

FROM THE MANY, ONE? THE SHARED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *CHRONICLE* OF THEOPHANES AND THE *CHRONOGRAPHY* OF SYNKELLOS*

by Jesse W. TORGERSON

What did George Synkellos (died ca. 810) have to do with the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor (completed ca. 814)?¹ Quite a lot, according to the current scholarly consensus. Research on the *Chronicle* of Theophanes has long since established that the relationship between author and text is much more complicated than the clear paternity implied by “of Theophanes.” The question is no longer *whether* Synkellos should also be considered an author, but *to what extent*.

At the risk of oversimplification, arguments on the issue now tend to focus on either the direct or the indirect evidence found in the *Chronicle*: both continue to generate hypotheses. By “indirect evidence” I refer to decades of collaborative and painstaking efforts to track down the origins of unattributed quotations, as well as to analyze the style, diction, and syntax of countless individual passages. Scholars taking this approach to the question of authorship have—by and large—concluded that the *Chronicle* was at least partially compiled by someone other than Theophanes. Synkellos himself likely wrote significant portions, though it is difficult to establish consensus on any particular passage.² Interpretation of the direct evidence is no less fraught. Theophanes stated in

* I would like to thank the organizers of the colloquium for their foresight and initiative as well as for their encouragement and feedback. My footnotes only partially reflect my particular indebtedness to Filippo Ronconi, whose recent publications did so much to clarify my thinking prior to the conference, and whose subsequent generosity with feedback has greatly improved the piece and saved me from a number of errors. I trust that those which remain will be attributed to nothing but my own limitations.

1. If Cyril MANGO’s field-changing discussion began with the question “Who wrote the *Chronicle* of Theophanes?”, by the end of his article it was clear that the nature of Synkellos’ role as author, co-author, or editor would be the predominant issue for subsequent investigations.

2. After Mango’s article, some fundamental studies continued to move the debate forward including: P. SPECK’s *Das geteilte Dossier : Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Bonn 1988; and, ROCHOW’s *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert*. Particularly relevant in the late Professor SPECK’s *Kaiser Leon III., die Geschichtswerke des Nikephoros und des Theophanes und der Liber Pontificalis : eine quellenkritische*

his “Preface” that he assembled the *Chronicle* at the dying request of George Synkellos, who was unable to complete his great *Chronography*. Nevertheless, Theophanes used an ambiguous word—ἀφορμαί—to describe what Synkellos bequeathed him to help with the task.³ Did Synkellos hand Theophanes a “file box” of loose notes, did he give him a mostly-written text to lightly edit, or something else entirely?⁴

In all of this the authorship of the *Chronicle* has remained the predominant concern, with investigations proceeding along the well-worn track of the two authors’ relationship to the one text, the *Chronicle*. The conversation has yet to be formulated in a way that shifts the emphasis away from Theophanes to Synkellos, despite the unquestioned fact that the *Chronicle*—whoever wrote it—was the continuation of George Synkellos’ *Chronography*, and despite the consensus hypothesis that Synkellos’ personal contribution to the text of the *Chronicle* was significant. The present article leaves in suspense the contentious issue of authorship—if only for a moment—to address these issues by posing a different question: one of presentation, reception, and the circulation of the texts in their manuscript codices. What did the *Chronography* of George Synkellos have to do with the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor in physical, material terms?

There is a precedent for suggesting the two texts’ manuscripts have something to do with each other. Alden Mosshammer, editor of the most recent critical edition of Synkellos’ *Chronography*, identified an inhibition in describing the transmission of the *Chronography* along the usual lines, as the gradual corruption of the authorial “Ur-text.” In his consideration of the manuscript evidence, Mosshammer arrived at the idea that the *Chronography* originally circulated in two parts or in two different forms.⁵ Mosshammer depicted this in his stemma as a separation between a “G1” and a “G2” branch of manuscripts:

Untersuchung, Bonn 2002–3, are: the table comparing the accounts in Theophanes’ chronicle to the chronicle of Nikephoros I (pp. 49–59); and, a final essay on whether a first (or second) “Dossier” of Synkellos lies behind the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (pp. 375–6). See now P. YANNOPOULOS’ definitive assessment of the question in *Theophane de Sığriani, le confesseur : 759-818 : un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme*, Bruxelles 2013, especially, pp. 213–73. On the possibility of identifying Theophanes’ and Synkellos’ “eastern source” for the *Chronicle*’s material concerning the regions of Syria and Palestine, see the contributions to the present volume by M. CONTERNO, M. DEBIÉ, and R. HOYLAND.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου τοῦτον κατέλαβε καὶ εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκοπὸν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ, καθὼς προέφημεν, μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ συγγραψάμενος τὸν τῆδε βίον κατέλιπε καὶ πρὸς κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν ἐν ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει, ἡμῖν, ὡς γνησίοις φίλοις, τὴν τε βίβλον ἣν συνέταξε καταλέλοιπε καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι (C. de Boor, p. 3).

Since, however, [Synkellos] was overtaken by the end of his life and was unable to bring his plan to completion but, as I have said, had carried his composition down to Diocletian when he left this earthly life and migrated unto the Lord (being in the Orthodox faith), he both bequeathed to me—who was his close friend—the book he had written and provided materials with a view to completing what was missing (MANGO – SCOTT, p. 1).

4. For the most up-to-date discussions and bibliography see the contributions of A. KOMPA and W. TREADGOLD in the present volume, and W. TREADGOLD’s “George Synkellos” in his *Middle Byzantine historians*, Basingstoke 2013, pp. 38–77. I offer sincere thanks for Professor Treadgold’s generosity in sharing his chapter in advance of publication.

5. Georg. Sync., Praefatio, 4, p. lxxvii.

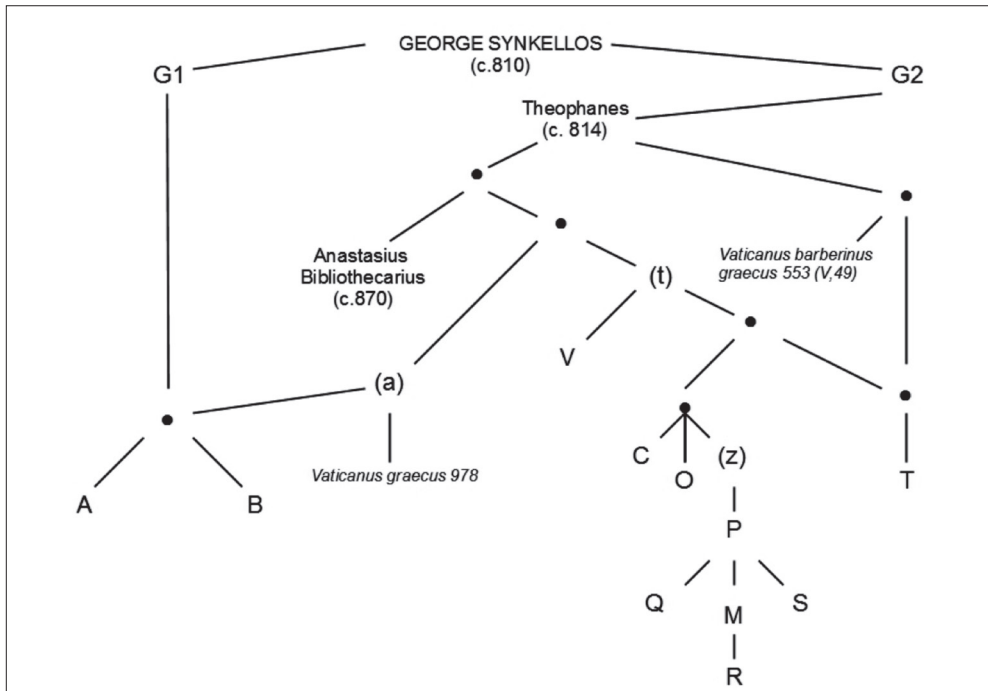


Fig. 1 – Stemma of surviving manuscripts of the *Chronography* of George Synkellos.
Re-drawn by the author on the basis of:
Georg. Sync., pp. xv & xviii.

The manuscripts of Mosshammer’s “G1” branch contain the entire *Chronography* and so were accorded superiority even though they are not the earliest copies. Most of the manuscripts in the “G2” branch are closer in time to the original. Unfortunately these earlier manuscripts contain only the latter portion of the *Chronography*. As in Figure 1, Mosshammer noted a further complication: the portion of the *Chronography* in the “G2” manuscripts was often accompanied by the *Chronicle* of Theophanes.⁶ Thus, Mosshammer’s reconstruction of the relationships between the surviving manuscripts seems to suggest that the manuscript tradition of Synkellos’ *Chronography* is fundamentally “Theophanic.”

Studies of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes have not made a corresponding gesture. Though Mosshammer published his edition in 1984, it has remained unclear whether, and to what extent, the manuscript tradition of Theophanes’ *Chronicle* is similarly “Synkellan.” That is, though Cyril Mango and Roger Scott did account for additional manuscript findings between de Boor’s critical edition (1883) and their critical translation of the *Chronicle* (1997), Synkellos’ *Chronography* remains completely absent from the *Chronicle*’s updated stemma:

6. Note that by placing the node “Theophanes” directly under “G2” in the stemma Mosshammer only meant to indicate that all copies under the “G2” stemma of the *Chronography* also contained the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, but not the inverse (that all copies of the *Chronicle* contain the *Chronography*).

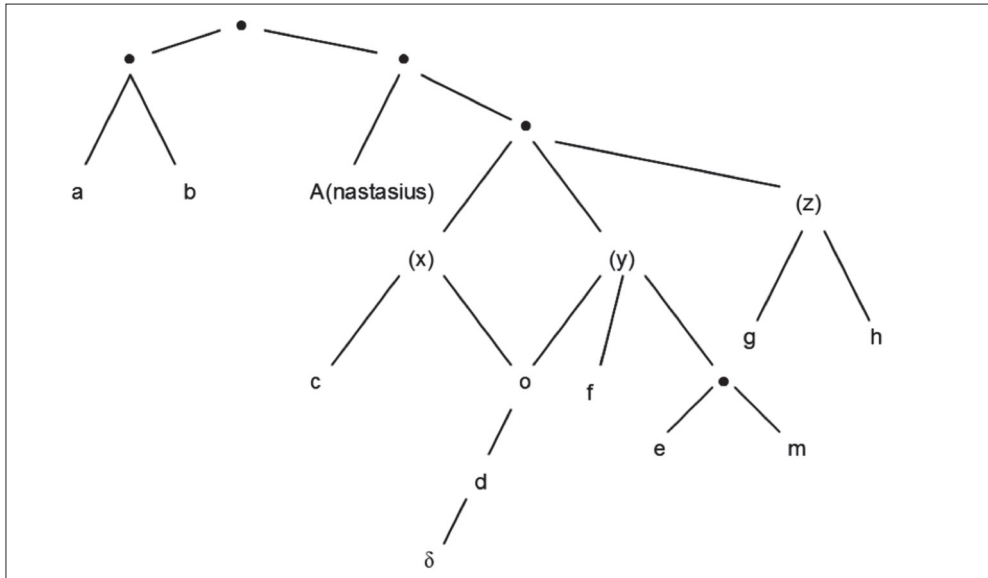


Fig. 2 – Stemma of surviving manuscripts of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor.
Re-drawn by the author from: MANGO – SCOTT, p. xcvi.

