

The Chronography of George Synkellos

A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal
History from the Creation

Translated with Introduction and Notes by
WILLIAM ADLER and PAUL TUFFIN

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Preface

We began collaborating on this translation in the spring of 1994. When Paul Tuffin informed Professor Alden A. Mosshammer about his interest in preparing an English translation of Synkellos' chronicle, he learned from him that William Adler had already completed a draft translation of the entire work. Shortly thereafter, Adler and Tuffin agreed to undertake a joint effort to see the project through to completion. The translators are indebted to Professor Mosshammer for acting as an intermediary in the initial stages of our collaboration. Professor Elizabeth Jeffreys first encouraged Tuffin to pursue the project. Dr Ann Geddes kindly made available to us an English translation of the Latin preface of Mosshammer's edition of the Greek text of Synkellos. She also sat in and offered valuable advice during several working sessions in Adelaide. Correspondence with Professor David Pingree helped to clarify the meaning of a few troubling passages in the Greek text. His observations are noted with gratitude at the appropriate places. Ms. Ann Rives provided invaluable assistance in the preparation of the textual citation index. For his painstaking reading of the typescript and his numerous suggestions and improvements, we should finally like to express especial gratitude to Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens at Oxford University Press.

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The translation is dedicated to the memory of Nancy Jill Adler

(1948-98), the late wife of William Adler. Her selfless and unfailing support for the project from its inception made its timely completion possible.

Contents

Abbreviations	ix
Introduction	xxix
I. Synkellos and the Christian Chronographic Tradition	xxx
II. Synkellos' Contribution to Chronography	xxxv
III. Modes of Chronological Argumentation	xlviii
IV. Structure and Organization in the Christian Universal Chronicle from Eusebios to Synkellos	lv
V. Synkellos' Sources and Originality	lx
VI. Chronological Conventions: Eras and Cycles	lxix
VII. Textual History and Greek Editions of Synkellos	lxxv
VIII. Synkellos' Chronicle in Scholarship since Scaliger	lxxvii
IX. Previous Translations	lxxxiv
X. The Present Translation and its Conventions	lxxxvi
The Chronography of George Synkellos	i
Appendix of Biblical Names	560
Index of Textual Citations	567
Index of Subjects and Proper Names	611

Abbreviations

1. *Periodicals and Reference Works*

ByzAus	Byzantina Australiensia
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CChr	Corpus Christianorum
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby, 3 vols. (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58)
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. K. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris, 1928–38)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
HRRel	<i>Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae</i> , ed. H. Peter, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1906–1914)
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
LSJ	<i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> , ed. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, 9th edn. with revised supplement (Oxford, 1996)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>

Abbreviations

PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , rev. F. Wissowa <i>et al.</i> (Stuttgart, 1894–1980)
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i>
RPh	<i>Revue de Philologie</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SC	Sources chrétiennes
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Sprska Akademija Nauka</i>

II. Ancient Authors and Works

Aelian, <i>Nat. animal.</i>	Aelian, <i>De natura animalium</i> , ed. R. Hercher (Leipzig, 1864)
Africanus	Sextus Julius Africanus, <i>Chronographiae</i> (excerpts collected in <i>Reliquiae sacrae</i> , ed. M. J. Routh, ii (Oxford, 1846), 225–309)
— <i>Ep. Aristid.</i>	Julius Africanus, <i>Epistle to Aristides</i> , in <i>Die Briefe des Sextus Julius Africanus an Aristides und Origenes</i> , ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig, 1909)
Agath.	Agathias, <i>Historiae</i> , ed. R. Keydell (CFHB 2; Berlin, 1967)
Alex. Polyhist.	Alexander Polyhistor, in <i>FGrH</i> 273
Ammian. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>Rerum gestarum libri quae supersunt</i> , ed. and tr. J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols. (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1935–9)
Anast. Sin.	Anastasios Sinaïtes
<i>Anec. Gr. Par.</i>	<i>Anecdota Graeca e codd.</i>

Abbreviations

- Anon. Matr.* *manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, ed. J. A. Cramer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1839; rpr. Hildesheim, 1967)
Anonymi chronographia syntomos e codice Matritensi No. 121, ed. A. Bauer (Leipzig, 1909)
- Apollod.* Apollodoros of Athens, *Chronica*, in *FGrH* 244 F 1–87
- Ps.-Apollod. Bibl.* Pseudo-Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Wagner, *Mythographi Graeci* (Leipzig, 1894), i. 1–169
- App. Mithr.* Appian, *Historia Romana, Mithridatica*, ed. P. Viereck, *et al.*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1962), i. 418–531
- *Syr.* Appian, *Historia Romana, Syriaca*, ed. P. Viereck, *et al.*, i. 352–418
- Ps.-Arist. Ep.* *Aristeae epistula ad Philocratem*, ed. and tr. A. Pelletier (SC 89; Paris, 1962)
- Arist. Or.* Ailios Aristeides, *Orationes*, ed. W. Dindorf, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829; rpr. Hildesheim, 1964)
- Aristoph. Wasps* Aristophanes, *Wasps*, ed. D. M. MacDowell (Oxford, 1971)
- Aristot. Interpret.* Aristotle, *De interpretatione*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Oxford, 1949)
- *Nicom. Ethics* Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. I. Bywater (Oxford, 1894)
- *Physics* Aristotle, *Physics*, ed. W. D. Ross (Oxford, 1950)
- fr(r). *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, ed. V. Rose (Leipzig, 1886)
- Arrian, Anab.* Arrian, *Anabasis*, in *Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia*, ed. A. G. Ross and G. Wirth, i (Leipzig, 1967)
- Athen. Deip.* Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, ed. G. Kaibel, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1887–90)
- Aug. Civ. dei* Augustine, *De civitate dei*, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb (CChr Series Latina 47, 48; Turnhout, 1955)

