomy go back four hundred years earlier.

71. Deut 3:23; 5:1; 27:1, 9; 29:1, 2; 31:1, 9, 16, 22; 32:48; 33:1.

72. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 51.

The *CapVat*₁ and P75 in the Gospel of John

P75 is a third-century CE papyrus (Vat. Pap.Hanna.1; formerly P.Bodmer 14–15)⁷³ that contains fragmentary parts of Luke 3:18–end of Luke and fragmentary parts of John 1:1–15:10. P75 uses *ekthesis* as its primary method of paragraph division but also has three instances of *paragraphoi* (John 4:1; 5:1; 10:19), which were likely used as a correction for a missed *ekthesis*. In P75, *ektheses* are often preceded by intralinear blank spaces of one- to three-letters in width and punctuation or (less frequently) with a line break and punctuation. According to Hill, P75 is “a witness to the same template of pericope or chapter division on which the *CapVat* in John is based.”⁷⁴

I examined the images of P75 in John to check the accuracy of Hill's data in his table 7.4.⁷⁵ My data differ from Hill's in three main ways. First, we differ in the total number of major textual divisions in P75 in John and with how much certainty we can have about these textual divisions. In all of P75 in John, Hill counts a total of thirty-two breaks:

- twenty-seven *ektheses* and five substitutes for *ektheses*
- three *paragraphoi*
- one space + line-filling *diple*
- one long space of two- to three-letters width

I counted:

- twelve-six *ektheses* but broken into three subcategories:
- twelve fully visible *ektheses* (John 1:6, 29, 35, 43; 2:1; 3:1; 4:43; 6:3; 8:12, 51; 9:1; 11:1)
- nine near certain *ektheses* (John 2:23; 3:22; 4:31; 6:15, 41, 59; 8:30; 11:16; 12:30)
- five not visible and therefore conjectured *ektheses* (John 2:12; 6:1; 7:1, 37, 40)
- three *paragraphoi* (John 4:1; 5:1; 10:19)

73. Online images can be viewed at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pap.Hanna.1\(Mater.Verbi\)](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pap.Hanna.1(Mater.Verbi)).

74. Hill, *First Chapters*, 346.

75. Hill, *First Chapters*, 337–40.

Thus, I have counted a total of twenty-nine major breaks in P75 of John versus thirty-two major breaks according to Hill.

I have three fewer major breaks than Hill for three reasons: (1) I disagree with Hill about a long space of two- to three-letters width signifying a major break in John 7:14;⁷⁶ (2) Hill's *ekthesis* at John 10:33 is based on private correspondence with Brent Nongbri, so I am unable to confirm or reject it based on the Vatican's online images; (3) I disagree with Hill that John 13:1 has a "major break in the text" based on a line break and line-filling *diple*.⁷⁷

Also notice that I have indicated uncertainty/doubt about *ekthesis* fourteen times (nine near-certain *ektheses* and five conjectured *ektheses*), while Hill indicated doubt three times (John 6:3; 7:1; 8:30) and once more in private correspondence (John 13:1).⁷⁸ This leads to a major critique of Hill's data: he gives the impression of more certainty than is warranted based on the fragmentary nature of P75.

The second way Hill's data differs from mine is that he has more lacunae than are warranted by what is actually visible in P75. Five passages have partial lacunae: the left margin is missing in these verses (John 8:21; 11:19; 12:12, 14, 37), *but we are still able to see other parts of the text*. Yet Hill has marked all five of these as "(lac)," thus portraying them as full lacunae. In four of these instances (John 8:21; 11:19; 12:14, 37), we cannot see the left

76. Hill says: "There is no *ekthesis* here, and part of the previous line is missing. There appears to have been, however, a space of two to three letters in the previous line dividing the sections" (*First Chapters*, 339 n. 94). However, two letters (the $\eta\delta$ of $\eta\delta\eta$) need to fit into the missing portion of the papyrus, so I do not think there would be much blank space, maybe one letter width. To get his two- to three-letters width space, Hill might have misread $\eta\delta\epsilon$ to be a misspelling of $\eta\delta\eta$.

77. I cannot see any line-filling *diple*, as Hill claims. Hill also says: "The text is damaged at this point but it is clear that there was a line break in the preceding line, ending 12:50. Though it remains unclear whether *ekthesis* was used to begin the next line, it is clear that the scribe indicated a major break in the text" (*First Chapters*, 340 n. 103). But based on the visibility of the left margin on fol. 62v, lines 12–13 (\omicron $\iota\varsigma$ and $\beta\eta$ $\epsilon\chi$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$) and the visible $\delta\epsilon$ from 13:1 in line 11 ($\pi\rho\omicron$] $\delta\epsilon$ [τ] $\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\omicron\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$), I think *ekthesis* was unlikely, so a "major break in the text" (as Hill claims) was also unlikely—unless there was a textual variant and more text than just $\pi\rho\omicron$ began line 11.

78. At John 6:3 in P75, the *kappa* is clearly projected into the left margin, so I did not have doubt about this instance; Hill's doubt is *not* about whether there is a projected letter but whether the projected letter was meant to indicate textual division, or was some sort of scribal correction (see *First Chapters*, 338 n. 89). In response to a draft of this article, Hill added John 13:1 in P75 as a doubtful case: "there is unlikely an *ekthesis*; it is possibly a break on the basis of the line break, but I would probably concede this one."

margin and so cannot know if there was an *ekthesis* or *paragraphos*, but we can still gather the valuable data that there was no blank space and no punctuation in P75 at the start of these verses. This makes it unlikely that there was an *ekthesis* in the missing left margin. While this is still a conjecture, it is probable based on P75's scribal habit of always having blank space and punctuation before an *ekthesis* in its extant examples. Of course, it is still possible (but unlikely, in my opinion) that there was *ekthesis* without blank space or punctuation.

The third way Hill's data differs from mine is the number of visible locations in P75 that match *CapVat1* locations in John. I counted forty-one visible locations in P75 where there is a *CapVat1* number in John.⁷⁹ Hill claims to have counted forty,⁸⁰ but based on his table 7.4⁸¹ there should be only thirty-nine.⁸² The discrepancy is John 1:1, which is not listed in his table, but Hill is probably counting John 1:1, despite the fact that marginal numeral \bar{A} is not visible in Codex Vaticanus, and despite the fact that P75 has no *ekthesis* at John 1:1. But it is acceptable to assume that a marginal \bar{A} was covered up by the elaborate *epsilon* added later at John 1:1 in Codex Vaticanus. It is reasonable to assume that P75 would agree with a textual marker at John 1:1, since it is the start of the book.

However, Hill has counted two *CapVat1* numbers as extant in P75: \overline{MC} = John 13:12 and \overline{MH} = John 13:31. But these actually have lacunae in P75, so his count should be two less, with thirty-eight visible sections in P75 corresponding to a *CapVat1* number (including John 1:1). If I also include John 1:1, my count would be forty-two visible *CapVat1* locations in P75 versus thirty-eight for Hill. I have counted four more visible locations than Hill because Hill counts four locations as full lacunae, while they are actually partial lacunae (John 8:21; 11:19; 12:12, 37).

The following chart presents data on agreements/disagreements between major textual divisions in P75 and the *CapVat*. Hill saw a draft of this article and changed his mind in several places, so there is a middle column "Hill (revised)":

79. *CapVat1* nos. 2–17, 19, 21, 23–33, 35–36, 40–45, 50–53.