Nevertheless, though this stemma of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes makes no mention of the *Chronography* of Synkellos, it is a fact that the majority of the medieval manuscripts are common to both texts. Mosshammer’s “A” (fig. 1) and de Boor’s “g” (fig. 2) in truth represent the same manuscript, *Paris. gr.* 1711. Likewise: “O” and “o” represent *Wake Greek* 5; “V” and “c” represent *Vaticanus gr.* 155; “T” and “b” represent *Vaticanus graecus* 154; and, “C” and “f” represent *Paris. Coislin gr.* 133. Only Mosshammer’s “B” (*Paris. gr.* 1764), de Boor’s “d” (*Paris. gr.* 1710), and his “h” (*Vaticanus gr.* 978) indicate medieval manuscripts containing one of the texts without the other.⁷

In what follows I will first scrutinize the strongest material evidence *against* Mosshammer’s idea that a portion of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle* originally circulated in the same codices. This evidence consists of Mosshammer’s “G1” branch, the two “complete” but less ancient manuscripts containing the *Chronography* of Synkellos, from the Creation (AM 1) to Diocletian (AM 5776, that is 283/4 AD): *Paris. gr.* 1711 (s. 11) and *Paris. gr.* 1764 (s. 10).

7. See Table 1, below. Mosshammer included *Vat. gr.* 978 in his stemma though without a siglum; see the discussion below, pp. 113–5. The remaining sigla indicate manuscripts that I have excluded from the following discussion because—as the stemmata point out—they are late copies of earlier manuscripts that have survived. These MSS are:

P/e	=	<i>Vat. Pal. gr.</i> 395	(s. 16)	R	=	<i>Rom. Vallic.</i> 92	(s. 16)
M/m	=	<i>Monacensis gr.</i> 391	(s. 16)	S	=	<i>Basiliensis</i> 82	(s. 16)
Q	=	<i>Vat. gr.</i> 979	(an. 1571)	a	=	<i>Vat. Barb.</i> 553 (V,49)	(s. 16)
δ	=	<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1709	(s. 16)				

If we turn to these two “complete” *Chronography* manuscripts, we are immediately confronted with the fact that the manuscript *Paris. gr.* 1711 presents a unique and contradictory case. The manuscript is both Mosshammer’s “A” and de Boor’s “g;” it is the only manuscript to contain the entire universal chronicle of Synkellos and Theophanes from AM I to AM 6305 (that is, AD 812/813).⁸ It has also been shown to have undergone a number of alterations. Filippo Ronconi recently subjected the manuscript to a rigorous examination and found a complex and multi-layered history of editing and reconstitution in its palaeography, stratigraphy, and codicology.⁹ Ronconi concluded that the evidence of this manuscript—however fascinating—testifies to the interests of its copyists and editors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but can offer little that is certain about the original codicology of the earliest exemplars.¹⁰ Given the focus of the present investigation, it seems most prudent to me to abstain from using this manuscript as the basis for any definitive conclusions regarding the original codicological context of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*.

On the other hand, *Paris. gr.* 1764 presents the entire *Chronography* apart from any other text, as a single whole, alone and in a single manuscript codex. Thus, it is in truth *Paris. gr.* 1764 alone which stands in direct opposition to Mosshammer’s proposal that the latter portion of the *Chronography* first circulated with the *Chronicle* of Theophanes. In order to progress towards an answer concerning the true degree of overlap between the manuscript traditions of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*, we must clarify the nature of Mosshammer’s proposal. What are the “two parts” of Synkellos’ *Chronography*? Exactly how pervasive in the manuscript tradition is the division, and was the division original to the author and the authorial exemplar?

I. A DIVISION IN THE *CHRONOGRAPHY* OF SYNKELLOS?

First, let us define the *Chronography* of Synkellos in a way that allows us to speak coherently about the division noticed by Alden Mosshammer. Synkellos wrote (or compiled) his text between AD 808 and AD 810.¹¹ All told, Synkellos managed to cover the years of the world AM 1-5777.¹² That is, Synkellos completed an account of the passage

8. Thus, as a codex, *Paris. gr.* 1711 reflects Synkellos’ original plan for a chronography that stretched from the Creation of the world to the early ninth century.

9. F. RONCONI, Juxtaposition/assemblage de textes et histoire de la tradition : le cas du Par. Gr. 1711, in *The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon : three hundred years of studies on Greek handwriting*, ed. by A. Bravo García, I. Pérez Martín and J. Signes-Codoñer, Turnhout 2010, pp. 503–20, 900–2.

10. At least part of the rationale that led to its current state is fairly apparent. The manuscript presents, in succession, the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*, along with the text of the Scriptor Incertus and the *Chronicle* of Symeon the Logothete. Together these texts constitute a single continuous universal chronicle of nearly 6,500 years of the history of the world, from the Creation—the ἀρχή—to the mid-tenth century. This is a common theme among the later medieval copies of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*. For instance, see below pp. 115–6, concerning *Vat. gr.* 154.

11. The dates of composition were deduced from some of Synkellos’ asides by R. LAQUEUR, Synkellos, in *RE*, col. 1398. The passages in question can be found at: Georg. Sync., pp. 2 and 6 and ADLER – TUFFIN, pp. 3 and 8. Henceforward the edition and translation of Synkellos’ *Chronography* will be cited as: M 3 / AT 2 with “M” referring to MOSSHAMMER and “AT” to ADLER – TUFFIN.

12. Though Synkellos of course reckoned by Κόσμου ἔτη, scholarly convention demands the use of “AM” for the Latin ANNO MUNDI.

of time from the Creation until Diocletian's accession in AD 284 before handing over what remained to Theophanes.

Mosshammer noted a division within Synkellos' incomplete *Chronography* in his 1984 critical edition, *Ecloga Chronographica*. The division in the edition separates approximately eighty percent of the *Chronography*—from the Creation of the World in AM 1 to the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey in AM 5434 (63 BC)—from the portion that followed—the account of the Roman Empire, the life of Christ, and the early Christian Church (AM 5434 – AM 5777). This division was intended to reflect the fact already noted: both the earliest of the surviving manuscripts, and the majority of them, contain *only* the latter portion of the *Chronography*, the portion following from AM 5434. These manuscripts introduced their incomplete, concluding portion of the *Chronography* with a short preface, duly printed by Mosshammer:

*The treatise (that is, chronography), of George, the most devout monk and Synkellos of Tarasios the most holy archbishop of Constantinople, in the form of an epitome from Julius Caesar's reign over the Romans, AM 5434, up to the first year of the reign of Diocletian, AM 5777, totaling 343 years.*¹³

For the sake of maintaining clarity over the course of the following analysis, from this point forward I will delineate these two portions of the text of the *Chronography* by distinct titles:

Chronographia1 = AM 1 (Creation) – AM 5434 (Pompey in Jerusalem, 63 BC)
Chronographia2 = AM 5434 – AM 5777 (Diocletian's accession, AD 284)

As has already been stated, Mosshammer—who was later followed by the *Chronography*'s translators William Adler and Paul Tuffin¹⁴—suggested that the text was *physically partitioned* in this way. Evidence from the manuscripts led Mosshammer to believe that this preface was neither a happenstance nor a corruption in the tradition: the *Chronography* seemed to have originally circulated in two separate codices.

There are some immediate problems with this suggestion, acknowledged but still unsolved. First, *Chronographia1* does not exist alone in any manuscript.¹⁵ If *Chronographia1* was separate from *Chronographia2*, did it circulate with something else, and if so, what? Secondly, as a text of approximately 50-60 folios, *Chronographia2* is *far* too short to have done so. In other words, if it is true that in the ninth century the two portions of the *Chronography* were indeed separate from each other and circulated as *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*, they must have been joined to other texts instead.

Thus, any attempt to clarify the codicological relationship between Synkellos' *Chronography* and Theophanes' *Chronicle* is dependent upon a lucid description of the original circulation of Synkellos' *Chronography* itself. Did Synkellos himself divide the *Chronography* into *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*? How ubiquitous was the

13. M 360.1–9 / AT 431; for the Greek text as in the manuscripts see the discussion with figures, below p. 109.

14. *Mihi tamen uidetur textum Georgii Syncelli ab ipsis temporibus Theophanis in duobus partibus circumagi*, Georg. Sync., p. xvii; see also the comments of ADLER – TUFFIN, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.

15. As F. Montinaro pointed out at our conference, 120–50 ff. seems a bit short to be the only text in a codex.

division at AM 5434? Was the text sometimes read as divided between *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*, and in other cases as an unbroken text? My analysis of the degree to which the evidence can answer these questions will focus in particular on the manuscript *Paris. gr. 1764* (Mosshammer's "B"). Following the discussion of this manuscript I will return to the larger question of the relationship between the *Chronicle* and *Chronography*, and will conclude by suggesting how the approach taken here might impact on study of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes.

II. MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE FOR AND AGAINST AN ORIGINAL DIVISION IN THE *CHRONOGRAPHY*

Paris. gr. 1764 is the only manuscript in which *Chronographia2* directly follows *Chronographia1* without any intermediary or adjoining texts. While *Paris. gr. 1764*, like *Paris. gr. 1711*, has to the present been dated as a product of the eleventh century, comparing its script to other dated manuscripts indicates that the tenth century is a more accurate supposition.¹⁶ Thus *Paris. gr. 1764*, is not only the only instance of a complete and independent *Chronography*, it is also the older of the two "G1" manuscripts (fig. 1). At this level of analysis it seems to stand in blatant opposition to Mosshammer's proposal of an original circulation in two codices.¹⁷ The following discussion assesses the text and its depiction in the manuscript, with especial attention to the conjunction of *Chronographia1* with *Chronographia2*.¹⁸

This discussion is, by necessity, limited and should only be considered a preliminary study highlighting some of the manuscript's distinctive features most relevant to the question at hand. This manuscript deserves to receive a comprehensive and focused analysis. Among other issues, the manuscript is incomplete.¹⁹ Until such an account of the original contents and appearance of *Paris. gr. 1764* has been formulated, any conclusions drawn must be viewed as hypotheses. For the present, I will focus my attention on the crucial point for the present discussion: the account of AM 5434, the place in the manuscript at which *Chronographia1* ends and *Chronographia2* begins. The text we have labelled *Chronographia1* draws to a close in *Paris. gr. 1764* with the three lines at the top of fol. 120^r (fig. 3). As Mosshammer observed, the reader's eye will immediately be drawn to the beginning of *Chronographia2*, for it is marked by the decorated capital II in the left margin.²⁰ As we will see, it is also important to observe the two acanthus leaves—stretching into the right and the left margins, respectively—which delineate this point. In what follows I will first consider the narrative of the text before and after this division, and then return to a discussion of the distinctive palaeography and decoration.

16. I am entirely indebted to F. Ronconi for making this observation, though I accept all responsibility for the assertion. Ronconi has suggested to me that *Jerusalem Greek Patriarchal Library 24* (ca. 900) and *Athos Lavra 446* (AD 984) provide a defensible range for the date of the manuscript's script.

17. Georg. Sync., p. xvii.

18. The following discussion builds on the observations of Georg. Sync., pp. xii–xiii, and especially at pp. xvii–xix.

19. Containing only three quarters of the full *Chronography*, *Paris. gr. 1764* survives today beginning and ending mid-word (-ύσι on Georg. Sync., p. 56.21, and μῦθεύ- on p. 416.19).