Abbreviations

Aug. <i>Diver. quaest.</i>	Augustine, <i>De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus liber</i> , ed. A. Mutzenbecher (CChr Series Latina 44A; Turnhout, 1975), 1–249
— <i>Quaest. Hept.</i>	Augustine, <i>Quaestiones in Heptateuchum</i> , ed. I. Fraipont (CChr Series Latina 33; Turnhout, 1958), 1–377
Aurel. Vict. <i>Caes.</i>	Sextus Aurelius Victor, <i>De Caesaribus</i> , ed. Fr. Pichlmayr (Leipzig, 1966)
Bar Hebr.	<i>The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus</i> , tr. E. A. W. Budge (London, 1932)
Ps.-Barn. <i>Ep.</i>	<i>Barnabae epistula</i> , ed. and tr. R. A. Kraft and P. Prigent (SC 172; Paris, 1971)
Bas. Caes. <i>Hom. Hexaem.</i>	Basil of Caesarea, <i>Homiliae in Hexaemeron</i> , ed. S. Giet, 2nd edn. (SC 26; Paris, 1968)
<i>b. Ber.</i>	<i>Berakot</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
Berossos	Berossos, <i>Babyloniaka</i> , in <i>FGrH</i> 680 F 1–14 (F 1–5 = Synkellos/Eusebios excerpts)
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> , ed. U. P. Boissevain, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1895–1931)
<i>Chron. pasch.</i>	<i>Chronicon paschale</i> , ed. L. Dindorf (CSHB; Bonn, 1832)
<i>Χρον. συντ.</i>	<i>Χρονογράφιον σύντομον</i> , in Schoene, i, Appendices, cols. 59–102
Clem. Al. <i>Quis dives salvetur</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Quis dives salvetur</i> , ed. O. Stählin <i>et al.</i> (GCS 17; Berlin, 1970)
— <i>Strom.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromateis</i> , ed. and tr. M. Caster (SC 30, 38, 278, 279; Paris, 1951–81)
Cod. Alex.	Codex Alexandrinus
Cyr. Al. <i>Jul.</i>	Cyril of Alexandria, <i>Contra Julianum</i> (PG 76.509–1064)
Dexipp.	Dexippos of Athens, <i>Χρονική ιστορία</i> , in <i>FGrH</i> 100 F 1–23
Didym. <i>De Trinitate</i>	Didymos the Blind, <i>De Trinitate</i>

Abbreviations

- (bks. 1–2), ed. J. Hönscheid and I. Seiler (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 44, 52; Meisenheim am Glan, 1975)
- Didym. Chalk. *Xen. hist.* Didymos Chalkenteros, *Ἐνὴ ἱστορία*, in *Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici Alexandrini fragmenta quae supersunt omnia*, ed. M. Schmidt (Leipzig, 1854), 353–63
- Diod. Sic. Diodoros Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, ed. F. Vogel and K. T. Fischer, 3rd edn., 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1888–1906)
- Diog. Laert. *Lives* Diogenes Laertios, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, ed. H. S. Long (Oxford, 1964)
- Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Antiquitates Romanae*, ed. K. Jacoby, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–1905)
- Ἐκλ. ἱστ. Ἐκλογὴ ἱστοριῶν, ed. Cramer, *Anec. Gr. Par.* ii. 165–230
- Ἐκλ. χρ. Ἐκλογὴ τῶν χρονικῶν, ed. Cramer, *Anec. Gr. Par.* ii. 231–42
- Elias Nis. Elias of Nisibis, *Opus Chronologicum I*, tr. E. W. Brooks (CSCO 63 = *Scriptores Syri*, 23; Leuven, 1954)
- 1 *En.* *First Book of Enoch*
- 1 *En*^{Eth} Ethiopic version of the *First Book of Enoch*, ed. and tr. M. A. Knibb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978)
- 1 *En*^{Pan} Gizeh fragment of the *First Book of Enoch*, ed. M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (Leiden, 1970), 20–44
- 2 *En.* *Second Book of Enoch*, tr. F. I. Anderson, in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, i (Garden City, NY, 1983), 91–221
- Ephr. Syr. *Parad.* Ephrem Syrus, *De paradiso*, in *Hymnen De paradiso und Contra Julianum*, ed. E. Beck (CSCO 174 = *Scriptores Syri*, 78; Leuven, 1957)

Abbreviations

<i>Epigram. anthol.</i>	<i>Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova</i> , ed. F. Dübner <i>et al.</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, 1864–90)
Epiph. <i>Anc.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Ancoratus</i> , ed. K. Holl (GCS 25; Leipzig, 1915)
— <i>Pan.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Panarion</i> , ed. K. Holl (GCS 25, 31, 37; Leipzig, 1915–33)
Eunap. <i>Vit. soph.</i>	Eunapius, <i>Vitae sophistarum</i> , ed. G. Giangrande (Rome, 1956)
Eus. 1	<i>Die Chronik des Eusebius aus dem Armenischen übersetzt</i> , ed. and tr. J. Karst (GCS 20 = Eusebius Werke, 5; Leipzig, 1911), 1–143 (bk. 1 of Eusebios' chronicle)
Eus. 2	<i>Die Chronik des Hieronymus</i> , ed. R. Helm, 3rd edn. (GCS 47 = Eusebius Werke, 7; Berlin, 1984) (Jerome's Latin version of Eusebios' <i>Canons</i>)
Eus. 2 ^{Arm}	<i>Die Chronik des Eusebius aus dem Armenischen übersetzt</i> , ed. and tr. J. Karst (GCS 20 = Eusebius Werke, 5; Leipzig, 1911), 144–227 (Eusebios' <i>Canons</i> in Armenian)
Eus. <i>DE</i>	Eusebius, <i>Demonstratio evangelica</i> , ed. I. Heikel (GCS 23 = Eusebius Werke, 6; Leipzig, 1913)
— <i>HE</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , ed. and tr. G. Bardy (SC 31, 41, 55, 73; Paris, 1952–60)
— <i>Onomast.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Onomastica</i> , ed. E. Klostermann (GCS 11.1 = Eusebius Werke, 3.1; Leipzig, 1904), 2–176
— <i>PE</i>	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> , ed. and tr. J. Sirinelli <i>et al.</i> (SC 206, 215, 262, 266, 292, 307, 338, 369; Paris, 1974–91)
Ps.-Eustath. <i>Comm. Hexaem.</i>	Pseudo-Eustathios, <i>Commentarius in Hexaemeron</i> (PG 18.708–94)
Eutrop.	Eutropius, <i>Breviarium ab urbe condita</i> , ed. F. Rühl (Leipzig, 1897)
Exc. Barb.	<i>Excerpta Barbari</i> , ed. C. Frick,