80. Hill, *First Chapters*, 345.

81. Hill, *First Chapters*, 337–40.

82. *CapVat1* nos. 2–17, 19, 21, 23–27, 29–33, 35, 41–42, 44–46, 48, 50–53.

Major textual divisions in P75 compared to the *CapVat1* in John's Gospel

	Hill (<i>First Chapters</i>)	Hill (revised) ⁸³	Hsieh
Agreements	23 clear matches ⁸⁴ +	18 clear matches ⁸⁶ +	13 clear matches ⁸⁸ +
between P75 and	0 near certain matches +	0 near certain matches +	5 near certain matches ⁸⁹ +
<i>CapVat</i>	1 uncertain matches ⁸⁵	5 uncertain matches ⁸⁷	5 uncertain matches ⁹⁰
	24 out of 38 (63.2%)	23 out of 41 (56.1%)	23 out of 42 (54.8%)⁹¹

83. Revision to Hill's statistics based on his response to a draft of this article: John 7:14 switches from agreement to disagreement; John 8:21; 11:19; 12:27 are added as probable disagreements; and John 2:12; 6:1; 7:37; 13:1 become uncertain agreements. The net change is four more disagreements and one less agreement (with four more of the agreements becoming uncertain/probable).

84. John 1:1, 6, 29, 35, 43; 2:1, 12, 23; 3:1, 22; 4:1, 31, 43; 5:1; 6:1, 15, 41; 7:14, 37; 8:12; 9:1; 11:1; 13:1.

85. John 7:1.

86. John 1:1, 6, 29, 35, 43; 2:1, 23; 3:1, 22; 4:1, 31, 43; 5:1; 6:15, 41; 8:12; 9:1; 11:1.

87. John 2:12; 6:1; 7:1, 37; 13:1.

88. John 1:6, 29, 35, 43; 2:1; 3:1; 4:1, 43; 5:1; 8:12; 9:1; 11:1. Although there is no *ekthesis* at John 1:1 in P75, I am assuming it as an agreement with the *CapVat*.

89. In these five instances, the *CapVat1* matches with an *ekthesis* in P75 that is *near certain*, but there is damage or fading to the manuscript that obscures the first letter of the *ekthesis* (John 2:23; 3:22; 4:31) or the *ekthesis* is weak/slight, but the scribe indents the next line further inward to correct the weak/slight *ekthesis* (John 6:15, 41).

90. John 2:12; 6:1; 7:1, 37; 12:12. In these five instances, the *CapVat1* matches an *ekthesis* in P75 that is *uncertain* because of damage/fading to the manuscript, so the *ekthesis* is conjectured based on counting letters and comparing where there are visible margins on the page. Hill is in agreement with me about uncertainty with John 2:12; 6:1; 7:1, 37. But regarding John 12:12 in P75, I disagree with Hill's lacuna here: the beginning of v. 12 is visible (τη), and there was perhaps a space between the end of v. 11 and beginning of v. 12, but it is hard to tell since the pieces of papyri are broken off and could be improperly placed. The left margin of the next line is missing. But the line above would need one more letter to be complete (σ]τευσον), while the next line after the start of v. 12 would need two letters to be complete (πο]λυς), so an *ekthesis* is possible. In response to a draft of this article, Hill responded: "I would still say this [John 12:12] is lacunose."

91. I have one fewer match than Hill in *First Chapters* because I add one more conjectured *ekthesis* at John 12:12, but then I subtract two of Hill's divisions at John 7:14 (two–three letter-width space) and John 13:1 (line break + line-filling *diple*) as matches between P75 and *CapVat1*. I have four more visible *CapVat1* locations in P75 than Hill in *First Chapters* because Hill counts four locations as full *lacunae*, while they are actually partially *lacunose* (John 8:21; 11:19; 12:12, 37) and still disclose information about the beginning of these textual divisions.

	Hill (<i>First Chapters</i>)	Hill (revised)	Hsieh
Disagreements between P75 and <i>CapVat</i>	14 clear disagreements ⁹² + 0 probable disagreements 14 out of 38 (36.8%)	14 clear disagreements ⁹³ + 4 probable disagree- ments ⁹⁴ 18 out of 41 (43.9%)	16 clear disagreements ⁹⁵ + 3 probable disagreements ⁹⁶ 19 out of 42 (45.2%)

Hill's statistics have been revised close to mine after he reviewed a draft of this article. The only remaining disagreements between us are over John 12:12 and 13:1. I still count John 12:12 as a possible agreement with the *CapVat*, while Hill thinks it should be labeled lacunose, and I count John 13:1 as a disagreement with the *CapVat*, while Hill still has it as a possible agreement with the *CapVat*.⁹⁷ Our reconciled analyses of P75's major textual divisions and the *CapVat* lead to ~55 percent agreement versus Hill's original 63 percent, and 55 percent is low to argue for a genealogical relationship.

However, I have used the *CapVat* (and its forty-two numbers extant in P75) as the base of comparison (i.e., as the denominator in calculating percentage agreement). Hill suggests to view P75 as the base of comparison. Hill revised down the number of major textual divisions in P75 from his count of thirty-two to my count of twenty-nine, and he says that "21 of 29 breaks agree with a [*CapVat*] number (72 percent), leaving six to match paragraphoi in B (which I regard as evidence of growth in the tradition); so, 27 of 29 agreeing with one of the other (89.6 percent). That is still impres-

92. John 1:18; 7:31, 45; 8:31; 9:24; 10:7, 14; 12:20, 26, 44; 14:12, 22, 27, 31b [ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν].

93. John 1:18; 7:31, 45; 8:31; 9:24; 10:7, 14; 12:20, 26, 44; 14:12, 22, 27, 31b [ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν].

94. John 7:14; 8:21; 11:19; 12:37.

95. John 1:18; 7:14, 31, 45; 8:31; 9:24; 10:7, 14; 12:20, 26, 44; 13:1; 14:12, 22, 27, 31b[ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν].

96. John 8:21; 11:19; 12:37. In these three instances, the left margin is missing, so we cannot tell if there was an *ekthesis* or a *paragraphos*, but the beginning of the *CapVat*₁ division is visible, and there is no punctuation or blank space in P75, both of which always precede an *ekthesis* elsewhere in P75. Hill's monograph marks these three instances (John 8:21; 11:19; 12:37) as *lacunae*, but they are only partial *lacunae*, and I think we should still consider the partial data revealed. In Hill's response to a draft of this article, he agreed that these three locations in P75 (John 8:21; 11:19; 12:37) create three additional disagreements with the *CapVat*.

97. "There is unlikely an *ekthesis*; it is possibly a break on the basis of the line break, but I would probably concede this one as well.... I would say that 13:1 is still possibly a break but is uncertain" (Hill, personal communication).

sive.”⁹⁸ But I still think the forty-two *CapVat* divisions are the proper base of comparison because Hill wants to argue that the *CapVat* derive from an earlier tradition that is preserved in P75.

Furthermore, Hill clarifies that “statistics only tell part of the story and form only part of the argument,”⁹⁹ hence we need to look also at Hill’s *qualitative* comparison of P75 and the *CapVat*. We can summarize his qualitative argument in three parts. (1) Hill reminds us that *scribal fatigue* means that textual divisions were not added with consistency and equal intensity: “after [John] 9:1, the markings in P75 become quite irregular and nearly disappear (even in John 7 they may be beginning to lag),” but up to and including John 9:1, Hill points out that twenty-one out of twenty-six of P75’s divisions match the *CapVat* (80.8 percent), which includes thirteen in a row from 1:29 to 6:1 (100 percent match).¹⁰⁰ Thus, Hill suggests we should focus on the high levels of agreement in John 1–9 (and especially John 1:29–6:1), where the scribe of P75 seemed most attentive and enthusiastic about copying/adding textual divisions.