20. Georg. Sync., pp. xvii–xviii.

*Chronographia*1 ends just after Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, in the midst of the triumphant general's return to Rome with Aristoboulos—the captured king of the Jews—and the king's family. I provide the complete Greek text but an abbreviated translation for emphasis:

Ὁ Πομπήιος παραδοὺς Σκαύρω διέπειν καὶ δύο Ῥωμαϊκὰ τάγματα πρὸς συμμαχίαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο διὰ Κιλικίας, αὐτὸς τὸν μέγιστον κατατάξων θρίαμβον, ἐπαγόμενος τοὺς ἠττηθέντας αὐτῷ βασιλεῖς Φαρνάκην Μηθριδάτου υἱόν, τὸν καὶ καρτερήσαντα τὸν ἴδιον ἀνελεῖν πατέρα Μηθριδάτην τῇ πρὸς Πομπήιον χάριτι καὶ αὐθις κατὰ Ῥωμαίων στασιάσαντα, Κόλχων ἦτοι Λαζῶν βασιλέα, ἄρχοντας Ἰβήρων κ', Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα σὺν θυγατρᾶσι δυοῖσι καὶ υἱοῖς, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ, ὧν ὁ νεώτερος ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαδράς Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπάνεισι στασιάσων, ὡς δηλωθήσεται.

*Pompey [...] set out in haste to Rome [...] [and] brought with him those he had defeated [...] Aristoboulos king of the Jews, along with his two daughters and sons, Alexander and Antigonos. Alexander, the younger of the two, escaped on the way and—inciting rebellion—made his way back to Judea, as will be explained.*²¹

The text then continues on the fourth line of the folio with the decorated initial Π:

Πομπήιος οὖν πολιορκίᾳ λαβὼν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν δέσμιον σὺν τοῖς παισὶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ κατεῖχεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπιών, θριαμβεύσων καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας·

*Pompey, then, upon capturing Jerusalem by siege, took Aristoboulos captive along with his sons Alexander and Antigonos and departed for Rome, to lead in triumph the kings and leaders of the other nations as well.*²²

As is readily apparent, between these two sentences the plot actually regresses chronologically.

Alexander's escape from Rome and subsequent rebellion in Judea had just been mentioned at the top of fol. 120^r, and yet following the decorated initial (*littera notabilior*) the narrative immediately travels back in time, as Alexander is once again held captive by Pompey on the way to Rome. Additionally, the promise at the end of *Chronographia*1 that Alexander's rebellion "will be explained" (δηλωθήσεται) seems to be a completely unnecessary promise; the rebellion occurs a few lines later on the very same folio (fig. 3, last reproduced line). It seems strange for Synkellos to have felt the need to promise a story that would appear so soon:

Ἀλέξανδρος υἱὸς Ἀριστοβούλου πρεσβύτερος διαδράς τὸν Πομπήιον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔρχεται καὶ πρὸς βραχὺν κρατήσας πολλῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Γαβινίου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πολεμηθεὶς ἐκβάλλεται.

21. Emphasis mine. M 359.16–24, and see AT 431 for a full translation. ADLER and TUFFIN add the qualifier "later" as in: "as will be explained later." Though this is clearly the sense of the clause, I have left the word out to more accurately reflect the original Greek.

22. Translation slightly altered to bring Pompey's name to the front of the sentence, as in the Greek text. M 360.10–2 / AT 431.

*Aristoboulos' elder son Alexander escaped from Pompey and arrived in Judea. After gaining control over a large body of Jews and even the government for a short while, he was attacked and ousted by Gabinus and Antony.*²³

Considering all of these issues, why would Synkellos intentionally write such a jarringly incongruent narrative?

Returning to the manuscript itself, the particular decoration of the text on this folio—the combination of acanthus leaves stretching into both the left and right margins, along with a large three-dimensional capital letter—contains a number of irregularities that are entirely out of sorts with the patterns established over the course of the manuscript.²⁴ While both of these decorative elements occur with some frequency throughout *Paris. gr. 1764*, in combination they occur on only one other folio, on fol. 17^r (compare fig. 3 and fig. 4).

In order to judge the significance of this parallel in particular, it is necessary to establish the decorative patterns utilized over the course of the manuscript by our scribe. *Paris. gr. 1764* is filled with examples of two-dimensional, block-letter *litterae notabiliores* that vary in height up to approximately twice the height of a regular majuscule letter. Some of these block capitals are colored in but most are not. A number of examples can be drawn from a single opening seven pages prior to fol. 120^r, the opening of fol. 116^v–117^r

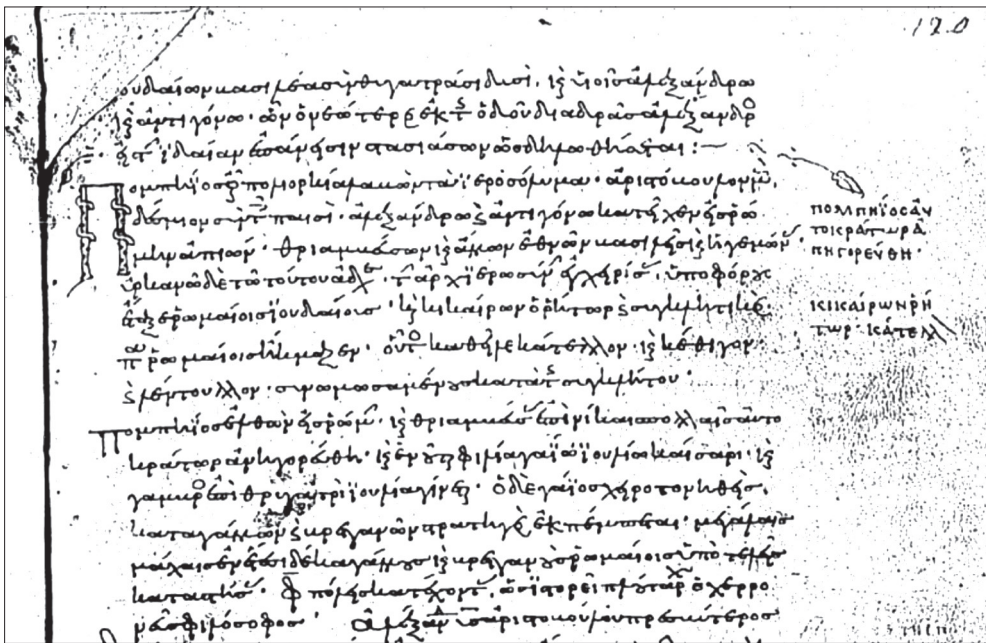


Fig. 3 – Detail: *Parisinus Graecus* 1764, fol. 120^r (top).

Detail of the transition between *Chronographia*1 and *Chronographia*2
—AM 5434—in the only surviving “Chronography-only” manuscript.

23. M 360.24–361.1 / AT 432.

24. See the comments by MOSSHAMMER, Georg. Sync., p. 360, *app. crit.*

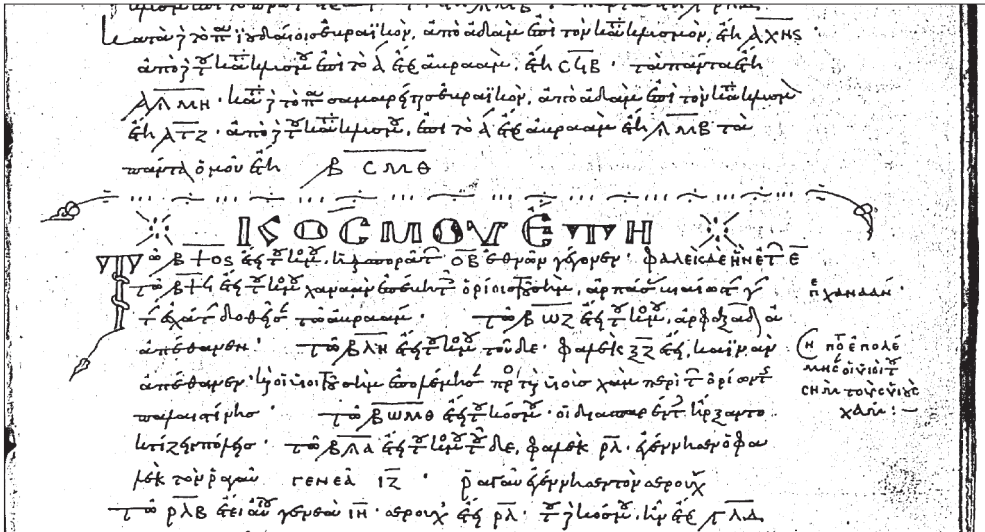


Fig. 4 – Detail: *Parisinus Graecus* 1764, fol. 17^r (middle).

Most similar graphic comparison to fol. 120^r (fig. 3): a double-acanthus leaf division in the text, and a three-line three-dimensional decorated capital letter.

(fig. 5a and fig. 5b). The decorated letters here—in the account of the period leading up to the Roman conquest of Judea—seem to function as an alert to the reader of headings and minor narrative divisions.²⁵ Though the organizational function of the letters seems key to their use, I have not identified any systematic pattern to these minor elaborations.

My research has, however, produced nineteen possible *comparanda* internal to *Paris. gr.* 1764 for the Π on fol. 120^r. I have cast the net as widely as seemed plausible, judging primarily on the basis of decoration (an attempt at three-dimensional plasticity), and secondarily on the basis of size (three lines in height, or nearly so).²⁶ Of the nineteen comparable decorated letters in the manuscript, fifteen occur in *Chronographia* 1. The places in the text marked by these fifteen decorated letters fall into three neat categories:

25. M 353.3–9 / AT 424 and M 354.17–23 / AT 425–6.

26. It is difficult to make an exact distinction in practice between two-dimensional *litterae notabiliores* with some artistic flair, and three-line, three-dimensional capitals designed to give the appearance of plasticity. In addition to reiterating the point made above—that this manuscript calls for further study—the reader may wish to formulate his or her own opinion in cases where the scribal intent seems ambiguous. Particularly vexing are the letters denoting resumptions of the discussion of the chronological problem of the seventy-year captivity: P on fol. 76^r (at M 259.23); and, B on fol. 83^v (M 275.14). Additional conundrums—whether on the basis of graphic elements or content—include: E on fol. 4^v (at M 66.22); Ω on fol. 8^v (at M 79.29); Ω on fol. 9^r (at M 77.10); Λ on fol. 21^v (at M 114.2); T on fol. 25^v (at M 126.4); I on fol. 45^r (at M 175.23); E on fol. 65^v (at M 233.9); P on fol. 72^r (at M 250.5); Π on fol. 94^r (at M 300.28); Π on fol. 116^r (at M 353.3–9); Δ at fol. 129^v (mid-line at M 382.20); H and Θ on fol. 138^v (at M 404.8 and M 405.8); and, M on fol. 139^r (at M 405.19). It remains my opinion, however, that in these cases we witness either later additions or at best original decorations of a lower magnitude.

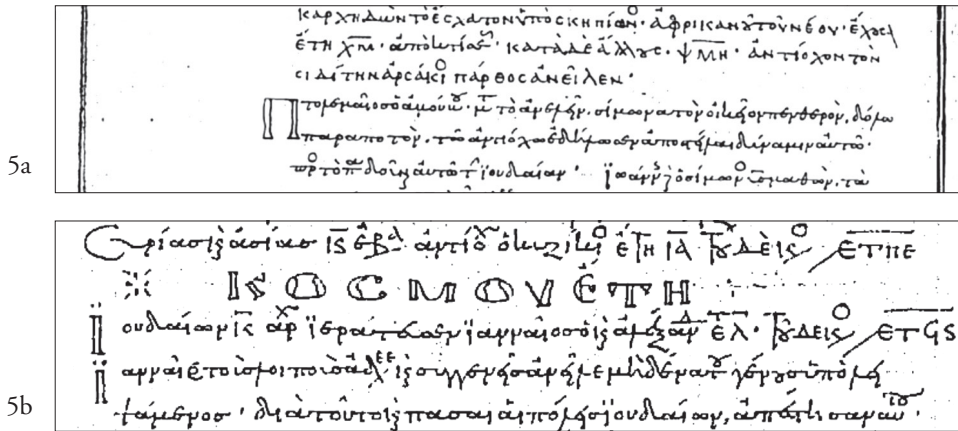


Fig. 5 – Some instances of the frequently-occurring undecorated two-dimensional initial capital letters in *Parisinus Graecus* 1764.