Abbreviations

<i>Exc. Eus.</i>	<i>Chronica Minora</i> (Leipzig, 1892) 'Εκ τῶν τοῦ Εὐσεβίου χρονικῶν, ed. Cramer, <i>Anec. Gr. Par.</i> ii. 115–63
<i>Gen. Rab.</i>	<i>Genesis Rabbah</i> , tr. J. Neusner (Atlanta, 1985)
Georg. Mon.	Georgios Monachos, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1904); 2nd edn. with P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1978)
Greg. Naz. <i>Carm. dog.</i>	Gregory of Nazianzos, <i>Carmina dogmatica</i> (PG 37.397–522)
— <i>De filio</i>	Gregory of Nazianzos, <i>De filio</i> (<i>Oratio</i> 29), in <i>Gregor von Nazianz: Die fünf theologischen Reden</i> , ed. J. Barbel (Düsseldorf, 1963), 128–68
— <i>De theologia</i>	Gregory of Nazianzus, <i>De theologia</i> (<i>Oratio</i> 28), ed. Barbel, 62–126
Greg. Nys. <i>Mos.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Vita Mosis</i> , ed. and tr. J. Daniélou, 3rd edn. (SC 1; Paris, 1955)
Herodian	Herodian, <i>Ab excessu divi Marci</i> , ed. K. Stavenhagen (Leipzig, 1922)
Herodot.	Herodotos, <i>Historiae</i> , ed. Ph.-E. Legrand, 11 vols. (Paris, 1932–59)
Hesychios	Hesychios, <i>Lexicon</i> , ed. K. Latte, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1953–66)
Hippolyt.	Hippolytos of Rome, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. R. Helm post A. Bauer (GCS 46 = Hippolytus Werke 4; Berlin, 1955)
— <i>Comm. Dan.</i>	<i>Commentarium in Daniele</i> , ed. and tr. M. Lefèvre (SC 14; Paris, 1947)
— fr(r).	Chronological fragments, in <i>Chronica Minora</i> , ed. C. Frick (Leipzig, 1892), i. 437–55
— <i>Philosophum.</i>	<i>Philosophumena</i> (= <i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i>), ed. P. Wendland (GCS 26 = Hippolytus Werke, 3; Leipzig, 1916)
Hyg. <i>Fab.</i>	Hyginus, <i>Fabulae</i> , ed. P. K. Marshall (Stuttgart, 1993)
Iambl. <i>De myst.</i>	Iamblichos, <i>De mysteriis</i> , ed. Éd. des Places (Paris, 1966)

Abbreviations

- Il.* *Iliad*
- Iren. *Haer.* Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, ed. and tr. A. Rousseau *et al.* (SC 100, 152, 153, 210, 211, 263, 264, 293, 294; Paris, 1965–82)
- Jerome, *Comm. Hiezech.* Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV*, ed. F. Glorie (CChr Series Latina 75; Turnhout, 1964)
- *Heb. quaest.* Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in librum Geneseos*, ed. P. Antin (CChr Series Latina 72.1.1; Turnhout, 1959), 1–56
- Joh. Ant. John of Antioch, in *FHG* iv. 535–622
- Joh. Chrysost. John Chrysostom
- Joh. Dam. *De haeres.* John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* (PG 94.677–780)
- Joh. Lyd. *De mag.* John Lydus, *De magistratibus populi Romani*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig, 1903)
- Joh. Mal. John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (CSHB; Bonn, 1831)
- Joh. Philop. *De opif. mundi* John Philoponos, *De opificio mundi*, ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig, 1897)
- Jos. Ag. *Ap.* Josephos, *Against Apion*, ed. B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, 7 vols. (Berlin, 1887–95), v
- *Ant.* Josephos, *Antiquities*, ed. Niese, i–iv
- *JW* Josephos, *Jewish War*, ed. Niese, vi
- Josip. *Hypomnest.* Josippon, *Hypomnestikon*, ed. and tr. R. M. Grant and G. W. Menzies (Atlanta, 1996)
- Jub.* *The Book of Jubilees*, ed. and tr. J. C. Vanderkam (CSCO 510–11 = *Scriptores Aethiopici*, 87–8; Leuven, 1989)
- Ps.-Jul. Pol. Pseudo-Julius Pollux, *Chronicon*, ed. I. Hardt (Leipzig, 1792)
- Justin. Junianus Justinus, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, ed. O. Seel (Leipzig, 1935)

Abbreviations

- Just. Mart. 1 *Apol.* Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, ed. E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen, 1915), 26–77
- *Dial.* Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ed. E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, 90–265
- Ps.-Justin, *Cohort.* Pseudo-Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, ed. M. Marcovich (Patristische Texte und Studien, 32; Berlin and New York, 1990), 23–78
- Kedr. Georgios Kedrenos, *Compendium Historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (CSHB; Bonn, 1838–9)
- Kleonides, *Intr. harm.* Kleonides, *Introductio harmonica*, ed. H. Menge, *Euclidis opera omnia*, viii (Leipzig, 1916) 185–223
- Leo Gramm. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB; Bonn, 1842)
- Livy Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ed. W. Weissenborn and M. Mueller, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1930–3)
- Lucian, *De Syria dea* Lucian, *De Syria dea*, ed. and tr. A. M. Harmon (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1925)
- *Hist. Conscr.* Lucian, *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*, ed. and tr. K. Kilburn (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1959)
- *Peregr.* Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, ed. and tr. A. M. Harmon (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1936)
- LXX Septuagint, in *The Old Testament in Greek*, ed. A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1906–32); supplemented by *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, ed. J. Ziegler (Göttingen, 1954)
- Manetho Manetho, *Aigyptiaka*, ed. and tr. W. G. Waddell (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1940). See also *FGrH* 609 F 1–12 (F 2–3 = Synkellos and Eusebios excerpts)