(2) Hill concedes that some of these divisions are at “very obvious, natural breaks in the text,” such as the time markers in 1:29, 35, 43; 2:1; 4:43.¹⁰¹ Thus, these could be *coincidental agreements* and not genealogically significant for establishing a relationship between P75 and the *CapVat*. But Hill responds with two points: (a) these “obvious” divisions are only five out of twenty-nine (17.2 percent) major textual divisions in P75, and (b) the “obvious” divisions were not always obvious to all scribes; for example, John 1:29 and 2:1 have no divisions in P66, 01, and 032, while John 4:43 has no division in P66 and 032.

(3) Hill argues that *negative agreements* between P75 and the *CapVat* are significant; this occurs when P75/*CapVat* agree in *not* having a textual division, while several other manuscripts do have a textual division.¹⁰² Hill gives examples with John 1:29 and 4:46, but Hill’s example from John 5 is especially compelling. In NA28, John 5 consists of 792 words, yet both the *CapVat* and P75 have no divisions at all, while other manuscripts have quite a few.¹⁰³ Codex Vaticanus does have *paragraphoi*, but no *CapVat* numbers.

98. Hill, personal communication.

99. Hill, personal communication.

100. Hill, *First Chapters*, 346. The matches are John 1:1, 6, 29, 35, 43; 2:1, 12, 23; 3:1, 22; 4:1, 31, 43; 5:1; 6:1, 15, 41; 7:1, 37; 8:12; 9:1. The misses are John 6:3, 59; 8:28, 30, 51.

101. Hill, *First Chapters*, 347.

102. Hill, *First Chapters*, 347.

103. In John 5 (excluding 5:1 and 6:1), Hill claims that 01 has 7 *ektheses* (I counted 6),

Having surveyed and compared Hill's data collection with mine, we can now evaluate Hill's argument about the relationship between P75 and *CapVat1* in John's Gospel. Regarding P75 in specific, Hill claims, "the scribe of P75 was copying from a manuscript of John whose divisions, though unnumbered, approximated very closely the divisions memorialized in the *CapVat*. While intent on transcribing the text of his exemplar, the scribe of P75 intended also to preserve its divisions, but sometimes failed in this latter effort, thus accounting for most or all of the numbers in B [Codex Vaticanus] that are skipped in P75."¹⁰⁴

But Hill's conclusions go further than just a close relationship; he says that the *CapVat1* in John and P75 "are both *tradents of an earlier archetype*, a template of 'chapter' divisions for the Gospel according to John from a time before the divisions received numbers [in Codex Vaticanus's exemplar]."¹⁰⁵ In the monograph, Hill does not say how far back this "archetype" or "template" goes (second century? first century back to the apostle John?), but Hill clarified in response to a draft of this article, "I believe the three mss [P66, P75, *CapVat*] do point to a common archetype of textual divisions.... Obviously, this archetype has to predate them all. How old it is I do not know.... The author's [John's] *ekdosis* almost certainly contained some visual, textual divisions.... How close the divisions in the author's copy(ies) were to the archetype of P75, P66, and the *CapVat* in B, I do not know. Would it surprise me if there is a close connection between them, and a high degree of overlap? No, it would not."¹⁰⁶

I am unsure if we can conjecture the existence of an earlier archetype/template for John's Gospel based on the agreement of only two manuscripts—or three, if we include P66, as Hill does.¹⁰⁷ Certainly all these manuscripts preserve the textual divisions of an early period (third and fourth centuries CE). But consider the following three possibilities: (1) some of these textual divisions may be the *idiosyncratic creation of particular scribes*; (2) some might agree with each other by *coincidence* because the divisions come at obvious, natural places for textual division; (3) some may indeed come from *a common archetype*. The truth is probably a mixture of

02 has 23 *ektheses* (I counted 24), 03 has 13 *paragraphoi* (I counted 14), 05 has 13 *ektheses*, and 032 has 8 *ektheses*. However, the precise number of divisions is not important; what is important is the fact that there are no *CapVat1* numbers at all in John 5.

104. Hill, *First Chapters*, 348.

105. Hill, *First Chapters*, 348, emphases added.

106. Personal communication.

107. Hill, *First Chapters*, 348–49.

all three. But with so few extant manuscripts with textual divisions, can we really reconstruct an archetype?

Based on my own data gathering and adjustments to Hill's data, I was initially skeptical of any genealogical connection between P75 and the *CapVat*. But after Hill sent feedback to a draft of this article, after reviewing his qualitative arguments, and especially considering the thirteen matches in a row from John 1:29 to 6:1, I now think that Hill could be correct about an earlier archetype for John 1–5 in P75, after which scribal fatigue set in and textual divisions were not carefully copied. If John 1:18 had an *ekthesis* in P75 (to match *CapVat*'s numeral 3 at John 1:18), I think that would clinch the case for a common archetype of textual divisions between P75 and the *CapVat* in John 1–5.¹⁰⁸

But I find it difficult to say much with certainty because there would have been far more New Testament manuscripts in existence in the second and third century than have survived today. Bill Warren speaks of the “earliest attainable” punctuation in his article on 1 Cor 14:33/34, in a nod to similar language now being used with regard to what textual criticism is able to achieve.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps the same language could be applied to paragraph divisions: the agreement of the earliest manuscripts could be the earliest attainable paragraph divisions. But I still struggle with the fact that we have so few extant manuscripts from the second and third centuries, so we probably should not draw firm conclusions from such limited evidence.

Conclusions about the Predecessors of the *CapVat1* Divisions

Hill's argument about *CapVat1*'s predecessors makes up more than half of his entire book, so it is the most important argument to address. I focused on Deuteronomy because Rahlfs 848 is from the first century CE, and if a relationship could be established with the *CapVat1*, it would put the *CapVat1* system four hundred years earlier. I focused on John because P75 is closer to the *CapVat1* than any other manuscript, so P75 in John is the strongest possible evidence for Hill's claim. In both cases, I disagree with

¹⁰⁸ Hill thinks that the need to correct the text in John 1:17 distracted the scribe from making an *ekthesis* at verse 18 (see *First Chapters*, 346).

¹⁰⁹ Bill Warren, “A Text-Critical Approach to Punctuation in the New Testament: 1 Corinthians 14:33,” in *The New Testament in Antiquity and Byzantium: Traditional and Digital Approaches to Its Texts and Editing: A Festschrift for Klaus Wachtel*, ed. H. A. G. Houghton, David C. Parker, and Holger Strutwolf, ANTF 52 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 426.

Hill based on quantitative and qualitative judgments, except perhaps in John 1–5 in P75. The differences in Hill's and my data on Rahlfs 848 and P75 demonstrate how difficult it is to recover information about textual divisions in fragmentary manuscripts. Any data collection on textual divisions should go through two different transcribers and be reconciled.

Despite my critiques of Hill's argument, there is still no doubt that the *CapVat1* numbers are based on a numbered exemplar earlier/older than Codex Vaticanus itself. This is seen from two pieces of evidence: (1) the unique numeration in the Pauline Epistles,¹¹⁰ and (2) the accidental skipping of numbers in the *CapVat1*.¹¹¹ Both of these pieces of evidence clearly point to the numerals being copied and not created by the scribes of Codex Vaticanus.