5a – Fol. 116^v (top) Beginning of the narrative describing the events that would lead to the fall of Judea to the Romans.

Critical text: Georg. Sync., p. 353.3–9.

5b – Fol. 117^r (bottom). End of the entry for AM 5385; beginning of the entry for AM 5396.

Critical text: Georg. Sync., p. 354.17–23.

1. Immediately following a summary of the argument, the capital letter marks a departure from the narrative into discussion of a specific chronological complexity:
 - i. after the post-flood division of the earth among the sons of Noah, how to reckon the post-flood period from AM 2572 to AM 2776 (fol. 1^r at M 56.24)
 - ii. after the foregoing discussion, how to reckon the Egyptian dynasties for the same period (fol. 2^r at M 59.6)
 - iii. after tallying the chronology through the fifteenth generation from Adam, an authoritative summary of Synkellos' chronology (fol. 13^r at M 91.13)
 - iv. after the foregoing summary, a summary of the Septuagint's authoritative chronology of the same period (fol. 13^v at M 92.6)
 - v. after the twenty-first generation of Hebrew patriarchs (Abraham's generation), various opinions on Abraham's relative chronology (fol. 21^r at M 112.17)
 - vi. after the death of Joseph (son of Jacob-Israel), how to reckon the chronology of Moses (fol. 27^v at M 129.31)
 - vii. after the accession of Joachaz and then Joakeim (kings of Judah) in AM 4883, how to date the fall of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar and the subsequent seventy-year captivity of the Jews (fol. 75^r at M 258.1);
2. The capital letter marks a chronological entry of major significance:
 - i. AM 2776, the "dispersion" of the nations after the Tower of Babel (fol. 17^r at M 101.4)
 - ii. AM 3313, the birth of Abraham (fol. 20^v at M 110.23–4)
 - iii. AM 3413, the birth of Isaac, the patriarch Abraham's only son (fol. 22^v at M 116.19)

- iv. AM 3734, the birth of Moses' older brother Aaron and the beginning of the narrative of Moses and the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (fol. 31^r at M 138.15);²⁷
3. The capital letter marks the introduction of a new succession of kings into the chronological schema:
 - i. the Sikyonian Greeks (fol. 20^v at M 110.9)
 - ii. the Latins (fol. 55^r at M 200.7)
 - iii. the Macedonians (fol. 66^r at M 234.2)
 - iv. the Persians (fol. 84^v at M 278.9).

Of the four *comparanda* found in *Chronographia2*, one fits into the second category above, the entry for the year AM 5500 in which Christ became incarnate (fol. 128^v at M 380.19). Interestingly, the other three examples from *Chronographia2* do not fit any of the categories just delineated.²⁸ In fact, the use of the three-dimensional three-line capital letter in these final instances seems entirely divorced from the textual content. It is of course possible to over-interpret this change given the relatively small sample size. Nevertheless, the immediate loss of the organizational regularity for decorated capitals established over the course of *Chronographia1* could indicate that the scribe was working with a manuscript of *Chronographia2* that had been copied by a different hand using a different hierarchy of scripts. A possible explanation is that the scribe of *Paris. gr. 1764* neglected to plan out how to regularize the content of *Chronographia2* with the decorative schema established over the course of *Chronographia1*; the result is the haphazard nature of these later decorations.²⁹

Still, it can be stated with certainty that even amidst this generously constituted group of decorated capitals, the decorated capital on fol. 120^r still stands out as distinct. In the nineteen other examples cited from *Paris. gr. 1764* (whether in *Chronographia1* or *Chronographia2*) each large capital letter is preceded by some sort of heading or summary, either in majuscule script, or in the block-capital script described above (see: Κ'ΟΣΜΟΥ "ETH on fol. 17^r, fig. 5b). There is no such heading on fol. 120^r to anticipate the capital Π, only the manuscript's regular minuscule script. Additionally, the other nineteen decorated capitals create the illusion of plasticity by imitating *either* a vine twisted round a post, *or* the stonework of a column. Only the Π on fol. 120^r combines the two types in one; the letter is unique within the manuscript.

The other distinctive graphic element on fol. 120^r is the pair of acanthus vines stretching into either margin of the page just before the capital Π, and exactly marking the end of *Chronographia1*. While single acanthus vines are somewhat common in the manuscript, double acanthus vines are rare.³⁰ The three other uses of a *double* acanthus-leaf

27. Graphically, this instance is the most questionable comparison: the letter—though decorated in the same three-dimensional manner as the others—is diminutive, only two lines in height.

28. (1) AM 5550, a mid-point during the discussion of the reign of Claudius (fol. 139^r at M 406.14); (2) AM 5553, the martyrdom of Paul during the reign of emperor Nero (fol. 140^r at M 408.22); and, (3) AM 5564, the death of Nero and the accession of emperor Vespasian (fol. 143^v at M 416.8).

29. The Δ with an acanthus leaf decoration on fol. 129^v is an extreme example of the confusing decoration of *Chronographia2* in this manuscript. The letter in this case is placed mid-sentence on the contraction δι' ἀγγέλων (see M 382.20).

30. There are fifteen examples of single acanthus leaves throughout the manuscript. The use of the single acanthus—granted, without a great deal of systematization—seems to be to re-orient the

division are distinct from the double acanthus on fol. 120^r for they occur as part of a series of dots and dashes stretching across an entire line: complete one-line breaks that mark conceptual divisions in the flow of the text (as in fig. 4).³¹ On fol. 9^v the one-line division marks the end of Synkellos' lengthy refutation of Africanus' and Eusebius' dating of the life of Moses.³² I will return to the second double-acanthus—on fol. 17^r—momentarily. The third one-line division occurs on fol. 34^r and marks the end of the chronology up to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (though it lacks the acanthus decoration).³³ Finally, the fourth one-line division (here again with a double-acanthus) was placed on fol. 88^v, at the beginning of the reign of the high priests over Israel during the reign of Cyrus of Persia.³⁴ With the exception of the division on fol. 88^v and on fol. 120^r, these divisions are associated with majuscule script (whether before, after, or both before and after the division). Once again, the decorative palaeography on fol. 120^r stands out as unusual: a double acanthus leaf decoration *without* a full-line division occurs at no other place in the text of the manuscript.

I have withheld discussion of the graphic elements on fol. 17^r of *Paris. gr. 1764* until now in order to fully contextualize discussion of this folio's decorative similarities with fol. 120^r (compare fig. 3 and fig. 4). Both folios display a three-dimensional, three-line capital letter, and both folios divide the preceding text from the foregoing text with a pair of acanthus vines. The decoration on fol. 17^r differs from fol. 120^r in that the accompanying palaeography coincides harmoniously with the special elements: on fol. 17^r a block-capital ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΕΤΗ follows the full line of decoration accompanying the pair of vines. The content of fol. 17^r also coincides with its distinctive decoration: one could say that fol. 17^r marks the beginning of the *Chronography* proper. At this point Synkellos has just concluded his argument concerning the exclusive reliability of the Septuagint translation of the Scriptures for calculating a chronology from the Creation of the World.³⁵ After this division, beginning from AM 2776 at the Tower of Babel and the "dispersion of the seventy-two nations," Synkellos proceeds according to a different chronological methodology. From this point on Synkellos constructs his chronology of the world by coordinating multiple historical records in order to establish chronological

reader in the midst of a complex discussion: twelve of the examples occur in a concentrated spurt at the beginning of the manuscript, within the more technical chronological discussions of the manuscripts' first thirteen folios (fol. 3^r-13^v): fol. 3^r (at M 62.8); fol. 4^r (at M 65.108-9 and M 66.1-2); fol. 4^v (at M 66.7 and M 67.7); fol. 8^v (at M 76.27); fol. 9^r (at M 77.129); fol. 10^r (at M 80.15 and M 82.26); fol. 11^v (at M 87.7); fol. 12^r (at M 87.22); and, fol. 13^v (at M 92.5). The other three instances are found on: fol. 26^v (at M 127.20); fol. 51^v (at M 192.5); and, fol. 88^r (at M 285.26). It could be argued that the arrow-leaf in the right margin of fol. 120^r functions as an arrow, or a "see here" marker pointing to the interjecting marginal note: "Pompey was publicly proclaimed *autokrator*" (Πομπήιος ἀὐτοκράτωρ ἀληγορευθή). If so, it is unclear why this note would be considered more important than—for instance—the unmarked note on Cicero just below.

31. The four uses of such a break occur on: fol. 9^v (at M 79.22); fol. 17^r (at M 101.4); fol. 34^r (at M 147.1); and, fol. 88^v (at M 288.1). The line-division at fol. 34^r seems to lack the acanthus leaves at the end of the trailing lines stretching into the margins.

32. Begun on fol. 8^v with a single acanthus vine and a decorated letter (from the text beginning at M 76.27) and ending at M 79.22 with this division on fol. 9^v.

33. M 146.5.

34. M 288.1.

35. M 101.4 / AT 125.

synchronizations between various rulers. This spot in the text is unquestionably one of the most significant transitions in the *Chronography*: the content fully merits the distinctive palaeography.

As we have seen, the capital Π in the margin of fol. 120^r is, by contrast, a palaeographic irregularity: the decorative elements are completely at odds with the patterns established for their use over the course of the manuscript. Furthermore, while the notations on fol. 17^r serve to divide two coherent sections of the text at a moment of major chronological significance, the historical moment marked by the capital Π and the pair of acanthus leaves on fol. 120^r—Pompey's return to Rome—is hardly the chronological equivalent of the beginning of recorded history.³⁶ In the context of *Paris. gr. 1764*, the content of fol. 120^r does not in any way merit its distinctive palaeography. Finally, not only does the event seem unworthy, the prose hardly complies. As we have seen, the disjointed narrative of this moment on fol. 120^r is hardly coherent and acquires no apparent gain from decoratively dividing the text. This is the only example of such dissonance between palaeography and content in the entire manuscript.

The only justification for any notation at all between these sentences is that this is the meeting point between the portions of the text I have labelled *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*. The distinction between *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* is based entirely on the hypothesis that these portions of the text circulated in distinct manuscripts. Can we construct an explanation for the oddities of fol. 120^r on the basis of this circulation? The evidence all points to scribal intervention and modification of the text. Let us suppose that the scribe of *Paris. gr. 1764* did not work from an exemplar containing the complete *Chronography*. If, rather, our scribe was altering the *status quo* by copying *Chronographia1* from one manuscript and *Chronographia2* from another, he would have had to confront the challenge of altering a layout originally designed to re-introduce a text in an independent volume, so that it conformed to its new role as an intermediary paragraph. The scribe would have had to organize content through variation in scripts where such an organization did not previously exist. This would explain the fact that the graphic elements of *Chronographia2*—the text following fol. 120^r—do not fit neatly into the patterns established in the manuscript up to that point (as discussed above).