Abbreviations

Metrod.	Metrodoros of Lampsakos, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 6th edn., 3 vols. (Berlin, 1951-2), ii. 49-50 (no. 61)
Mich. Glyk.	Michael Glykas, <i>Annales</i> , ed. I. Bekker (CSHB; Bonn, 1836)
Mich. Syr.	<i>Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche 1166-1199</i> , ed. and tr. J. B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899-1924; rpr. Brussels, 1963)
MT	Masoretic Text (Hebrew Bible)
b. Ned.	<i>Nedarim</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
Nikeph. Chron. synt.	Nikephoros, <i>Chronographikon syntomon</i> , in <i>Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica</i> , ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1890), 80-135
Od.	<i>Odyssey</i>
Orig.	Origen
Oros. Adv. pagan.	Paulus Orosius, <i>Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII</i> , ed. K. Zangemeister (Teubner, 1889)
Palaiph. Incredib.	Palaiphatos, <i>Περὶ ἀπίστων</i> , ed. N. Festa, <i>Mythographi Graeci</i> , iii/2 (Leipzig, 1897)
Paus.	Pausanias, <i>Graeciae descriptio</i> , ed. F. Spiro, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903)
b. Pesah.	<i>Pesahim</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
Philo, Agr.	Philo, <i>De agricultura</i> , ed. L. Cohn and P. Wendland, <i>Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt</i> , 6 vols. (Berlin, 1896-1915), ii. 90-124
— Cont.	Philo, <i>De vita contemplativa</i> , ed. Cohn and Wendland, vi. 32-50
— Flaccus	Philo, <i>In Flaccum</i> , ed. Cohn and Wendland, vi. 86-120
— Immut.	Philo, <i>Quod Deus immutabilis sit</i> , ed. Cohn and Wendland, ii. 56-89
— Leg.	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> , ed. Cohn and Wendland, vi. 121-88

Abbreviations

- *Migr. Abr.* Philo, *De migratione Abrahami*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, ii.259–306
- *Moses* Philo, *De vita Mosis*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, iv. 101–66 (bk. 1); 167–221 (bk. 2)
- *Opif.* Philo, *De opificio mundi*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, i. 1–50
- *Post. Caini* Philo, *De posteritate Caini*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, ii. 1–42
- *Quest. and Answers on Gen.* Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, tr. R. Marcus (LCL; Cambridge, MA, 1971)
- *Virt.* *De virtutibus*, ed. Cohn and Wendland, v. 223–70
- Philochor. Philochoros, *Atthis* = FGrH 328 F 1–71
- Philost. *Apollonios* Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii*, ed. C. L. Kayser (Leipzig, 1870)
- Phot. *Bibl.* Photios, *Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Henry, 9 vols. (Paris, 1959–77)
- *Lex.* Photios, *Lexicon*, ed. S. A. Naber, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1864–5)
- *Quaest. ad Amphilochoch.* Photios, *Quaestiones ad Amphilochochium*, ed. L. G. Westerink, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochochia*, iv–v (Leipzig, 1986)
- Plato, *Euthyd.* Plato, *Euthydemus*, ed. C. F. Hermann, *Platonis Dialogi*, iii (Leipzig, 1939), 89–134
- *Laws* Plato, *Laws*, ed. C. F. Hermann, *Platonis Dialogi*, v (Leipzig, 1934)
- *Tim.* Plato, *Timaeus*, ed. C. F. Hermann (Leipzig, 1925)
- Pliny, *NH* Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. C. Mayhoff, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1933)
- Plut. *Ant.* Plutarch, *Antonius*, ed. Cl. Lindskog and K. Ziegler, *Plutarchi vitae parallelae* iii/1 (2nd edn.; Leipzig, 1971), 60–148
- *Caes.* Plutarch, *Caesar*, ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, ii/2. 253–337

Abbreviations

Plut. <i>Cic.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Cicero</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, i/2. 353–420
— <i>Demetr.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, iii/1. 1–60
— <i>Paul.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paullus</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, ii/1. 184–222
— <i>Pyrrh.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Pyrrhus</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, iii/1. 153–203
— <i>Thes.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Theseus</i> , ed. Lindskog and Ziegler, i/1. 1–35
— <i>Platon. quaest.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Platonicae quaestiones</i> , ed. C. Hubert, <i>Plutarchi Moralia</i> , vi/1 (Leipzig, 1954) 113–42
— <i>Quaest. Rom.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Quaestiones Romanae</i> , ed. W. Nachstadt, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Plutarchi Moralia</i> , ii (Leipzig, 1935), 273–336
Polyaen. <i>Strat.</i>	Ioulios Polyainos, <i>Strategemata</i> , ed. E. Woelfflin and J. Melber (Leipzig, 1887)
Pomp. Trog.	Pompeius Trogus
Porph. <i>Pythagoras</i>	Porphyrrios, <i>Vita Pythagorae</i> , ed. A. Nauck, <i>Porphyrii philosophi Platonici opuscula selecta</i> , 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1886), 17–52
Prok. <i>Comm. Tim.</i>	Proklos Diadochos, <i>Commentaria in Platonis Timaeum</i> , ed. E. Diehl, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–6)
<i>Prophets</i>	<i>The Lives of the Prophets</i> , ed. and tr. C. C. Torrey (JBLMS 1; Philadelphia, 1946)
Ptol. <i>Geog.</i>	Claudius Ptolemy, <i>Geographia</i> , ed. K. F. A. Nobbe, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1843–5)
Ptol. <i>Mend.</i>	Ptolemy of Mendes, in <i>FGrH</i> 611
<i>b. Sabb.</i>	<i>Shabbat</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
<i>b. Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
<i>Seder 'Olam</i>	<i>Seder 'Olam</i> , tr. H. W. Guggenheimer (Northvale, NJ, 1998)
SHA	<i>Scriptores historiae Augustae</i> , ed. E. Hohl <i>et al.</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1971)
— <i>Aurel.</i>	SHA <i>Aurelian</i>
— <i>Car.</i>	SHA <i>Carus</i>