But whether the *CapVat1* derive from any *extant* manuscript is another matter altogether. Hill is careful not to say that the *CapVat1* are taken directly from any extant manuscript, but he draws close connections between the *CapVat1* and Rahlfs 848 and 967, and with New Testament papyri P15, P64/67, P66, and P75. While these manuscripts all attest to early textual divisions and could be used to reconstruct the earliest attainable textual divisions, I do not agree with Hill that the *CapVat1* and these manuscripts

110. The Pauline Epistles are numbered consecutively rather than restarting the number sequence with each book; for example, 1 Corinthians does not restart with no. 1 but continues after the last number in Romans (no. 21) and so has no. 22 to begin. Most important, while Hebrews is physically located after 2 Thessalonians in Codex Vaticanus, the numbering in Hebrews (nos. 59–64 are extant) implies that Numerator 1 had an exemplar with Hebrews between Galatians (nos. 54–58) and Ephesians (nos. 70–75). If the scribe of Codex Vaticanus was creating the *CapVat1* numbers, it would be strange to distort the numbering system by skipping nos. 59–69 when moving from Galatians to Ephesians, then filling in those missing numbers in Hebrews at the end of the Pauline Epistles. This data point demonstrates that Numerator 1 was not creating the *CapVat1* in the Pauline Epistles but copying it from an exemplar that contained them and that had a different ordering of books (with Hebrews between Galatians and Ephesians). Of course, this may not apply to other parts of the New Testament, but at least for the Pauline Epistles we can be certain that the scribe(s) of an earlier manuscript created the *CapVat1* divisions.

111. When numerals are accidentally skipped in *CapVat1*, the numeration preserves the skip(s) and continues in the sequence. For example, three numbers are skipped in Matt 3 (nos. 13–15), and the numeration simply goes from 12 to 16, without any attempt to correct this error. Large skips of several numbers happen elsewhere in both the Old and New Testament portions of Codex Vaticanus and implies that the scribes were copying from an older exemplar that already had the numbers.

descend from a common archetype or template of textual divisions. The one exception where I tentatively agree with Hill is in John 1–5 with P75.

3. The *CapVat1* in Third Century Caesarea: Did Eusebius, Pamphilus, and/or Origen Know, or Even Create, the *CapVat1*?

Hill argues that at least in Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Acts, the *CapVat1* system may have been known by, or even created by, Eusebius and/or Pamphilus in Caesarea in the late third or early fourth century. Perhaps Eusebius and Pamphilus learned of the *CapVat1* from Origen.¹¹² This claim is based on colophons found in several manuscripts, and if these colophons can be trusted, then Hill has found a possible provenance/origin for (at least part of) the *CapVat1* system.

These three individuals—Eusebius, Pamphilus, and Origen—were some of the most prolific biblical scholars in the early centuries of the church. Beyond writing biblical commentaries, they are especially well known for works of meticulous biblical scholarship: Eusebius created a comprehensive system for cross-referencing among the four gospels known as the Eusebian apparatus, which is still found in the inner margins of NA28.¹¹³ Origen created the Hexapla, a six-column cross-comparison of the Hebrew Old Testament; a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew; three revisions of the Greek Old Testament by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion; and Origen's own attempt to reconstruct the original Old Greek translation.

Codex Vaticanus's numerated system of textual divisions (*CapVat1*) covered almost the entire Bible in a large-scale attempt to divide the biblical text into literary sections.¹¹⁴ This system was a monumental task of biblical scholarship, on par with the Eusebian apparatus and Origen's Hexapla. Therefore, it would not be surprising if the *CapVat1* had its origin

112. Hill, *First Chapters*, 297–310, 314–23, 401–5.

113. Among the extensive literature on the Eusebian apparatus, see especially Matthew R. Crawford, *The Eusebian Canon Tables: Ordering Textual Knowledge in Late Antiquity*, OPCS (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019); Jeremiah Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist: Rewriting the Fourfold Gospel in Late Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023); Martin Wallraff and Patrick Andrist, eds., *Die Kanontafeln des Euseb von Kaisareia*, Manuscripta Biblica 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2021); Francis Watson, *The Fourfold Gospel: A Theological Reading of the New Testament Portraits of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016).

114. Hill (rightly) argues that the *CapVat1* are primarily literary divisions to trace the flow of argument rather than topical divisions as in the *κεφάλαια* system. See *First Chapters*, 52–64, 312.

among these two ancient scholars, but can such a claim be substantiated by evidence?

Eusebius, Pamphilus, Origen, and the *CapVat1* of Ezekiel

In Ezekiel, Codex Marchalianus (Rahlfs Q; Vat. Gr. 2125)¹¹⁵ contains a colophon before the text of Ezekiel on page 568:

Now, it was transcribed from the copy of Abba Apolinarios the Cenobiarch, in which these words were subjoined: “It was transcribed from the Hexapla (made) according to the versions [εκδόσεις] and it was corrected from the Tetrapla of Origen himself, which was also corrected and annotated [ἐσχολιογραφητο] by his own hand; from whence I, Eusebius, placed the annotations alongside (the text) [τὰ σχόλια παρέθηκα]. Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected.”¹¹⁶

This colophon makes three main claims: (1) Eusebius (writing in the first person, “I, Eusebius”) copied the text of Ezekiel based on a process of transcription, comparison, and correction with both Origen’s Hexapla and Tetrapla; (2) Eusebius added annotations (σχόλια) alongside the text, presumably including Origen’s Hexaplaric sigla (e.g., asterisks, obeloi), and perhaps included among Origen’s annotations were the *CapVat1* numbers found in Codex Marchalianus; and (3) Pamphilus, the mentor of Eusebius, is also named as a corrector of the text.

But this colophon only matters if Codex Marchalianus contains the same chapter system as Codex Vaticanus—which is indeed the case in Ezekiel. The *CapVat1*’s fifty-six divisions in Ezekiel are mirrored almost perfectly in Codex Marchalianus, with only three minor discrepancies.¹¹⁷

Based on the Ezekiel colophon in Codex Marchalianus and its near perfect match with the *CapVat1* numbers in Ezekiel, Hill conjectures that the *CapVat1* numeration for Ezekiel may have been in the biblical text of

115. Online images can be viewed at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.2125.

116. English translation from Hill, *First Chapters*, 299.

117. These three discrepancies are: chapter B (2) is at Ezek 3:11b (ταδε λεγει κυριος) in Vaticanus but 3:12 in Marchalianus. Chapter H (8) is at Ezek 9:11 in Vaticanus but 10:1 in Marchalianus (9:11 is the final verse of ch. 9, so they miss by just one verse). Chapter KA (21) is at Ezek 20:1 in Vaticanus but 20:2 in Marchalianus. Hill thinks that Vaticanus is in error with chapters B (2) and H (8), while Marchalianus is in error at chapter KA (21); see Hill, *First Chapters*, 219–20.

Ezekiel that accompanied Origen's Hexapla and was thus known to Eusebius and Pamphilus, who both had access to Origen's Hexapla.¹¹⁸ It is still unclear whether Origen himself was the creator of the numbered system or whether he inherited it from somewhere else. But Hill is confident that the *CapVat1* for Ezekiel were in existence in Caesarea in the late third or early fourth century.