The evidence found in other manuscripts of the *Chronography* seems to support this idea. The oldest complete copy of *Chronographia2* is the ninth-century manuscript *Wake Greek 5* held in Christ Church College Library, Oxford. In *Wake Greek 5*, the *Chronicon*

36. Perhaps only the Incarnation of Christ would have merited such distinction, for in Synkellos' chronological schema the Incarnation is mentioned multiple times as the central epoch-making chronological division, and the Incarnation's centrality and ubiquity is unavoidable throughout the *Chronography*. Some sample discussions from *Chronographia1* can be found at M 1.14–28 / AT 1–2 and M 35.20–37.11 / AT 46–9; some discussions in *Chronographia2* arise at M 376.26–378.18 / AT 449–52 and M 380.15–382.4 / AT 454–5. Alternatively, on Nebuchadnezzar's reign as a central concern see: M 258.11–22 / AT 316–7; M 259.10–22 / AT 318; M 259.30–260.5 / AT 319 (on the importance of reckoning from the fourth year of Joakeim of Judea because it is the first year of Nebuchadnezzar); M 260.17–261.6 / AT 319–20 (on Nebuchadnezzar's accession again functions as the beginning of an epoch); and, M 262.11–264.31 / AT 322–5. Finally, Nebuchadnezzar is given prominence for his relationship to the seventy-year captivity of the Jews in Babylon and an extended discussion intended to settle the debate on how to date it: M 265.1–278.18 / AT 325–40, resumed at: M 289.17–295.32 / AT 353–9.

Syntomon of Patriarch Nikephoros I precedes *Chronographia*², which then starts from the top of fol. 12^r (fig. 6). The text of *Chronographia*² begins with the short majuscule preface cited earlier:

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΟΣ
ΤΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΣ ΗΤΟΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ ΕΝ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΩΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΤΙΣΕΩΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ,ΕΥΛΛ'
ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ
ΕΤΟΥΣ ,ΕΨΟΖ' ΟΜΟΥ ΕΤΗ ΤΜΓ'

*The treatise (that is, chronography), of George, the most devout monk and Synkellos of Tarasios the most holy archbishop of Constantinople, in the form of an epitome from Julius Caesar's reign over the Romans, AM 5434, up to the first year of the reign of Diocletian, AM 5777, totaling 343 years.*³⁷

The preface in majuscule script is a statement of the author's identity and a re-summary of Synkellos' calculation of the Years of the World. The text of *Chronographia*² immediately follows the preface accompanied by the same marginal note we already saw in *Paris. gr.* 1764: "Pompey was publicly proclaimed *autokrator*."

The dissonant reading experience created by fol. 120^r of *Paris. gr.* 1764—that is, reading straight through the end of *Chronographia*¹ into the beginning of *Chronographia*²—is obviated on fol. 12^r of *Wake Greek* 5. This portion of the text's

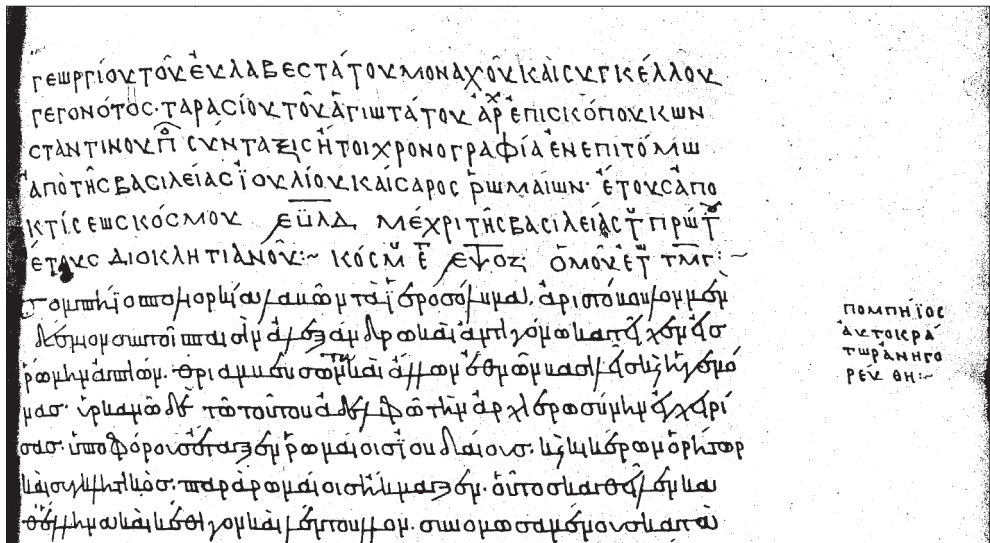


Fig. 6 – Detail: Oxford, Christ Church College Library, *Wake Greek* 5, fol. 12^r (top)
Beginning of *Chronographia*² (AM 5434).

37. M 360.1–9 / AT 431.

peculiar recapitulations—noted above—now make perfect sense: if *Chronographia*2 was the first part of the *Chronography* that the reader of this new codex had experienced, the regressive plot—noted above—would bring clarity.³⁸ Here, the narrative back-tracking and Synkellos' one-sentence re-summary would serve to re-orient the reader before resuming the story of Alexander's escape from Rome to Judea. Similarly, if we consider *Chronographia*1 as the end of a codex, Synkellos' comment that Alexander's rebellion "will be explained" would have given readers a narrative thread to carry forward until they located a codex with *Chronographia*2.³⁹

Let us consider what might have been the scribe of *Paris. gr. 1764*'s decision-making process if—after the first three lines of fol. 120^r—he or she finished copying *Chronographia*1 from one manuscript, and then retrieved the text for *Chronographia*2 from another and resumed copying. Assuming that *Chronographia*1 and *Chronographia*2 were divided between two codices, the manuscripts our scribe was able to obtain may have been governed by different palaeographic patterns—as is the case between *Chronographia*1 in *Paris. gr. 1764* and *Chronographia*2 in *Wake Greek 5*. The scribe would have had to decide upon a palaeographic solution to the new combination of texts.

First, the scribe would have noted that the preface to *Chronographia*2 (just discussed) had no place in a seamless combination of *Chronographia*1 and *Chronographia*2. Nevertheless, it must have seemed that a division which had originally split the work into two codices should be reflected in the new combination. At this point, any number of possibilities could explain the result we see on fol. 120^r. I am most persuaded by the idea that the scribe simply applied the two most significant organizational decorations in his arsenal: the double-acanthus division, and the three-dimensional, three-line capital letter. Perhaps the scribe abstained from including a full-line gap in the text (as in his other uses of the double-acanthus on fol. 9^v, fol. 17^r, fol. 34^r, and fol. 88^v) because he recognized the fact that the narrative was actually continuous through the division.

38. *Supra*, pp. 100–1.

39. Synkellos' "flash forward" and "flash back" asides are examples of the narrative techniques *prolepsis* and *analepsis*, the use of which extends back to Homer (see the excellent recent discussion of the devices in R. NÜNLIST, *The ancient critic at work : terms and concepts of literary criticism in Greek scholia*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 34–51). These devices served both narrative and practical purposes: ancient authors routinely used such cues to guide readers between papyrus rolls (see the recent general discussion with bibliography by W. A. JOHNSON, *The ancient book*, in *The Oxford handbook of papyrology*, ed. by R. Bagnall, Oxford 2009, pp. 256–81, especially pp. 263–7). As ancient texts were transferred from roll to codex these asides were retained though no longer needed (see the classic discussion by G. CAVALLO, *Conservazione e perdita dei testi greci : fattori materiali, sociali, culturali*, in *Società romana e impero tardoantico. 4, Tradizione dei classici, trasformazioni della cultura*, a cura di A. Giardina, Roma – Bari 1986, pp. 83–172, especially pp. 130–54), and the tradition persisted among many authors of the late antique period whose works (like Synkellos') only ever appeared in codices. Perhaps the most relevant parallels are found in the tenth and eleventh-century manuscripts of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical history* (frequently cited by Synkellos). E. Schwartz argued that these manuscripts retain traces of an early split into two volumes (τεύχη) such as the ending of Book IV (Ἐν τούτῳ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος Σωτὴρ τελευτᾷ.) and the *analeptic* beginning of Book V (ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος Σωτὴρ ἐπὶ ὄγδοον ἔτος ἠγησάμενος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον). See: Eusebius, *Werke. 2, Die Kirchengeschichte. 3, Einleitungen, Übersichten und Register*, hrsg. von E. Schwartz (GCS 9/3), Leipzig 1909, pp. cxlvii–cli.

Though the scribe would have removed the majuscule preface to *Chronographia*², he was not bold enough to remove the dissonant narrative by rewriting the text itself. In sum, it was the scribe's conservative approach, his attempt to preserve as much of the original as possible, which produced the final result: a previously non-existent combination of texts in which the palaeographic patterns established for *Chronographia*¹ do not match those in *Chronographia*².

This proposal explains every one of the discrepancies we identified on fol. 120^r of *Paris. gr.* 1764; everything jarring about this page of the manuscript can be attributed to an original codicological break at AM 5434 and a scribe's attempt to smooth over that break. If this conclusion is accepted, *Paris. gr.* 1764—seemingly the only manuscript to present Synkellos' *Chronography* as a single unified text—is in truth evidence that up to the time of its copying in the tenth century, the *Chronography* circulated in two parts, as *Chronographia*¹ and *Chronographia*².

As an aside, it seems relevant to note that *Paris. gr.* 1711 (mentioned above), may also contain traces of a similar situation. On the one hand, *Paris. gr.* 1711 does not preserve the distinctive palaeographic elements noted in *Paris. gr.* 1764. On the other hand, the scribe of *Paris. gr.* 1711 comprehensively suppressed nearly *every* distinctive palaeographic element: even the year of the Incarnation lacks any distinction in script or decoration (fig. 7a). Though the manuscript does transmit one distinctive palaeographic element—a particular concern that the reader associate the notation concerning Pompey with the text of *Chronographia*² (fig. 7b, note 1)—the visual uniformity of *Paris. gr.* 1711 does not permit us to contextualize the joining of *Chronographia*¹ and *Chronographia*² within the particular graphic patterns of the rest of the manuscript. More to the point, however, *Paris. gr.* 1711 does preserve the same dissonant narrative elements in the narration of Pompey's transport of the Judaeian prisoners to Rome described above. A number of scenarios seem possible. The scribe may have had a composite text as his exemplar (such as *Paris. gr.* 1764), or he may have simply combined *Chronographia*¹ and *Chronographia*² with greater success, barely leaving a visible seam (fig. 7b, note 2).

In conclusion, the initial impression produced by a superficial survey of the contents of *Paris. gr.* 1764 and *Paris. gr.* 1711 is misleading: these manuscripts are not copies of an originally whole *Chronography*. Based upon a close examination of the palaeography,

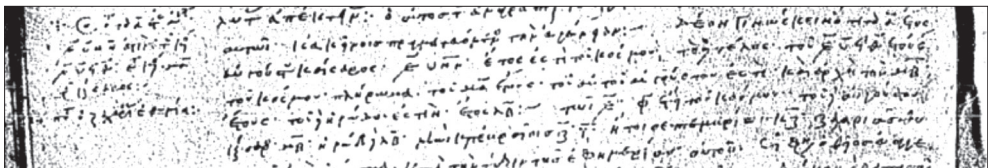


Fig. 7a – *Parisinus Graecus* 1711, the only surviving manuscript which contains both the complete *Chronography* of Synkellos and the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (p. 188).

As a demonstration of the manuscript's minimalist approach to decorative script, here the entire text's central event, the Incarnation of Christ in AM 5500, occurs midway through a nondescript line of miniscule.