Abbreviations

— <i>Carac.</i>	<i>SHA Caracalla</i>
— <i>Claud.</i>	<i>SHA Claudius</i>
— <i>Gall.</i>	<i>SHA Gallienus (I)</i>
— <i>Macr.</i>	<i>SHA Macrinus</i>
— <i>Nig.</i>	<i>SHA Niger</i>
— <i>Sev.</i>	<i>SHA Severus</i>
— <i>Tyrann.</i>	<i>SHA Tyranni triginta</i>
— <i>Valer.</i>	<i>SHA Valerian</i>
Sozom. <i>HE</i>	Sozomen, <i>Histoire ecclésiastique</i> , ed. and tr. J. Bidez and A.-J. Festugière (SC 306, 418; Paris, 1983)
Strabo	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i> , ed. A. Meineke, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1898–1903)
<i>Suda</i>	<i>Suidae lexicon</i> , ed. A. Adler, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–38)
Suet. <i>Claud.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> , ed. M. Ihm, <i>De vita Caesarum</i> (Leipzig, 1907–8)
— <i>Ner.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Nero</i>
— <i>Tib.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i>
— <i>Vesp.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Vespasian</i>
Sulp. Sev.	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Chronica</i> , ed. C. Halm (CSEL 1; Vienna, 1866), 1–105
Ps.-Sym.	Pseudo-Symeon (= Parisinus Gr. 1712)
Tac. <i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> , ed. C. Halm <i>et al.</i> (Leipzig, 1934)
— <i>Hist.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i> , ed. E. Klostermann (Leipzig, 1950)
Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum pseudo-Jonathan
Tg. Onk.	Targum Onkelos
Tat. <i>Orat.</i>	Tatian, <i>Oratio ad Graecos</i> , ed. and tr. M. Whittaker (Oxford, 1982)
Tert. <i>Adv. Iud.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Adversus Iudaeos</i> , ed. A. Kroymann (CChr Series Latina 2; Turnhout, 1954), 1337–96
— <i>Apol.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Apology</i> , ed. H. Hoppe (CSEL 69; Vienna, 1939)
<i>T. 12 Patr.</i>	<i>The Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs</i> , tr. H. C. Kee, in <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , ed. Charlesworth, i. 775–828

Abbreviations

Theod. Mel.	Theodosios Melitenos, <i>Chronographia</i> , ed. L. Tafel (Munich, 1859)
Theodoret. <i>Quaest. Gen.</i>	Theodoret, <i>Quaestiones in Genesin</i> , ed. N. Fernández Marcos and A. Sáenz-Badillos, <i>Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Octateuchum</i> (Testos y Estudios 17; Madrid, 1979)
Theophan.	Theophanes, <i>Chronographia</i> , ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1893)
Theoph. Ant.	Theophilos of Antioch, <i>Ad Autolyicum</i> , ed. and tr. G. Bardy and J. Sender (SC 20; Paris, 1948)
Theopompos	Theopompos of Chios, in <i>FGrH</i> 115 F 1-411
Thuc.	Thucydides, <i>Peloponnesian War</i> , ed. H. S. Jones and J. E. Powell (Oxford, 1942)
Xen. <i>Anab.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> , ed. E. C. Marchant (Oxford, 1904)
Zon.	John Zonaras, <i>Epitome Historiarum</i> , ed. L. Dindorf, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1868-75)

III. Modern Studies and Collections

Adler, <i>Time Immemorial</i>	W. Adler, <i>Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus</i> (DOS 26; Washington, DC, 1989)
Bauer, <i>Die Chronik</i>	A. Bauer, <i>Die Chronik des Hippolytos</i> (TU 29 = NF 14; 1905-6)
Berthelot, <i>Alchimistes grecs</i>	M. P. E. Berthelot (ed. and tr. with Ch.-E. Ruelle), <i>Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, 1887-8)
Bredow, 'Dissertatio'	G. G. Bredow, 'Dissertatio de Georgii Syncelli Chronographia', in Dindorf ii. 3-49
Burstein, <i>Babyloniaca</i>	S. Burstein (tr.), <i>The Babyloniaca of Berossus</i> (Malibu, 1978)
Cameron, 'Sassanians'	A. Cameron, 'Agathias on the Sassanians', <i>DOP</i> 23-4 (1969-70), 67-183