Eusebius, Origen, and the *CapVat1* of Isaiah

In Isaiah, Codex Marchalianus contains a colophon before the text of Isaiah on pages 171–72:

The Isaiah was transcribed from a copy of Abba Apolinarios the Cenobiarch in which these things are subjoined: "The Isaiah was transcribed out of the Hexapla (made) according to the versions, but also compared with another Hexapla which has this marginal signage [παρασημέϊωσιν]. All the versions were corrected carefully, for they were compared against the Tetrapla of Isaiah but yet also against the Hexapla with [πρός, in addition to?] these, and the things from the beginning up to the Vision of Tyre were most accurately corrected. For, having had the benefit of the volumes of Origen's Exegetica on Isaiah up to the end of the Vision of Tyre and having accurately established (it) by the meaning [ἐννοία] by which he exegeted each word, as (to) what sort (it is), we have also corrected every ambiguity according to his meaning. The version of the Seventy was compared with these and with the things said by Eusebius on Isaiah, in which he disagreed about the exegesis. Having searched for the meaning, we also corrected against it."¹¹⁹

Based on this testimony, Codex Marchalianus's text of Isaiah would seem to have been carefully copied from a manuscript owned by Abba Apolinarios (called "Apol^{Isa}" by Hill), which is not extant but is conjectured to have existed based on this colophon. The colophon reproduces a note written by an anonymous scribe(s) in the first-person plural, who had access to and used: (1) Origen's Hexapla, Tetrapla, and commentary on Isaiah up to the

¹¹⁸ Hill, *First Chapters*, 309.

¹¹⁹ English translation from Hill, *First Chapters*, 299–300.

Vision of Tyre (= modern chapter 23); (2) the Old Greek LXX of Isaiah; and (3) Eusebius's commentary on Isaiah.

The connection between chapter systems in Codex Marchalianus and Codex Vaticanus in Isaiah is less direct than in Ezekiel. Codex Marchalianus contains a system of Vision (*ὄρασις*) Numbers up to 14 at Isa 23:1. These were written in its margins of Isaiah as “*ὄρασις* Γ, Δ, Ε,” and so on. Unfortunately, numbers 1–2, 9, and 13 are missing in Codex Marchalianus. But the other ten numbers match up almost perfectly with the *CapVat1* numbers in Isaiah, with one small discrepancy.¹²⁰ If these were matches with *unnumbered* textual divisions, the connection would be less convincing, since many of these begin with obvious markers of textual division (e.g., vision/oracle titles or historical introductions). But the fact that Codices Vaticanus and Marchalianus have *numbered* textual divisions makes the match more convincing.

There is one additional link between Eusebius and the *CapVat1* in Isaiah. In Eusebius's *Hist. eccl.* 6.32.1, Eusebius is discussing Origen's commentary on Isaiah and says, “Thirty tomes have come our way on the third part of Isaiah, up to the visions of the beasts in the desert.” This refers to Isa 30:6 as the ending point of Origen's commentary. But Hill helpfully draws attention to Eusebius's phrase “on the third part of Isaiah.” Eusebius “invites the reader to view the prophecy as *quantifiable*, as divisible into parts.”¹²¹ Origen's commentary covered one-third of Isaiah, according to Eusebius.

In our modern chapter system, up to Isa 30:6 is about 45 percent of the sixty-six chapters, not close to Eusebius's one-third (33.3 percent) comment. According to stichometry (line counts), Hill says that up to Isa 30:6 is about 1,570 *stichoi* out of a total of about 3,590 *stichoi* for all of Isaiah (43.7 percent), also not close to one-third. According to column counts in Codex Vaticanus, up to Isa 30:6 is about 91.65 columns out of a total of 183.3 columns (50 percent), also not close to one-third.

But Hill observes that the *CapVat1* of Isaiah divides the book into seventy-four sections and up to Isa 30:6 has twenty-five sections (33.8 percent), nearly the one-third number that Eusebius says Origen's commentary cov-

120. *CapVat1* and *ὄρασις* Γ (3) matches at Isa 6:1; Δ (4) matches at Isa 7:1; Ε (5) matches at Isa 13:2; Ζ (7) matches at Isa 15:1; Η (8) matches at Isa 17:1; Ι (10) matches at Isa 20:1; ΙΑ (11) matches at Isa 21:1; ΙΒ (12) matches at Isa 21:11; ΙΔ (14) matches at Isa 23:1. There is one small discrepancy at Ϛ (6): Vaticanus begins at 14:28, while Marchalianus begins at 14:29, missing each other by one verse.

121. Hill, *First Chapters*, 302, emphasis original.

ers. This “one-third” comment by Eusebius would seem to suggest that Eusebius was familiar with the *CapVat1* of Isaiah as a quantifiable way to say that Origen’s commentary (up to Isa 30:6) covered one-third of Isaiah. As Hill concludes, “if the text [Eusebius] knew was not numbered, it is hard to understand why it would have occurred to him to quantify the text in this way.”¹²²

Based on the correspondence between *CapVat1* in Isaiah and Codex Marchalianus’s Vision Numbers, and based on Eusebius’s comment in *Hist. eccl.* 6.32.1, Hill concludes that, in the late third or early fourth century, “Eusebius in Caesarea was familiar with an edition of Isaiah that was capitulated with the *CapVat* numbers,” and Origen’s “revised text [of Isaiah], in the synoptic instrument [Hexapla] and in his commentary, may well have carried the *CapVat* numbers [of Isaiah].”¹²³

Pamphilus and the *CapVat1* of Acts

There is one final connection between the *CapVat1* and the biblical scholarship of third- or fourth-century Caesarea. This connection is found in the book of Acts and its thirty-six *CapVat1* numbers. The connection is not straightforward and direct, but I still think it is compelling. The argument that connects the *CapVat1* of Acts with Pamphilus in Caesarea consists of three parts, which I will first summarize, then explain in further detail:

1. An individual named Euthalius has preserved for Acts a system with forty chapters and forty-eight subdivisions, all of which are accompanied with titles. Euthalius did not create this system, but he seems to have gotten it from Pamphilus (hence Hill chooses to name this system the *CapPam*).
2. Ten medieval manuscripts that preserve the *CapPam* of Acts also preserve a thirty-six-chapter system of Acts; this thirty-six-chapter system matches the *CapVat1* of Acts, with five discrepancies.
3. The relationship between the two systems is unclear, but they were preserved together in the ten aforementioned manuscripts. Hill conjectures that Pamphilus’s forty-chapter system was based upon, and an expansion of, the thirty-six-chapter system that nearly matches the *CapVat1* of Acts. This means that Pamphilus might

122. Hill, *First Chapters*, 304.

123. Hill, *First Chapters*, 305.

have been familiar with the thirty-six *CapVat1* divisions of Acts but chose to improve upon it with his own system.

Now, I can explain each point in further detail.

Part 1: An individual named Euthalius preserved for Acts a system of forty chapters, forty-eight subdivisions, with titles.¹²⁴ This system is found in at least seventy-six medieval Greek manuscripts documented by Charles Willard.¹²⁵ Hill lays out a four-part argument for why Pamphilus of Caesarea was the probable creator of this system, while Euthalius has merely preserved it for us.¹²⁶

(1) At the end of Euthalius's prologue to the Pauline Epistles, he explains what he has compiled:

Now we have prefixed to each [Pauline] epistle, summarily, in order, the 'Exposition of Chapters' [τῶν κεφαλαίων ἔκθεσιν] prepared by a certain one of our wisest and Christ-loving fathers. Not only this, but while going through the text of the reading, we have also systematized and summarized [τεχνολογήσαντες ἀνεκεφαλαιωσάμεθα] the most accurate sectioning [τὴν ... τομήν] of the readings.¹²⁷

While Euthalius does not name the "Christ-loving father" who prepared the Exposition of Chapters, other lines of evidence point to Pamphilus.