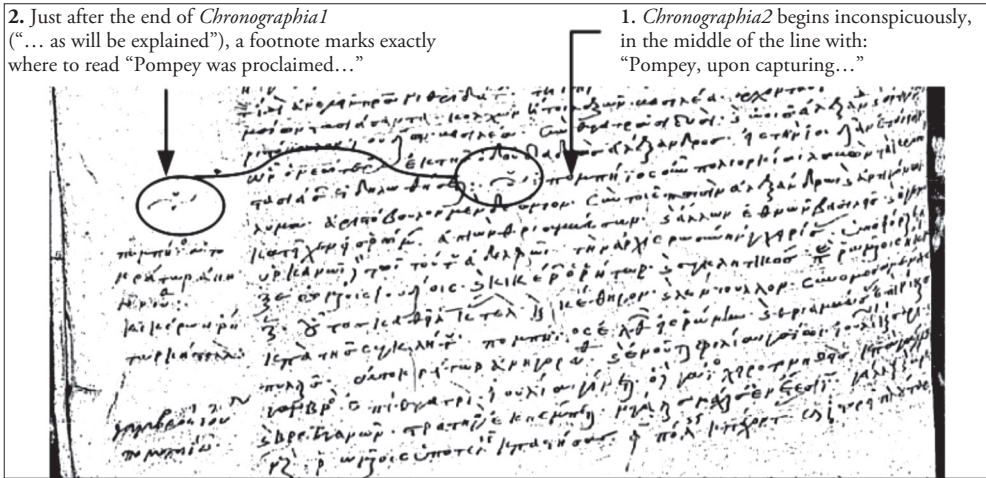


Fig. 7b – Detail: *Parisinus Graecus* 1711 (p. 178).

Detail of the transition between *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* (AM 5434).

codicology, and the narrative text itself, these manuscripts in fact present little if any sure evidence that the *Chronography* originally circulated as a single, unified text. As I have argued, where the evidence in these manuscripts does lend itself to analysis, that evidence suggests that prior to these tenth- and eleventh-century copies, the *Chronography* circulated in distinct parts: as *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*.

Is it possible to push this conclusion further and argue that the division of the *Chronography* into *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* was original to the author? If it was, in what way is AM 5434 (63 BC) the mid-point of the universal chronology? If the division of his universal chronography into two parts was a component of Synkellos’ original plan, Pompey’s conquest of Jerusalem seems a very odd moment at which to divide the history of the world. For instance, one might expect Synkellos (as an adherent of the patriarchate of Constantinople) to divide the *Chronography* either according to his politics—with the first of the Roman emperors—or according to his religion—with the Incarnation of Christ. One could possibly hazard that the sixty-six years between the beginning of *Chronographia2* (AM 5434) and the Incarnation (AM 5500) served as a sort of preface, allowing Synkellos to coordinate the date of the Incarnation with the reigns of the first Roman emperors. Nevertheless, the author says nothing explicit to this effect. Instead, Synkellos provides the following retrospective statement:

Ταῦτα δέ μοι προπαρεσκευάσται οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι βουλομένῳ πῶς ἐγγιζούσης τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ καὶ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θείας σαρκώσεως ἐξέλιπεν ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακώβ.

Although the preparation of this material has not been an easy task for me, I wished to show how, when the divine Incarnation of the only-begotten Son and Word of God—our

*Saviour Jesus Christ—was imminent, a leader from Judah and a ruler from his loins had ceased, in accordance with the prediction of the patriarch Jacob.*⁴⁰

The sixty-six years in *Chronographia2* preceding Christ's conception did give the Incarnation a context, but these years did not coincide with the introduction of the Roman emperors. Rather, Synkellos identified AM 5434 with the fulfillment of a prophecy: the end of the rule of Jewish priests, and the beginning of the rule of a non-Jew over Judea. That is, Synkellos seems to have divided his *Chronography* in consideration of the end of the line of Jewish priests—"At that time also, the 'anointed ones who rule' prophesied by Daniel came to an end"⁴¹—and the resumption of non-Jewish rule over the Jews—"Herod, being an Idumaeen Arab, was the first Jewish ruler of foreign stock."⁴² Rome mattered insofar as it was Pompey's conquest that had brought about this transition in the historical scheme of Providence.⁴³

Thus, it seems that Synkellos himself conceived of his account of all time as divided into two parts at this very point, at Rome's conquest of Judea in AM 5434. This is yet another indication that the original arrangement of the *Chronography* was indeed divided into *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*. On the other hand, all of our manuscript evidence for a unified *Chronography* seems to reflect late interventions resulting from scribal, not authorial, decisions. Can we use this conclusion productively?

Can we apply our conclusion to the manuscript evidence as a whole and confirm Mosshammer's proposal that in the first centuries of its circulation *Chronographia1* was copied and read separately from *Chronographia2*? Since we have already exhausted our manuscript evidence for *Chronographia1*, the hypothesis must rest entirely on the manuscripts containing *Chronographia2*. As was stated earlier, *Chronographia2* was too short to exist independently. Since we already know that the *Chronicle* of Theophanes was often adjoined to *Chronographia2*, this combination could be the solution to *Chronographia2*'s original circulation patterns. Exactly how frequently did the combination of *Chronographia2* with the *Chronicle* occur?

III. MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE FOR JOINING *CHRONOGRAPHIA2* AND THE *CHRONICLE*

Panayotis Yannopoulos has recently suggested that we rethink the transmission of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, in terms of families or groups of manuscripts.⁴⁴ I would like to adopt this approach, but as a means of incorporating the manuscripts of Synkellos' *Chronography* in the discussion of those containing the *Chronicle*. My hypothesis is that, based on the extent to which their manuscript traditions overlap, the *Chronicle* cannot be considered apart from *Chronographia2* in particular and, by extension, from the *Chronography* as a whole. The story of the transmission of the texts is one and the same.

40. M 362.11–4 / AT 433. For Jacob's prophecy see Genesis 49.10.

41. M 373.24–5 / AT 446.

42. M 383.16 / AT 457.

43. This is not to say that there is no theme of Roman triumphalism in the *Chronography*. On the first Roman emperor, Synkellos states that "the first to be monarch, [Julius Caesar] proved by far the most humane of all the kings who have ever ruled." (M 365.8–9 / AT 436).

44. Les vicissitudes historiques de la *Chronique* de Théophane, *Byz.* 70, 2000, pp. 527–53.

The following table presents the medieval manuscripts of both the *Chronography* and *Chronicle*, grouped according to their contents as understood prior to our colloquium:

SET 1: <i>Chronographia</i> without <i>Chronicle</i>		
Present contents: <i>Chronographia</i> 1, <i>Chronographia</i> 2		
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1764 (B)		(s. 10)
SET 2: <i>Chronicle</i> without <i>Chronographia</i>		
Present contents: <i>Chronicle</i>		
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1710 (d)		(s. 9)
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 978 (h)		(s. 11/12)
SET 3a: <i>Chronographia</i>2 and <i>Chronicle</i> (Latin)		
Present contents: <i>Opuscula historica</i> (Nikephoros I), <i>Chronographia</i> 2, <i>Chronicle</i>		
<i>Vat. Palatinus Latinus</i> 826		(s. 9/10)
<i>Cassinensis</i> 6		(c. 1058–86)
<i>Vat. Palatinus Latinus</i> 909		(c. 976–1025)
<i>Paris. Lat.</i> 1591		(s. 12)
<i>Paris. Lat.</i> 1592		(s. 12)
<i>Paris. Lat.</i> 5501		(s. 12)
<i>Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches</i> 160		(s. 13)
<i>British Library Burney</i> 284		(s. 13)
SET 3b: <i>Chronographia</i>2 and <i>Chronicle</i> (Greek)		
Subset 1 – Present contents: <i>Chronographia</i> 2, <i>Chronicle</i>		
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 155 (V/c)		(s. 9/10)
Subset 2 – Present contents: <i>Opuscula historica</i> (Nikephoros I), <i>Chronographia</i> 2, <i>Chronicle</i>		
<i>Oxford Christ Church College Library Wake Greek</i> 5 (O/o)		(s. 9/10)
<i>Paris. Coislin gr.</i> 133 (C/f)		(s. 12)
SET 4: <i>Chronographia</i>2 and <i>Chronicle</i> with additional content (Greek)		
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1711 (A/g)		(s. 11)
Additional content: <i>Chronographia</i> 1, Scriptor Incertus, Symeon Logothetes, <i>Vita Alexandri</i>		
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 154 (T/b)		(s. 12)
Additional content: George the Monk		

Table 1 – Manuscripts of *Chronography* and *Chronicle* grouped by current contents.

Where applicable the sigla used by Mosshammer (caps) and de Boor (lower case) are noted parenthetically after the shelfmark, referencing fig. 1 and fig. 2 above.

Let us work our way through these sets, applying some recent findings.

Set 1 and Set 2 consist of the manuscripts that appear to contain only one text, and not the other. Our foregoing lengthy discussion of the one manuscript in Set 1—*Paris. gr.* 1764, containing Synkellos' *Chronography* alone—argued that this is in fact a composite creation, a combination of two different manuscripts. We cannot know what other texts were in the original codices from which the scribe extracted *Chronographia*1 and *Chronographia*2. Thus, while this manuscript cannot tell us about the relationship between the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*, it does indicate that the *Chronography* originally circulated in two distinct parts.

In Set 2 there are two manuscripts with the *Chronicle* alone: *Paris. gr.* 1710 (of the second half of the ninth century), and *Vat. gr.* 978 (of the eleventh or twelfth). The text of the *Chronicle* found in *Paris. gr.* 1710 is unlike that found in the other manuscripts, for among other issues it lacks the distinctive yearly dating rubrics found in every other copy. Furthermore, the manuscript is not only a distinctive and independent witness of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, but it was dated by Boris Fonkič to the 830s or 840s: very close to the decade of composition. While it now appears that the late ninth century may be a more accurate date, this is still an earlier exemplar than any of the manuscripts that today contain Synkellos' *Chronography*.⁴⁵ *Paris. gr.* 1710 presents an apparent challenge to the idea that *Chronographia*2 and the *Chronicle* originally circulated together.

However, as discussed in this same volume, Filippo Ronconi has now analyzed the stratigraphic evidence in the codex and produced an argument that conclusively proves *Paris. gr.* 1710 has been altered from its original state. The manuscript must have originally contained at least one other text which was set before the *Chronicle* of Theophanes and which was at the very least no less than seven folios in length and quite possibly filled several quires.⁴⁶ Based upon the demonstrable tradition of placing *Chronographia*2 immediately before the *Chronicle*, it seems ill-advised to propose any other text in this position. Even if one would prefer not to grant the proposal of the *Chronography*'s original presence in the manuscript, it is certainly the case that *Paris. gr.* 1710 can no longer be used as evidence against the idea that the *Chronography* and *Chronicle* originally circulated together.

The second manuscript in Set 2 is *Vat. gr.* 978 which also contains Theophanes' *Chronicle* only. *Vat. gr.* 978 has—perhaps understandably—received relatively little attention.⁴⁷ The medieval portion of the manuscript is fragmentary, beginning *in medias res* at p. 62.29 in de Boor's edition of the *Chronicle*. This was apparently the state of the manuscript in the sixteenth-century, for the missing folios from the beginning of the *Chronicle* have been reconstituted from another manuscript by the humanist hand of Giovanni Santamaura.⁴⁸ Carl de Boor himself noted that the manuscript had been modified and even postulated that it originally contained the *Chronography* of Synkellos, but without providing a thorough explanation for this hypothesis.⁴⁹ To my knowledge the idea has not been either proven or disproven up to this time. I believe we can, in fact, confirm de Boor's hypothesis based, once again, on the manuscript's codicology.