Abbreviations

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| Charles, <i>Enoch</i> | R. H. Charles (tr.), <i>The Book of Enoch</i> (Oxford, 1912) |
| Cumont–Bidez, <i>Les Mages</i> | F. Cumont and J. Bidez, <i>Les Mages hellénisés</i> (Paris, 1938) |
| Dindorf | W. Dindorf (ed.), <i>Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus CP.</i> , 2 vols. (CSHB; Bonn, 1829) |
| Festugière, <i>Révélation</i> | A.-J. Festugière, <i>La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste</i> (Paris, 1949) |
| Fowden, <i>Hermes</i> | G. Fowden, <i>The Egyptian Hermes</i> (Cambridge, 1986) |
| Fraidl, <i>Siebzig Wochen</i> | F. Fraidl, <i>Die Exegese der siebzig Wochen in der alten und mittleren Zeit</i> (Graz, 1883) |
| Freudenthal, <i>Alexander Polyhistor</i> | J. Freudenthal, <i>Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke</i> (Hellenistische Studien, Hefte 1–2; Breslau, 1875) |
| Gelzer | H. Gelzer, <i>Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie</i> (Leipzig, 1880–98; rpr. New York, 1967) |
| Ginzberg, <i>Legends</i> | L. Ginzberg, <i>Legends of the Jews</i> , 7 vols. (Philadelphia, 1925) |
| Ginzel, <i>Chronologie</i> | F. K. Ginzel, <i>Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1906–14) |
| Grumel, <i>La Chronologie</i> | V. Grumel, <i>La Chronologie</i> (Traité d'Études Byzantines, 1; Paris, 1958) |
| Gutschmid,
'Untersuchungen' | A. von Gutschmid,
'Untersuchungen über den Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς und andere Bearbeitungen der Mosaischen Völkertafel', <i>Kleine Schriften</i> , ed. F. Rühl (Leipzig, 1894), v. 585–717 |
| Halma, <i>Tables manuelles</i> | M. Halma, <i>Tables manuelles astronomiques de Ptolémée et de Théon</i> (Paris, 1823) |
| Huxley, 'Erudition of Synkellos' | G. L. Huxley, 'On the Erudition of George the Synkellos', <i>Proceedings</i> |

Abbreviations

- of the Royal Irish Academy, 81^c/6
(1981), 207–17
- Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*
(Philologische Untersuchungen 16;
Berlin, 1902)
- Laqueur, 'Manethon' R. Laqueur, 'Manethon (1)', *RE*
xiv/1 (1928), 1059–101
- 'Synkellos' R. Laqueur, 'Synkellos (1)', *RE* ivA/2
(1932), 1388–410
- Leopardi, *Scr. fil.* Giacomo Leopardi, *Scritti filologici*
(1817–1832), ed. Giuseppe Pacella
and Sebastiano Timpanaro
(Florence, 1969)
- Mango, 'Theophanes' C. Mango, 'Who Wrote the
Chronicle of Theophanes?', *ZRVI*
18 (1978), 9–17
- Mango–Scott C. Mango and R. Scott (trs.), *The*
Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor
(Oxford, 1997)
- Milik, *Books of Enoch* J. T. Milik (ed.), *The Books of Enoch*
(Oxford, 1976)
- Mosshammer A. A. Mosshammer (ed.), *Georgii*
Syncelli Ecloga chronographica
(Leipzig, 1984)
- Neugebauer, *HAMA* O. Neugebauer, *A History of*
Ancient Mathematical Astronomy,
3 vols. (Berlin, New York, 1975)
- Petit, *La Chaîne* Fr. Petit (ed.), *La Chaîne sur la*
Genèse, 4 vols. (Leuven, 1991–6)
- Rönsch, *Jubiläen* H. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*
(Leipzig, 1874; rpr. Amsterdam,
1970)
- Routh M. J. Routh (ed.), *Reliquiae sacrae*,
ii (Oxford, 1846), 225–309
(fragments from the *Chrono-*
graphiae of Julius Africanus)
- Scal. *Thesaurus temporum*, 2 vols.
(Leiden, 1606; rpr. Osnabrück, 1968)
- Schnabel, *Berosos* P. Schnabel, *Berosos und die baby-*
lonisch-hellenistische Literatur
(Leipzig, 1923; rpr. Hildesheim,
1968)

Abbreviations

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| Schoene | Alfred Schoene (ed.), <i>Eusebi chronicorum libri duo</i> , 2 vols. (Dublin and Zurich, 1875) |
| Schürer, <i>Hist. of the Jewish People</i> | E. Schürer, <i>History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ</i> , tr. J. Macpherson (Edinburgh, 1890) |
| Schwartz, 'Apollodoros' | E. Schwartz, 'Apollodoros', <i>RE</i> i/2, 2855–66 |
| — <i>Die Königslisten</i> | E. Schwartz, <i>Die Königslisten des Eratosthenes und Kastor, mit Excursen über die Interpolationem bei Africanus und Eusebios</i> (Göttingen, 1894) |
| Scott, <i>Hermetica</i> | W. Scott (ed. and tr.), <i>Hermetica</i> , 4 vols. (Oxford, 1936) |
| Serruys, 'Les Canons' | D. Serruys, 'Les Canons d'Eusèbe, d'Annianos et d'Andronicus d'après Élie de Nisibe', <i>BZ</i> 22 (1913), 1–36 |
| — 'Les transformations' | D. Serruys, 'Les transformations de l'aera alexandrina minor', <i>RPh</i> , NS 31 (1907), 251–64 |
| Ševčenko, 'The Search for the Past' | I. Ševčenko, 'The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800', <i>DOP</i> 46 (1992), 279–93 |
| Sirinelli, <i>Les Vues historiques</i> | J. Sirinelli, <i>Les Vues historiques d'Eusèbe de Césarée durant la période prénicéene</i> (Publications de la section de langues et littératures 10; Dakar, 1961) |
| Trieber, 'Africanus' | C. Trieber, 'Die Chronologie des Julius Africanus', <i>Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft</i> (Göttingen, 1880), 49–75 |
| Unger, <i>Manetho</i> | G. F. Unger, <i>Chronologie des Manetho</i> (Berlin, 1867) |
| Vailhé, 'Monastères' | S. Vailhé, 'Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine', <i>ROC</i> 4 (1899), 512–42 |
| Wachsmuth, <i>Einleitung</i> | C. Wachsmuth, <i>Einleitung in das Studium der Alten Geschichte</i> (Leipzig, 1895) |