(2) The sixth-century Codex Coislinianus (Gregory-Aland H/015) is the earliest extant manuscript containing the Euthalian apparatus of the Pauline Epistles. The manuscript has a colophon on folio 14r that reads: "The book was collated against the copy in Caesarea at the library of the holy Pamphilus, written in his hand."¹²⁸

124. This system (as well as an English translation of the titles) can be found in Vemund Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions: Text, Translation and Commentary*, TU 170 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 65–73.

125. Louis Charles Willard, *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus*, ANTF 41 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 158–69.

126. Hill, *First Chapters*, 315–16. Cf. a similar argument in J. Rendel Harris, *Stichometry* (London: Clay, 1893), 87–89. Hill confirmed in response to a draft of this article that he believes Pamphilus is the "probable" creator.

127. English translation from Hill, *First Chapters*, 315–16. The Greek text can be found in Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions*, 107.

128. English translation from Hill, *First Chapters*, 316. Cf. Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions*, 18; Eric W. Scherbenske, "Codex Coislinianus and the Euthalian Edition of

(3) Hill, Harris, and von Soden all claim that there is a similar colophon for Acts and the Catholic Epistles that reads: “The book of the Acts and the Catholic Epistles was collated against the accurate copies preserved at Caesarea in the library of Eusebius and Pamphilus.”¹²⁹ But only von Soden names specific manuscripts that hold this colophon (his sigla: α 65 70 101 173 = GA 1836 1898 181 623).

(4) In at least four manuscripts (GA 307, 453, 610, 1678), the title for the Exposition of Chapters of Acts is “Pamphilus’s Exposition of the Chapters of Acts” (ἔκθεσις κεφαλαίων τῶν πράξεων τοῦ Παμφίλου), while one manuscript attributes the system to Eusebius (GA 808).

On this issue of whether or not Pamphilus created the forty-chapter system of Acts, I have four qualifications/clarifications of Hill’s argument.

(a) The first two arguments mentioned above are drawn from the Euthalian Pauline prologue and from an Euthalian manuscript of only the Pauline Epistles (GA 015), so these two arguments should not automatically apply to Acts. But neither am I ruling out that their attribution to Pamphilus in the Pauline Epistles could also apply to Acts.

(b) Hill’s third argument is presented without naming specific manuscripts. In response to a draft of this article, Hill checked for the Acts colophon and found it in GA 181 (fol. 71r), 1836 (fol. 8r), and 1875 (fol. 69r). Even if the colophon is true, the statement only tells us that Acts was collated against Pamphilus’s copy in Caesarea, but it makes no specific mention of the Exposition of Chapters (τῶν κεφαλαίων ἔκθεσις) as the Pauline prologue does. The statement could certainly include not just the text of Acts but also the chapter system—yet such is not explicitly stated.

(c) Before the listing of chapters in Acts, there is a preface where Euthalius writes, “Benefiting from the style and model of fathers and teachers, we modestly present this survey of the chapters [τῶν κεφαλαίων ἔκθεσις]. We, the young in age and learning, ask every reader for forbearance regarding our rashness, receiving kindness through your prayers for our sake.”¹³⁰ Euthalius gives credit to others (“the style and model of fathers and teachers”), but he still seems to imply that the chapter system for Acts was *his*

the *Corpus Paulinum*,” in *Canonizing Paul: Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 116. This page of the manuscript is viewable at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8577515k/f41>.

129. Hill, *First Chapters*, 316; Harris, *Stichometry*, 87; von Soden, *Untersuchungen*, 681.

130. My English translation; Greek text is in Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions*, 65.

own work, especially since he goes on to ask the reader for forbearance and kindness, presumably for any deficiencies with his final product.

(d) The fourth argument is Hill's strongest, where he gives four manuscripts that explicitly attribute the chapter system of Acts to Pamphilus. But these come from medieval manuscripts (GA 307 = tenth century; GA 453 = fourteenth century; GA 610 = twelfth century; GA 1678 = fourteenth century) rather than early sources, so their trustworthiness is unclear. The scribes of these manuscripts could be taking what they know about the origin of the Euthalian apparatus of the Pauline Epistles and projecting that knowledge upon Acts. Ultimately, it may be that Pamphilus deserves the majority of credit and that Euthalius merely made modifications and improvements to an existing system, but we cannot be certain.

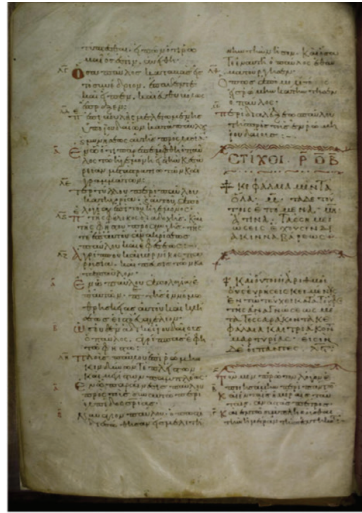
Part 2: The second step of the argument that Pamphilus knew of the *CapVat1* in Acts is to present evidence that the forty-chapter system of Pamphilus was based on an earlier thirty-six-chapter system found in Codex Vaticanus. Out of the seventy-two medieval manuscripts that preserve the forty-chapter system of Acts, there are ten manuscripts that also present a thirty-six-chapter system with the following preface: "And these are the numbers that you will find placed in the volume, opposite the text of the reading, along with the forty chapters and thirty testimonies. And they are thirty-six altogether."¹³¹

Like the *CapVat1*, this thirty-six-chapter system does not have titles. Only the first few words from the start of the biblical text is given (i.e., incipits). For example, with chapter \bar{A} in this system, the first few words of Acts 1:1 (τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων) are given in a listing of chapter numbers and incipits:

131. My translation. The ten manuscripts are GA 181, 619, 917, 1103, 1162, 1175, 1244, 1845, 1874, and 1875 (1875 is partial because the manuscript is damaged). I verified that all ten manuscripts have the same incipits and chapter locations, with some minor textual variation (spelling differences, adding/omitting the article or a conjunction, substitution of prepositions)—although GA 1175 makes a major blunder with chapter 36's incipit for Acts 28:11: instead of μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ("And after three months"), the manuscript reads μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ("And after three days").

As can be seen in the image to the right, the listing of the thirty-six-chapter system begins in the middle of column 2 in GA 619, fol. 8v, and it comes immediately *after* the listing of the Euthalian forty-chapter system. Thus, the thirty-six-chapter system is presented *together with* the forty-chapter system, so that readers of these ten manuscripts are exposed to both systems.