The first folio that survives from the original twelfth-century manuscript is numbered "39." This and the other folio numbers are not original marks, but were probably provided by Giovanni Santamaura or another reader during the early modern period. On the other hand, the original binding notations, the quire marks, do survive. Beginning on the folio numbered forty-six, and continuing with perfect regularity through the rest of the manuscript, a quire mark can be seen in the bottom left inner corner of every eighth folio. The forty-sixth folio is the beginning of the quire ιε' (fifteen). By subtracting eight folios from forty-six we can determine that folio thirty-eight would have originally been

45. See : F. RONCONI in this same volume, pp. 137–8.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 138–46.

47. Here, again, I am taking a cue from MOSSHAMMER. See: Georg. Sync., pp. xviii–xix.

48. M. D'AGOSTINO, La mano di Giovanni Santamaura, *Scripta* 4, 2011, p. 12.

49. Theoph. 2, p. 384 and Georg. Sync., pp. xviii–xix.

the beginning of the fourteenth quire. Thus, the first thirteen quire bindings and the first folio of the fourteenth are missing from the original manuscript. Since the quire bindings throughout the manuscript so consistently contain eight folios each, we can be fairly confident in postulating that the original twelfth-century manuscript contained an additional one hundred and five folios.⁵⁰

In de Boor's critical edition, the portion of the text from the beginning of Theophanes' *Chronicle* that is missing in *Vat. gr. 978* amounts to fifty-nine pages, or 1,770 lines. By using the text that survives we can determine the rate at which the twelfth-century scribe of *Vat. gr. 978* copied the text of the *Chronicle*: every folio in *Vat. gr. 978* contained the equivalent of approximately sixty lines from de Boor's critical edition. By dividing 1,770 total missing lines by sixty lines per folio, we can estimate the number of folios the scribe of *Vat. gr. 978* would have used to copy the opening text of the *Chronicle* to be approximately thirty. If we speculate that, as in other manuscripts, the text of the *Chronicle* proper was preceded by Theophanes' approximately two-folio "Preface" then the total comes to thirty-two folios. If the scribe arranged his script and layout so that the *Chronicle* began a new quire in his codex, we could add the additional missing leaf, fol. 38.⁵¹

If the *Chronicle* can only account for four quires (quires ten through thirteen) of the missing thirteen, there must have been another text (or texts) at the beginning of the manuscript, which would have taken up approximately nine quires (seventy-two folios). As has already been stated, all the surviving medieval evidence points to the fact that if another text preceded the *Chronicle* it was always *Chronographia*2. Let us see if our glass slipper fits onto *Vat. gr. 978*.

It is hazardous to calculate the exact rate at which the scribe of *Vat. gr. 978* would have copied *Chronographia*2 as we cannot know, for instance, exactly how much space would have been devoted to headings. On the face of it, the match is not perfect. In other early manuscripts such as *Wake Greek 5* the *Chronicon Syntomon* attributed to Patriarch Nikephoros I—on which see below—was joined to *Chronographia*2 and both filled only sixty-one folios before arriving at the *Chronicle*.

At least half of the discrepancy between these sixty-one folios and the seventy-two we need can be accounted for by the fact that the scribe of *Wake Greek 5* was a more efficient copyist than the scribe of *Vat. gr. 978*.⁵² The difference is thus slightly more palatable with

50. Calculated as: thirteen missing quires multiplied by eight folios per quire, plus one more for the first folio of the fourteenth quire. The fourteenth quire is also missing what would have been its fifth folio, restored by Santamaura as fol. 42.

51. See F. RONCONI's discussion in this same volume (pp. 130–1) of scribes' tendency to attempt to begin texts from the beginning of a quire.

52. The discrepancy can be accounted for somewhat by some rough comparative calculations. The scribe of *Wake Greek 5* took 509 manuscript pages to copy out a portion of the *Chronicle* text that fills 502 pages of the printed edition (de Boor, pp. 2.1–503.24) at a rate of 0.99 printed pages to each manuscript page. The scribe of *Vat. gr. 978* took 440 manuscript pages to copy out a portion of the *Chronicle* text that fills 407 pages of the printed edition (de Boor, pp. 62.29–468.28) at a rate of 0.925 printed pages to each manuscript page. Comparatively, then, the scribe of *Wake Greek 5* copied out 8% more text per manuscript page. Thus, the amount of text that the scribe of *Wake Greek 5* would have fitted on 62 complete folios would have required filled 67 folios in the hand of the scribe of *Vat. gr. 978*.

sixty-seven folios accounted for by Nikephoros' *Chronicon Syntomon* and *Chronographia*2. Though such a preliminary investigation does not reveal a perfect match, it can still be stated that the missing text in *Vat. gr.* 978 is approximately consistent with the amount of space that *Chronographia*2 and the *Chronicon Syntomon* would have required; unless further evidence presents itself these texts remain the most viable candidates for the original contents.

In conclusion, then, both of the medieval manuscripts in Table 1's "Set 2"—manuscripts that today contain only Theophanes' *Chronicle*—were at some time altered or damaged. These manuscripts originally contained another text that preceded the *Chronicle*. Synkellos' *Chronographia*2 is the only text that we have good reason to believe was ever placed before the *Chronicle* in the first centuries of its circulation. We can thus reasonably remove both *Paris. gr.* 1710 and *Vat. gr.* 978 from Set 2 and cautiously add them to Set 3b as manuscripts that—in the absence of any viable alternative—seem originally to have presented Synkellos' *Chronographia*2 before Theophanes' *Chronicle*.

Next let us consider the manuscripts that undoubtedly present the two texts together: Set 3a groups together with the Latin tradition of the *Chronographia tripartita* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. The *Chronographia tripartita* preserved the *Chronicon Syntomon* attributed to Patriarch Nikephoros I—lists of the successions of selected secular and sacred rulers—as a preface to *Chronographia*2 and Theophanes' *Chronicle*.⁵³ Though none of the Latin manuscripts may be quite contemporary with Anastasius' original act of translation in the 870s, their consistent contents seem a viable indication of Anastasius' original exemplar.⁵⁴ Though this group of manuscripts remains understudied, according to the current tally we have eight extant complete medieval manuscripts of Anastasius' translation.⁵⁵ Set 3b is the Greek tradition that also presents *Chronographia*2 and the *Chronicle* together. This set consists of *Vat. gr.* 155 (s. 9/10), *Oxford Christ Church Wake Greek* 5 (s. 9/10), and *Paris. Coislin gr.* 133 (s. 12). While it is uncertain whether *Vat. gr.* 155 originally contained Nikephoros' *Chronicon Syntomon*, for the present argument what matters is that all three preserve *Chronographia*2 before the *Chronicle*.⁵⁶

The fifth and final set of manuscripts to consider contains *Vat. gr.* 154 and *Paris. gr.* 1711, composite universal chronicles from the later medieval period. In the case of *Paris. gr.* 1711 we have already noted that this manuscript is a composite universal

53. Note that the proposals put forward by F. MONTINARO suggest that Anastasius Bibliothecarius may in fact be the originator of this codicological pattern : F. MONTINARO, *Histories of Byzantium : some remarks on the early manuscripts of Theophanes' Chronicle*, in *Comparative codicology* (9th and 10th centuries), ed. by M. Wissa and S. Brock, *Semitica et classica* 8, 2015, pp. 171–6.

54. Though de Boor (Theoph. 2, p. 425) dated *Vat. Palat. Lat.* 826 to the tenth century, B. BISCHOFF believed that the hand could be identified with that of one of the scribes of *Vat. Lat.* 4965—a copy of Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation of the *Acta* of the eighth ecumenical council—and so dated the manuscript to the ninth century. See: *Italienische Handschriften des neunten bis elften Jahrhunderts in frühmittelalterlichen Bibliotheken ausserhalb Italiens*, in *Il libro e il testo : atti del convegno internazionale, Urbino, 20-23 settembre 1982*, a cura di C. Questa e R. Raffaelli, Urbino 1984, pp. 169–94, here at pp. 187–8, especially footnote 85.

55. I am relying here on the more detailed description of these manuscripts in B. NEIL's contribution to the present volume. For a list, see Table 1, above.

56. See F. RONCONI's comparison of *Vat. gr.* 155 and *Wake Greek* 5 in the present volume (pp. 123–33).

chronicle which preserves evidence of scribes who intentionally intervened in the textual tradition of the *Chronicle* and the *Chronography* in order to create a complete history of the world. *Vat. gr.* 154 is a similar case. To create this manuscript the scribe used a universal chronicler from the later ninth-century, George the Monk (or George Hamartolos), to fill out the pre-Incarnation history of the world. The beginning of George the Monk's *Chronography* is then followed by *Chronographia2* which is, in turn, succeeded by the *Chronicle* (though the *Chronicle* is cut short at the reign of Justinian). Thus, where the scribe of *Paris. gr.* 1711 used Synkellos' *Chronographia1* to supply an account of pre-Incarnation history, the scribe of *Vat. gr.* 154 used the relevant portion of George the Monk's text. It could well be that this decision was made because *Chronographia1* was unavailable. If this was the case, *Vat. gr.* 154 could be construed as additional evidence that *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* circulated independently. Regardless, both of these manuscripts indicate evidence of modification to the original codicology of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*. Though it is certain that these manuscripts' combination of multiple chronicles and chronographies fulfilled Synkellos' original vision—a universal chronography from the Creation of the World to the present day—this is not evidence that Synkellos' text originally circulated in this material form. Due to these ambiguities it seems most appropriate to remove these manuscripts from the present discussion.

IV. CONCLUSIONS: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN *CHRONOGRAPHY* AND *CHRONICLE*

If we now rearrange the manuscript sets in Table 1 according to the claims presented in the preceding survey, we arrive at the following table (Table 2).

Considered in these sets, the manuscripts of Synkellos' *Chronography* and Theophanes' *Chronicle* present a dominant—if just short of universal—tradition of copying *Chronographia2* and the *Chronicle* together.

Let us attempt to generate some conclusions from this new evidence. First, having clarified the testimony of *Paris. gr.* 1764, we can now state that the medieval manuscripts of Synkellos' *Chronography* indicate that by the end of the ninth century the joining of *Chronographia2* with the *Chronicle* had become so normative that it came to exclude any other presentation of the text from the evidence that has survived today. Our preceding analysis of the manuscripts in sets indicates that—especially if, for the reasons already stated, we exclude the conflicting testimonies of *Paris. gr.* 1711 and *Vat. gr.* 154—this division may have been original to the very first exemplar manuscripts. That is: pushing the point just a bit further than Mosshammer, I propose that the division of the text into the portions which I have labelled *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* originated with Synkellos. The idea is supported by Synkellos' own statements, and by the fact that we have no evidence that *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* were ever joined before the tenth century. Speculations aside, while one could still hold that the *Chronicle* may have been copied without the *Chronography*, we can state conclusively that there is no evidence of *Chronographia2* ever circulating apart from the *Chronicle*. Whether these texts are natural-born siblings or step-siblings, their surviving manuscripts have a shared parentage.

The problem of authorship that continues to confront us as scholars was not an inhibition to the impact of the *Chronicle* and its accompanying texts upon the ninth-century individuals who first read or listened to them. It seems that if we desire to

approximate the *Chronicle's* original context, purpose, and impact, we cannot read the *Chronography* of Synkellos and the *Chronicle* of Theophanes as distinct and independent chronicles but should approach them as a single universal chronicle. Based on the preceding discussion this would mean that the *Chronicle* of Theophanes was not read as a history that began with Diocletian in AM 5777 (AD 284) but as an account of the past that began with (in Synkellos' words) "the beginning of the reign of a non-Jew over Judea" in AM 5434 (63 BC).