Abbreviations

iv. Conventional Symbols and Abbreviations

[]	text inserted by translators where the meaning would otherwise be unintelligible
< >	text inserted by Mosshammer
< * >	textual lacuna
{ }	text designated by Mosshammer as misplaced or doubtful
ooo]	page numbers from Mosshammer's edition (inserted in margin of translation)
a.Abr.	<i>anno Abraham</i>
a.Ad.	<i>anno Adam</i>
AM	<i>anno mundi</i>
AS	<i>anno Seleuci</i>
Di.	textual emendations suggested by Dindorf
fr(r).	fragments
Go.	Readings of Jacob Goar in apparatus of Dindorf's edition
Go. <i>Emend.</i>	textual emendations suggested by Jacob Goar, <i>Emendationes et Annotationes</i> (in Dindorf ii. 335–560)
Go. ^m	conjectures of Jacob Goar in the margin of Dindorf's edition
Moss.	A. A. Mosshammer (ed.), <i>Georgius Syncellus. Ecloga Chronographica</i> (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984)
Ol.	Olympiad
Scal.	textual emendations by Joseph Scaliger
Synk.	George Synkellos

v. Sigla

A	Codex Parisinus Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1711 (11th century)
B	Codex Parisinus Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1764 (11th century)
C	Codex Parisinus Bibl. Nat. Coislinianus 133 (12th century)

Abbreviations

M	Codex Monacensis 391 (16th century)
O	Codex Oxoniensis Aed. Christi Wake 5 (9th century)
P	Codex Vaticanus Palatinus 395 (16th century)
Q	Codex Vaticanus Gr. 979 (16th century)
R	Codex Romanus Vallicellianus 92 (16th century)
S	Codex Basiliensis 82 (16th century)
T	Codex Vaticanus Gr. 154 (12th century)
V	Codex Vaticanus Gr. 155 (9th/10th century)
t	archetype of x and z
x	consensus of COTV
z	archetype of P, from the latter of which MQRS are descended

Introduction

Among the many Byzantine universal chronicles, the chronicle of George Synkellos (hereafter Synkellos) was widely praised for its scope, accuracy, and wealth of source material. From several statements in the chronicle, we may assume that Synkellos commenced the project *c.*AD 808 and continued work on it at least up to the year AD 810.¹ *Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας*, the title provided by MS A, is a somewhat misleading description of a work with greater ambitions than the simple compilation of chronographic excerpts.² Two objectives guided Synkellos' work. The first was to confirm what in his mind was a fundamental article of Christian chronography, namely Christ's Incarnation at the beginning of AM 5501 and his Resurrection in AM 5534, both on 25 March, the same day as the day of creation.³ The second was to compose a running history up to his own day. Because of his death, this second goal went unrealized, and it was left to his successor Theophanes Confessor to complete the work from the reign of Diocletian (285) up to Theophanes' own day (813).⁴ The final product was a work of impressive size and erudition. Together with its continuation by Theophanes, Synkellos' chronicle has been justly characterized as the 'greatest achievement of Byzantine historical scholarship'.⁵

According to both Theophanes and the superscription to the chronicle, the author served in Constantinople as the synkellos to the patriarch Tarasios (784–806). The principal source of

¹ Despite Synkellos' initial expectation to complete the chronicle within a year, he continued work on it well beyond that time. See Synk. 2.32; 6.12. There the author states his intention to cover the period from the creation up to the year 6300 (= AD 808). But cf. Synk. 2.29, where he promises to 'make known whatever notable events took place in the intervening period of time involving nations and kingdoms in the succeeding 802 years (from Christ's birth)'; see also 244.31, which refers to 6302 as the 'current year'.

² Synkellos' own description of the work is variously *χρονογραφία* (100.28), *χρονογραφεῖον* (91.12; 94.1; 96.13), or *χρονογράφιον* (396.2).

³ Synk. 1.21–2.2; 2.26–32; 376.26–377.6; 381.5–10; 397.13–19. On Synkellos' dating of the Incarnation and Resurrection, see below, p. xlvi.

⁴ In the preface to his continuation, Theophanes states that Synkellos 'was overtaken by the end of his life and was unable to bring his plan to completion, but . . . had carried his composition down to Diocletian when he left this earthly life and migrated unto the Lord'; tr. Mango–Scott, 1. On Theophanes' relationship with Synkellos see *ibid.*, pp. xliii–lxiii; Mango, 'Theophanes'; and below, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii. In this latter article (14), Mango argues that Synkellos was still alive as late as 813.

⁵ Mango, 'Theophanes', 17.

information about his life before his elevation to synkellos. is Anastasius Bibliothecarius. In the preface to his Latin translation of the chronicle, he states that Synkellos, a tireless crusader against the heretics, was rewarded with this office in recognition of the constancy of his faith and the numerous bodily afflictions that he suffered from rulers 'who raged against the rite of the Church'.⁶ On only rare occasions in his chronicle does Synkellos himself speak about personal experiences and travels. He recalls having tasted manna when it was brought back from Parthia.⁷ Dispersed throughout his lengthy account of the Exodus are a handful of reminiscences about his travels in and around Palestine. He mentions here a trip taken from Kades Barne up to the valley of Zareth, which required less than five days.⁸ He also describes witnessing grain being harvested at the vernal equinox in Jericho.⁹ A statement by the author about having seen the tomb of Rachel on frequent journeys to Bethlehem and the Old Lavra of St Chariton raises the likelihood of extended stays in this monastery.¹⁰ But his connection with the monastery remains uncertain.

I. SYNKELLOS AND THE CHRISTIAN CHRONOGRAPHIC TRADITION

When a copy of Synkellos' chronicle was first made known in Europe in the sixteenth century, scholars immediately recognized the value of his work as a witness to ancient source material at the time either entirely unknown or poorly attested elsewhere. This was especially true of the earlier part of Synkellos' chronicle, a segment of the work marked by copious citations from Babylonian and Egyptian antiquities, and various Jewish extra-biblical sources

⁶ Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1885), ii. 34. Anastasius' assertion that Synkellos was commended by the Roman legates at the Seventh Oecumenical Council probably arises from a misidentification of George Synkellos with George of Cyprus. Because of this confusion, Mango-Scott (p. xliii) express some distrust of Anastasius' claims about Synkellos' struggles against heresy; see also Gelzer ii. 177-8.