The key point in Hill's argument is that this thirty-six-chapter system of Acts (presented alongside Pamphilus's forty-chapter system) very nearly matches the thirty-six-chapter system in Codex Vaticanus. They agree perfectly in thirty-one out of thirty-six places but have five major discrepancies:



Gregory-Aland minuscule 619;
BML Conv. Soppr. 191 (fol. 8v)

Image: Biblioteca Medicea
Laurenziana Digital Repository

Chapter Number	<i>CapVat1</i> (36 chs.)	Thirty-six-chapter system in medieval MSS
Ē (5)	Acts 4:32	Acts 4:23
Ĥ (8)	Acts 8:4	Acts 6:13
ĪĈ (16)	Acts 14:6	Acts 14:1
ĪĜ (29)	Acts 23:11	Acts 23:16
ĪĀ (31)	Acts 24:24	Acts 24:10

When we looked at the chapter systems of Isaiah and Ezekiel in Codex Marchalianus, we saw that they agreed almost perfectly with Codex Vaticanus, with only minor discrepancies that differ from each other by half a verse or one verse. For example, chapter B(2) in Vaticanus = Ezek 3:11b, but in Marchalianus = Ezek 3:12, or chapter KA(21) in Vaticanus = Ezek 20:1, but in Marchalianus = Ezek 20:2. In such cases, scribal error is possible. However, these discrepancies in Acts are major and differ by a large amount of text, so that the differences were probably intentional changes rather than scribal errors.¹³²

132. In response to a draft of this article, Hill clarified that the two systems are “modifications of an underlying system or template; they are not each starting from scratch.... I strongly suspect that at least some of the discrepancies between these two

Part 3: The third part of the argument that connects the *CapVat1* of Acts with Pamphilus of Caesarea is a conjecture about the relationship among the thirty-six-chapter system of Codex Vaticanus, the thirty-six-chapter system of the ten medieval manuscripts, and the forty-chapter system of Pamphilus. Whereas Euthalius gave anonymous credit to a “Christ-loving father” and “teachers” for the forty-chapter system of Acts, no information about the provenance, origin, or creator is given for either thirty-six-chapter system of Acts. Both von Soden and Hill have conjectured that it is easier to understand the shorter, simpler system (thirty-six-chapters with no subdivisions and no titles) as the source of the longer, more complex system (forty-chapters with forty-eight-subdivisions and with titles).¹³³ If true, Pamphilus was familiar with the thirty-six *CapVat1* divisions of Acts but chose to improve upon it with his own forty-chapter system.

To summarize the three-part argument: (1) Hill believes that the forty-chapter system of Acts can be probably attributed to Pamphilus; (2) Pamphilus’s forty-chapter system is found in ten medieval manuscripts alongside a thirty-six-chapter system, and Hill believes that this thirty-six-chapter system is *the same system* as the thirty-six-chapter system in Codex Vaticanus; (3) Hill believes the longer/more complex system (Pamphilus’s forty-chapters) derives from the shorter/simpler system (the *CapVat1* thirty-six-chapters). Therefore, Hill concludes, “it would seem that Pamphilus not only knew the *CapVat* numbers but that he sought to supplement or supplant them with a new system that would better serve the interests of preachers and teachers.”¹³⁴

Conclusion: The *CapVat1* in Third/Fourth Century Caesarea?

While Hill’s conclusions of a Caesarean origin among Eusebius and Pamphilus can strictly be applied only to Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Acts, Hill wonders if, in the library of Pamphilus, “did there also sit a copy of the Pauline corpus with numbered but untitled chapters, perhaps with Hebrews lying

representatives in Acts are because a number was accidentally skipped, or was in some way obscured, in the scribe’s exemplar, and so the copyist had to improvise, to guess where to put the missing number. Unintentional skipping is a known phenomenon, as we see in the *CapVat* in Matthew, Luke, and occasionally elsewhere. This seems the likeliest explanation in at least some of the 5 cases in Acts, where the misses are way off.”

133. Hill, *First Chapters*, 318–20; von Soden, *Untersuchungen*, 442–44.

134. Hill, *First Chapters*, 318.

between Galatians and Ephesians? A copy of the seven Catholic Epistles? Copies of numbered Gospels? ... At present, all we can do is speculate."¹³⁵

We have surveyed the evidence found in colophons, the Euthalian prologues, and matches between the chapter systems of Codex Vaticanus and Codex Marchalianus in Isaiah and Ezekiel and between Codex Vaticanus and ten medieval manuscripts in Acts. But can we trust the claims of the scribes who added these colophons to a few medieval manuscripts, or were they inscribing their own speculations into the manuscripts they copied?¹³⁶

The evidence is not as definitive or as precise as we would like, but it is still compelling and plausible that Eusebius, Pamphilus, and/or Origen were involved in creating the *CapVat1*, given other large-scale projects completed in Caesarea, such as Origen's Hexapla and the Eusebian apparatus. It would make sense for these biblical scholars in third-century Caesarea to have carried out a large-scale project to create the first *numbered* chapter divisions for nearly the entire Christian Bible.

If the colophons are trustworthy, then Hill draws a valid conclusion: "The presence of the [*CapVat1*] in Caesarea in the third century is significant, for it shows that this particularly scholarly aid to the reading and study of Scripture is indeed earlier than was previously provable, and connects with a known community of Christian scholars and editorial practitioners."¹³⁷

Conclusion

Hill's *The First Chapters* is a must read within the wider literature on unit delimitation,¹³⁸ but its level of detail is most well-suited for textual critics and for those with at least a basic understanding of Greek palaeography. I

135. Hill, *First Chapters*, 322.

136. In response to a draft of this article, Hill said about scribal speculation: "I think this could be a legitimate question with regard to the attribution of the ekthesis of chapters in Acts to Pamphilus. But with regard to the colophons in QIsaiah and QEzekiel, I don't think these could be categorized as speculations.... QIsa has [Origen's] Hexaplaric marginal signage, the *tomos* numbers, and the Vision numbers mentioned, 'up to the end of the Vision of Tyre.' And QEzek also has [Origen's] Hexaplaric signage and *tomos* numbers." Hill's point is that Codex Marchalianus is connected to Origen *not only by the scribal colophon* but also through all the other Hexaplaric marginalia.

137. Hill, *First Chapters*, 402.

138. For example, see the eleven-volume Pericope series (<http://pericope.net>), the *Editio Critica Maior* of Revelation (volume 3.2), and the literature on the Old Greek/Euthalian κεφάλαια in note 10.

have a harder time recommending Hill's book to New Testament scholars, students, and pastors who have little interest in textual criticism and who have little experience working with manuscripts. Such people may not have the patience to work through Hill's 488-page book. But I think they could still benefit from reading Hill's prologue and chapters 1–2 (pages 1–64) and his reflections on the exegetical potential of the *CapVat* (424–28); these sixty-nine pages can be read by themselves and will still help scholars, students, and pastors to understand ancient efforts at textual division and the exegetical benefit of interacting with the *CapVat*.

New Testament scholars, students, and pastors will also benefit from being able to see for themselves the actual *CapVat*₁ divisions. Unfortunately, Hill does not provide a full listing of the *CapVat*₁ divisions, so we must refer to Tregelles's edition and/or Nestle-Aland 25, both of which have errors in reproducing the *CapVat*₁ divisions and cover only the New Testament. Versace has a listing of the *CapVat*₁ divisions for both the Old and New Testaments,¹³⁹ but his book is written in Italian, and he has organized the *CapVat* according to which numerator produced them (his B₁ or B₃), not according to the actual ordering of biblical books, so his listing can be difficult to use.

It is my intention to provide a full listing of the New Testament *CapVat*₁ divisions in a future article, so others can draw out exegetical insights from *CapVat*₁'s structuring of the biblical text. The modern chapter/verse system is like a pair of colored glasses that unconsciously affects how people today read and interpret Scripture. The *CapVat*₁ provide an alternative pair of glasses for reading Scripture. Much can be learned by setting aside the modern chapter/verse system and reading Scripture through a different, ancient system of textual divisions as found in the *CapVat*₁.