Having generated decades of scholarship in response to Cyril Mango's famous question "Who wrote the *Chronicle* of Theophanes?" perhaps the next question we might ask is: "How was it read?" To that end I would like to propose a premise: the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor was read within the very same codices as the *Chronography* of George Synkellos.

Shelfmark	Notable variations in content	Date	Sigla
SET 1: Codicological arrangements that are most likely later medieval modifications			
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1764	(<i>Chronographia</i> 1 and <i>Chronographia</i> 2)	(s. 10)	B
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1711	(<i>Chronographia</i> 1, <i>Chronographia</i> 2, <i>Chronicle</i> , Scriptor Incertus, Symeon Logothetes, <i>Vita Alexandri</i>)	(s. 11)	A/g
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 154	(George the Monk, <i>Chronographia</i> 2, <i>Chronicle</i>)	(s. 12)	T/b
SET 2: <i>Chronicle</i> without <i>Chronographia</i> (none)			
SET 3: <i>Chronographia</i>2 and <i>Chronicle</i> (Greek and Latin)			
<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1710*		(s. 9)	d
<i>Vat. Palatinus Latinus</i> 826		(s. 9/10)	
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 155		(s. 9/10)	V/c
<i>Oxford Christ Church College Library Wake Greek</i> 5		(s. 9/10)	O/o
<i>Vat. Palatinus Latinus</i> 909		(c. 976–1025)	
<i>Cassinensis (Lat.)</i> 6		(c. 1058–86)	
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 978*		(s. 11/12)	h
<i>Paris. Coislin gr.</i> 133		(s. 12)	C/f
<i>Paris. Lat.</i> 1591		(s. 12)	
<i>Paris. Lat.</i> 1592		(s. 12)	
<i>Paris. Lat.</i> 5501		(s. 12)	
<i>Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches (Lat.)</i> 160		(s. 13)	
<i>British Library Burney (Lat.)</i> 284		(s. 13)	
* Now contains only <i>Chronicle</i> , but originally contained an additional text, most likely <i>Chronographia</i> 2			

Table 2 – Manuscripts of *Chronography* and *Chronicle* grouped by original contents.

COLLÈGE DE FRANCE – CNRS
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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur</i> , Venetiis 1734-1940.
ACO, ser. sec.	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series secunda</i> , ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1984.
ADLER – TUFFIN	<i>The Chronography of George Synkellos : a Byzantine chronicle of universal history from the Creation</i> , transl. with introd. and notes by W. Adler and P. Tuffin, Oxford 2002.
ADSV	<i>Античная древность и средние века</i> . Екатеринбург.
Agap.	<i>Kitab al-'unvan : Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj</i> , éd. et trad. par A. Vasiliev, Paris 1906–16 (PO 5, 4; 7, 4; 8, 3; 11, 1), PO 8.
Anast.	<i>Theophanis Chronographia. 2, Theophanis vitas, Anastasii bibliothecarii Historiam tripartitam, dissertationem de codicibus operis Theophanei, indices continens</i> , rec. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1885 (2 nd éd., Hildesheim – New York 1980).
AnBoll	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> . Bruxelles.
AnTard	<i>Antiquité tardive</i> . Turnhout
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> . Paris.
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 ^e éd. mise à jour et considérablement augmentée, Bruxelles 1957.
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and modern Greek studies</i> . Leeds.
BSl.	<i>Byzantinoslavica : revue internationale des études byzantines</i> . Praha.
Byz.	<i>Byzantion : revue internationale des études byzantines</i> . Wetteren.
Byz. Forsch.	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen : internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik</i> . Amsterdam.
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> . Berlin.
CCSG	Corpus christianorum. Series Graeca. Turnhout.
Cedr.	<i>Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope</i> , ab I. Bekkero suppletus et emendatus (CSHB 4), Bonnæ 1838-1839.
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae.
Chron. 1234	<i>Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens. 1</i> , ed. I.-B. Chabot (CSCO 81. SS 36), Parisiis 1920.
Chron. Paschale	<i>Chronicon Paschale</i> , rec. L. Dindorfius, Bonnæ 1832.
Const. VII, <i>Three treatises</i>	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, <i>Three treatises on imperial military expeditions</i> , introd., ed., transl. and commentary by J. F. Haldon, Wien 1990.
CSHB	Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae.
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Louvain. SS : Scriptores Syri.
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> .

- DAI* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, greek text ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, english transl. by R. J. H. Jenkins (CFHB 1), Washington 1967².
- De cer.* *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniais aulae Byzantinae*, e rec. J. J. Reiskii (CSHB), Bonnae 1829-1840.
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks papers*. Washington.
- EHB* *The economic history of Byzantium : from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, A. E. Laiou, ed.-in-chief (Dumbarton Oaks studies 39), Washington DC 2002.
- EI* *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, Leiden – Paris 1913-1938.
- EP* *Encyclopédie de l'Islam, nouvelle édition*, Leiden – Paris 1954-2009.
- Evagr.* *The Ecclesiastical history of Evagrius, with the scholia*, ed. with introd, critical notes and indices by J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London 1898.
- ΕΦΣ* *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*.
- FHG* *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, Paris 1841-1872.
- GCS* Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Berlin.
- Gen.* *Iosephi Genesisii Regum libri quattuor*, rec. A. Lesmueller-Werner et I. Thurn, Berolini 1978.
- Georg. Mon.* *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, corr. P. Wirth, Stutgardiae 1978.
- Georg. Sync.* *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A. A. Mosshammer, Leipzig 1984.
- GRBS* *Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies*. Durham.
- HOWARD-JOHNSTON*, *Witnesses* : J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses to a world crisis : historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century*, Oxford 2010.
- HOYLAND*, *Seeing Islam* : R. G. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam as others saw it : a survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam* (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 13), Princeton NJ 1997.
- HOYLAND*, *Theophilus* : R. G. HOYLAND, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the circulation of historical knowledge in late antiquity and early Islam* (Translated texts for historians 57), Liverpool 2011.
- JHS* *The journal of Hellenic studies*. London.
- JÖB* *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*. Wien.
- JÖBG* *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*. Wien.
- Joh. Eph., HE* *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia*, ed., interpretatus est E. W. Brooks (CSCO 106. SS 3), Parisiis, Lovanii 1935, 1936.
- LP* *Le Liber pontificalis*, texte, introd. et commentaire par L. Duchesne, 2 vol., Paris 1886 et 1892 ; III avec additions et corrections de L. Duchesne, C. Vogel éd., Paris 1955-1957.
- Mal.* *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, rec. I. Thurn (CFHB 35), Berolini 2000.
- MANGO*, *Who wrote the Chronicle* : C. MANGO, *Who wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?*, *ZRV* 18, 1978, pp. 9–17, republished in *Id.*, *Byzantium and its image*, London 1984.

- MANGO – SCOTT *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor : Byzantine and Near Eastern history AD 284–813*, transl. with introd. and comment. by C. Mango and R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, Oxford 1997.
- MANSI *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florentiae – Venetiis 1759-1798. [réimpr. Paris 1901 et Graz 1960].
- Methodius, *Vita Theophanis : Methodii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris e codice Mosquensi n° 159*, ed. B. Latyšev = *Методія Патріарха Константинопольського житіє Преп. Теофана Исповідника*, издалъ съ введеніємъ, примѣчаніями и указателями В. В. Латышевъ (Записки Россійской Академіи Наукъ. 8^e série = Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de Russie, classe historico-philologique 13/4), Петроградъ 1918.
- MGH Ep., LL *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Epistolae, Leges*. Berlin.
- Mich. Syr. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, éd. et trad. par J.-B. Chabot, 1, *Traduction livres I-VII*; 2, *Traduction livres VIII-XI*; 3, *Traduction livres XII-XXI*; 4, *Texte syriaque*, Paris 1899–1924 (réimpr. Bruxelles 1963).
- MTM *Monographies de Travaux et mémoires*. Paris.
- Niceph., *Chron.* *Chronographia brevis = Χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον : Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula historica; accedit Ignatii Diaconi Vita Nicephori*, ed. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1880, p. 79-135.
- Niceph., *Brev.* *Breviarium = Ἰστορία σύντομος : Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople, Short history*, text, transl. and commentary by C. Mango (CFHB 13), Washington DC 1990.
- ODB *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, A. P. Kazhdan ed. in chief, New York 1991.
- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, accur. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1856-1866.
- Photius, *Bibl.* *Photius, Bibliothèque*, texte établi et trad. par R. Henry, Paris 1959-1991.
- PLRE *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire*, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale & J. Morris, Cambridge 1971-1992.
- PmbZ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. Berlin – New York 1998-.
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis*. Paris.
- Proc., *Aed.* *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia. 3, 2, De aedificiis cum duobus indicibus et appendice*, recognovit J. Haury, Lipsiae 1913, addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1964.
- Proc., *BP* *De bello Persico = Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia. 1, De bellis libri I-IV*, recognovit J. Haury, Lipsiae 1905, addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1962, p. 1-304.
- Proc., *BV* *De bello Vandalico = Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia. 1, De bellis libri I-IV*, recognovit J. Haury, Lipsiae 1905, addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1962, p. 305-552.
- Ps. Sym. dans *Theophanes continuatus*, p. 601-770.
- RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart – München 1894-1997.
- REB *Revue des études byzantines*. Paris.

- ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.* : I. ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes : quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715–813* (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 57), Berlin 1991.
- RSBN *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*. Roma
- SC Sources chrétiennes. Paris.
- Socr. Sokrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. von G. C. Hansen, mit Beiträgen von M. Širinjan (GCS. Neue Folge 1), Berlin 1995.
- Soz. Sozomène, *Histoire ecclésiastique. Livres I-II*, texte grec de l'éd. J. Bidez, trad. par A.-J. Festugière (SC 306), Paris 1983; *Livres III-IV*, texte grec de l'éd. J. Bidez, trad. par A.-J. Festugière, rev. par B. Grillet (SC 408), Paris 1996; *Livres V-VI. Livres VII-IX*, texte grec de l'éd. J. Bidez, G. C. Hansen, trad. par A.-J. Festugière et B. Grillet (SC 495, 516), Paris 2005, 2008.
- Strat. *Mauricii Strategicon*, ed. et introd. instruit G. T. Dennis, germanice vertit E. Gamillscheg (CFHB 17), Wien 1981.
- Sym. Log. *Symeonis magistri et logothetae Chronicon*, rec. S. Wahlgren (CFHB 44, 1), Berlin – New York 2006.
- Syn. CP *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, adiectis synaxariis selectis, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, éd. H. Delehaye, Bruxelles 1902 [réimpr. Louvain 1954].
- Theod. Lect. Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. von G. Ch. Hansen (GCS. Neue Folge 3), 2., durchges. Auflage, Berlin 1995.
- Theoph. *Theophanis Chronographia*, rec. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1883-1885 [réimpr. Hildesheim – New York 1980].
- Theoph. 2 voir Anast.
- Theoph. cont. *Theophanes continuatus*, ex rec. I. Bekkeri (CSHB), Bonnae 1838.
- Theoph. Sim. *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, ed. correctiorem cur. P. Wirth, Stuttgartiae 1972.
- TIB Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Wien.
- TLG Thesaurus linguae Graecae. University of California.
- TM *Travaux et mémoires*. Paris.
- TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians* : W. TREADGOLD, *The middle Byzantine historians*, New York 2013.
- VV *Византийский временник*. Москва.
- Zon. *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum libri XVIII*, ex rec. M. Pinderi ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (CSHB 31), Bonnae 1897.
- ZRVI *Зборник радова Византолошког института*. Београд.