⁷ Synk. 150.17-19.

⁸ Synk. 165.15-19.

⁹ Synk. 168.12-16. Other evidence produced by Huxley, 'Erudition of Synkellos', 215, in support of Synkellos' knowledge of and travels in Palestine is misleading. The descriptions of the marvellous properties of the Dead Sea (114.1-24) and the terebinth tree at Shechem (123.13-21) are derived from Julius Africanus, who, like Synkellos, spent considerable time in Palestine.

¹⁰ Synk. 122.20-2. The monastery was located between Teqo'a and the Dead Sea. See Mango-Scott, p. xliii. On the Lavra of St Chariton, see also Vailhé, 'Monastères', ROC 4 (1899), 524-5.

from the time of the Second Temple.¹¹ Synkellos' chronicle also proved to be an invaluable guide in reconstructing the origins and development of Christian chronography. Much of Synkellos' work is devoted to the exposition and critique of his predecessors, chief among them Julius Africanus (c.160–240), Eusebios of Caesarea, and his Alexandrian authorities, the monks Panodoros and Annianos (early fifth century). Because Synkellos views himself as part of an established tradition, it is necessary to speak briefly here about the state of the discipline before his time.

The surviving fragments of the chronicle of Julius Africanus (mainly preserved by Synkellos) reveal a work governed by rigidly dogmatic principles.¹² For Africanus, the past was not an isolated or random series of events, upon which the historian had to impose order and meaning. The primary task of the Christian historian was, rather, to uncover the plan of a providential mind governing the course of time from the very beginning of creation. According to this plan, the whole train of human history conformed to the design of creation. Just as God required six days to create the universe and rested on the seventh day, so would the world run its course in six millennia, to be followed by a thousand years of rest. Fascination with mathematical symmetry and numerical symbolism permeates Africanus' chronicle. By Africanus' calculations, the date of Christ's Incarnation occurred in the year 5500, precisely halfway through the sixth millennium.¹³ Methuselah, the eighth biblical patriarch, symbolized the 'transmundane (*ὑπερκόσμιον*)' number that is to follow the world-week of seven millennia. The 31-year difference between the 969 years of Methuselah's life and the year 1000, 'the primary and complete period of time', foreshadowed the 31 years of Jesus' life.¹⁴ And the death of the patriarch Phalek, reflecting the meaning of his Hebrew name (Peleg = 'division'), occurred in the year 3000, the exact midpoint in the 6000 years of human history.¹⁵

A work arranged according to these principles tolerated little room for uncertainty about the past. It is true that on a few occasions Africanus allowed for difficulties in interpretation. The rule of the elders and judges of Israel, he acknowledges, poses

¹¹ For discussion, see Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 5–8, 10–14.

¹² For a collection of excerpts from Africanus' chronicle, see Routh, whose work should be supplemented by the material assembled in Gelzer, vol. i. For recent discussion of Africanus as historian, see O. Andrei, 'La formazione di un modulo storiografico cristiano: dall'esamerone cosmico alle "Chronographiae" di Giulio Africano', *Aevum* 69 (1995), 147–70.

¹³ See Gelzer i. 24–6.

¹⁴ Cited in Synk. 21.1–8.

¹⁵ In Synk. 97.11. See Gelzer i. 66–7.

intractable chronological problems, not readily solved.¹⁶ And after an exhaustive and intricate discussion of Dan. 9.24-7, Africanus admits that the 'somewhat symbolic' language of the prophecy discouraged absolute confidence about its meaning.¹⁷ But these were interpretative matters that in no way cast doubt on the reliability of scripture itself. For this reason, Africanus resisted the tendency, commonplace among Greek chronographers, to consign the remote (or even not so remote) past to the chronologically indeterminate. The 5500 years from Adam to Christ's birth were, he writes, an immutable and inerrant datum, revealed through Moses and the remaining books of the Hebrew Bible.¹⁸ Knowledge about even the most ancient events in the biblical record was thus no less possible than that for more recent history.

Insofar as Africanus' system did not allow for much deviation from a predetermined set of principles, his chronicle was marked by a certain parochialism in approach. Africanus knew that the Babylonians, Phoenicians, and Egyptians boasted of a continuous chronology of their past stretching back thousands of years. But their records were a mass of absurdities, wildly discordant with biblical chronology and thus undeserving of any serious attention.¹⁹ Nor was there any need to expend undue effort integrating Greek chronology into his record of events. Because Greek historical records before the introduction of the Olympiads were in complete disarray, 'the most celebrated of the mythical histories down to the 1st Olympiad', he writes, warranted only the most cursory treatment. Even for later events, Africanus had at best a secondary interest in Greek chronology. For Greek history after the 1st Olympiad, Africanus writes, 'I shall combine together in chronological order each to each, the Hebrew with the Greek, carefully examining (*ἐξιστορῶν*) the Hebrew and touching upon (*ἐφαπτόμενος*) the Greek.'²⁰ At least in the normally understood sense of the word, Africanus' chronicle was thus not really a 'universal' chronicle at all.

Despite Eusebios' generally respectful treatment of his predecessor's chronicle (a work that he once praises as a monument of industry and accuracy²¹), Eusebios felt in no way constrained by the standards set by it. What Eusebios considered his most important finding—his dating of Moses—was also a sharp departure from convention. Eusebios was aware that worthy historians, Africanus, Clement, and Tatian among them, agreed that Moses was a con-

¹⁶ In Synk. 204.8-9.

¹⁸ In Synk. 18.5-10.

²⁰ In Eus. *PE* 10.10.2.

¹⁷ In Synk. 393.7-8.

¹⁹ In Synk. 17.30-18.5.

²¹ Eus. *HE* 6.31.2.