Appendix: List of Errors in Hill's *The First Chapters*

Simple errors:

- Page 87, second to last line: “p. 1353” should be “p. 1253.”
- Page 88, footnote 64: “On p. 1355 at John 3.13” should be “On p. 1355 at John 4.45.”

139. Versace, *I marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, 92–114, 142–87.

- Page 89, second to last line: “At the end of Mark, this paragraphos is drawn in the red ink of the numerals” should be “At the end of Matthew...”
- Page 322, four lines down from the top: the 181 list “agrees with B at 4:23 (as opposed to Pam at 4:32)” should be “agrees with B at 4:32 (as opposed to Pam at 4:23)” (emphases added).
- Page 337 in table 7.4 for P75 at John 2:12, Hill records a middle dot, space, and *ekthesis*, but these should be labeled *videtur* at best because P75 is faded and damaged at this location.
- Page 340 in table 7.4, three lines down: “12:26b” should be “12:26.”
- Page 340 in table 7.4, for P75 at John 13:1: “sp >” should be “lb >.”
- Page 340 in table 7.4, for P75 at John 13:12 and 13:31: “-” should be “(lac).”
- Page 351, footnote 147: “There is also no trace of $\overline{\Pi\Lambda\Theta}$ on its page” should be “There is also no trace of $\overline{P\Lambda\Theta}$ on page 1345.”
- Page 433, first full paragraph claims that Codex Zacynthius places the *CapVat* next to the Old Greek divisions and the Eusebian sections and canons, but Codex Zacynthius does not contain the Eusebian sections/canons.

Substantive errors:

- Pages 161 and 162 say that Proverbs has sixty-one *CapVat1* numbers, but the situation is more complex: there are sixty-one numerals, but the numerals $\overline{\Lambda B}$ and $\overline{\Lambda \Gamma}$ were both written twice (see pp. 726–29 in Codex Vaticanus), so there are technically sixty-three chapters/sections in Proverbs, not sixty-one. This repetition in Proverbs also serves to correct Hill’s statement on page 181: “This [referring to the repetition of $\overline{\Lambda Z}$ in 1 Corinthians on pp. 1472–73 of the manuscript] is the only instance of a repeated number that I am aware of in the numeration of Vaticanus.”
- Page 179, second full paragraph says that the *CapVat2* numeration of Acts “are reproduced (exactly up to number 40) in the Latin codices Fuldensis and Amiatinus.” Hill cites Berger, who makes this assertion: “En effet, cette division suit exactement, chiffre pour chiffre, jusqu’au § 40, la deuxième division, en 69 chapitres, du Codex Vaticanus.”¹⁴⁰ But this is wrong. In the first forty sections of

140. Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen*

Codex Amiatinus, there are substantial deviations from the *CapVat2* with section numbers 6, 7, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 26, 29, 30, 33. Sometimes they differ by more than ten verses apart.

- Page 364, footnote 234, Hill observes that Codex Zacynthius has placed its numeral $\overline{\text{III}}$ at Luke 11:28 and a smaller numeral $\overline{\text{III}}$ at 11:29. Hill considers the placement at 11:28 to be a “mismarking.” However, Zacynthius has a peculiar way of writing its numerals. The numerals are written *twice*: once in the right or left margin along with a symbol that looks like a plus sign or ψ , then a second time next to the biblical text. Sometimes these two numerals do not line up, but *the numeral next to the text is what really matters*.¹⁴¹ I conjecture that the numeral in the margin with the plus (ψ) sign was for *navigational purposes* as the user flips through the pages, and the second numeral in/among the text was to give the precise location. In my own data gathering for Zacynthius, I distinguish between the marginal (mg) numeral and the text (txt) numeral. $\overline{\text{III}}^{\text{txt}}$ is written at 11:29, while $\overline{\text{III}}^{\text{mg}}$ is written horizontal from 11:28, but I think Hill is wrong to claim a “mismarking” at 11:28 because he has not distinguished between marginal versus text numerals in Zacynthius.
- Page 356, nine lines down from the top: “The *CapVat* divisions of Zacynthius agree precisely with those of Vaticanus except at one place [at 363 n. 229, Hill specifies the one disagreement with numeral $\overline{\text{OZ}}$: *CapVat1* at Luke 10:17 versus Zacynthius at Luke 10:16].” However, the editors of the newest transcription of Codex Zacynthius claim to have found four discrepancies, but they do not specify the precise locations.¹⁴² My own examination of Codex Zacynthius has yielded seven discrepancies with the *CapVat1* of Luke; I have more discrepancies because I make the text versus marginal distinction (as mentioned in the previous paragraph):
 - $\overline{\text{ΛΗ}}$ (38) at Luke 5:27 in Vaticanus but 5:27b (καὶ ἐθέασατο τελώνην) in Zacynthius

âge (Nancy: Imprimerie Berger-Levrault, 1893), 313. English translation: “Indeed, this division follows exactly, figure for figure, up to §40, the second division, in 69 chapters, of the Codex Vaticanus.”

141. See, e.g., $\overline{\text{OΘ}}$ on fol. LXXXI verso: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-10062-UNDERTXT/162>.

142. Houghton and Parker, “Gospel of Luke in the Palimpsest,” 38.

- \overline{ME} (45) at Luke 6:25 in Vaticanus but 6:25b (οὐαὶ οἱ γελωῶντες) in Zacynthius
- \overline{MG} (46) at Luke 6:28 in Vaticanus but 6:27b (καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς) in Zacynthius
- $\overline{EΘ}$ (69) at Luke 9:23b (εἰ τις θέλει) in Vaticanus but 9:23 in Zacynthius
- $\overline{OΔ}$ (74) at Luke 9:57 in Vaticanus but 9:55 in Zacynthius
- \overline{OZ} (77) at Luke 10:17 in Vaticanus but 10:16 in Zacynthius
- $\overline{Π}$ (80) at Luke 10:38 in Vaticanus but 10:37b (εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἰς) in Zacynthius
- Page 362, footnote 218, Hill thinks that the missing *CapVat1* numeral \overline{EE} in Luke should be placed at Luke 9:7 based on Codex Zacynthius having the numeral \overline{EE} at Luke 9:7. But Codex Zacynthius's numeral \overline{EE} is at Luke 9:3, not 9:7 (as Hill, NA25, and Tregelles wrongly claim).¹⁴³

Misc. Omissions:

- Page 94, in the discussion devoted to the *CapVat2*, Hill does not mention that remnants of the *CapVat2* of Acts are also found in Codex Sinaiticus.¹⁴⁴ Hill remedies this omission later on page 315, but this fact should be mentioned in his section dedicated to *CapVat2*.
- Page 109, Hill asserts the nonrecensional nature of Vaticanus's text, but see Dirk Jongkind's article on redactional elements in Codex Vaticanus.¹⁴⁵
- Page 131, end of first paragraph points to figure 4.2, which is not nearby but fifteen pages earlier on page 116. It would help the reader to mention the page number for figure 4.2.
- Page 315, sixth line down from the top says there was "a 53-chapter system [of Acts] mentioned in some later sources," but Hill provides no manuscript evidence or secondary literature to support this assertion.

143. See <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-10062-UNDERTTEXT/120>.

144. See discussion in Giurisato, "Atti degli Apostoli," 211–27; Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007), 121–22.

145. Dirk Jongkind, "Redactional Elements in the Text of Codex B," in *The Future of New Testament Textual Scholarship: From H. C. Hoskier to the Editio Critica Maior and Beyond*, ed. Garrick V. Allen, WUNT 417 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 231–45.