Corrections to 
Michael Panaretos, *On the Grand Komnenoi*

Two months after my volume *Two Works on Trebizond* appeared,¹ Sergei Karpov, Rustam Shukurov, and A. M. Kryukov published a new critical edition of Michael Panaretos’s chronicle.² As they published a facsimile of Marcianus gr. 608/coll. 306 (pp. 16–69), the only surviving copy of the chronicle, as well as an improved text of the chronicle, I wanted to take advantage of the possibilities of the internet to offer both corrections to my translation based on their emendations and also responses to some of the problematic changes they made to the text.

**Corrections to**

**Michael Panaretos, *On the Grand Komnenoi***

My only corrections concern the exact date of Alexios III’s wedding in ¹³⁵¹. Currently, the text of *On the Emperors of Trebizond* ⁴⁹ reads καὶ εἰς τὰ κηʹ ἡμέρας (“and on the twenty-eighth”; *Two Works*, p. 24, italics added), but should read καὶ εἰς τὰ κʹ ἡμέρας (“and on the twentieth”). As Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov correctly point out, the manuscript reading κηʹ for the wedding of Alexios III and Theodora Kantakouzene is clearly in error. In the following chapter, Panaretos tells us that he joined the emperor’s mother on an expedition against Constantine Doranites in Limnia on September 22. It is hard to believe that the dowager empress would not be present at her son’s
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wedding. This is not to say that the date must be the twentieth; it could also be the twenty-first.3

RESPONSES TO FURTHER PROPOSED EMENDATIONS

My first response to a proposed emendation concerns the date of the great fire of Trebizond in 1243. In chapter 3, my text reads: Ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, ὥσπερ ἔτει, ἰνδικτιῶνος αʹ, μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ, ἐγένετο μεγάλη πυρκαϊά (“In the fifth year of his reign, in the month of January, indiction 1, 1243, there was a great fire”; Two Works, p. 4, italics added). In their text, however, Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov give: Ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, ὥσπερ ἔτει, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιεʹ, μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ, ἐγένετο μεγάλη πυρκαϊά (Великих Комнинах, 74). Their edition rejects Lampsides’s emendation of indiction 1 for indiction 15, which appears in the manuscript (fol. 288r; Великих Комнинах, 21), alleging the date is correctly January 1242 (Великих Комнинах, 118n12). However, they have miscalculated: January 6751 is 1243, not 1242. Thus the indiction is incorrect and should be emended to ἰνδικτιῶνος αʹ (“indiction 1”).

My second response concerns their proposed emendation with regard to the movements of the emperor Alexios III in 1366/7. They propose breaking up what is my chapter 87 (Two Works, pp. 42–43) into two separate paragraphs in the following way:

87a: Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος ἀνῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν παρχάριν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναβάντες ἐκ Σπέλιας εἰς τὴν Φιανόην καὶ παροδεύσαντες τὸ
Γαντόπεδιν καὶ Μάρμαρα καὶ διαβάντες τὸν ἁγιον Μερκούριον ἀνήλθομεν εἰς τὸν Ἁχάντακαν, πεζοὶ καὶ καβαλλάριοι ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισχιλίους· καὶ ποιήσαντες μετὰ τοῦ ἄμηρα ἡμέρας δʹ πάλιν ὑπεστρέψαμεν.

87b: Μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος εʹ, τοῦ ὡος' ἔτους, καταβάντες ἐν τῇ Λαζικῇ μετὰ δυνάμεως διά τε ξηράς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ἁμα βασιλεί καὶ τῇ τούτου μητρί τῇ δεσποίνῃ, κατέχοντες ἁμα καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέραν, κυρὰν Ἀννην τὴν Μεγάλην Κομνηνήν, ἣτις συνεζεύχθη τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ Αβαζήγων, κῦρ Παγκρατίῳ τῷ Παγκρατιανῷ, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Μακροῦ Αἰγιαλοῦ. Ἐλθόντες δὲ, παρευθὺς ἀνῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν παρχάριν τῆς Λαραχανῆς, εἰς τὸ Λιμνίον, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐως Χαλδίας.

87a: In the following year, the emperor went up to the summer pastures. And we all went up with him from Spelia to Phianoe, traveling by way of Gantopedin and Marmara. We then went up to Achantakas, crossing over Saint Merkourios with more than two thousand infantry and cavalrymen. After spending four days with the emir we returned.

87b: In June, indiction 5, 1367, descending into Lazike with land and sea forces, along with the emperor and the dowager empress, we also took with us the emperor’s daughter, the lady Anna the Grand Komnene, who was married to the king of the Georgians and Abasgians, lord Bagrat Bagration in the region of Makrou Aigialou. After
coming back here, the emperor went straight up to the summer pastures along the Larachane River, namely to Limnion, and advanced as far as Chaldia.

Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov point out in the notes that the manuscript (fol. 304r; Великих Комнинах, 53), includes a break between 87a and 87b (ὑπεστρέψαμεν· μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ, ἰνδικτιώνος ε’, τοῦ ἵωσε’ ἐτους), which was ignored by previous editors of the text. However, this emendation is not sound, as there is no main verb in 87b, leaving two dangling participles (καταβάντες, κατέχοντες).

My third response to an emendation concerns Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov’s attempt to resolve one of the more perplexing issues in the text, namely the circumstances surrounding the death and burial of John II Komnenos (1280–1297) at Limnia, near modern Terme, on the western frontiers of the empire. Here the manuscript (fol. 289v; Великих Комнинах, p. 24) reads:

ἐν γὰρ τῆ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, παρέλαβον οἱ τοῦρκοι τὴν χαλυβίαν· καὶ γέγονε παρ’ αὐτῶν μεγάλη ἐπιδρομή· ὥστε ἄοικους γενέσθαι τὰς χώρας ὅλας· ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτι, ἐκομίσθη τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ἐν τραπεζοῦντι· καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς χρυσοκεφάλου.

Here the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library volume renders this passage from chapter 8 as:

Ἐν γὰρ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ παρέλαβον οἱ Τοῦρκοι τῆν Χαλυβίαν καὶ γέγονε παρ’ αὐτῶν μεγάλη ἐπιδρομή, ὥστε ἄοικους γενέσθαι τὰς χώρας ὅλας. Ἐπεὶ
καὶ ζῶν ἔτι, κομίσθη τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Χρυσοκεφάλου.

During his reign, the Turks took Chalybia and launched a great invasion that rendered all of the lands uninhabitable. *While he was still warm*, his remains were brought to Trebizond and interred in the church of the Theotokos Chrysokephalos. (*Two Works*, pp. 6 and 7; italics added)

In contrast, Kryukov renders it:

Ἐν γὰρ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ παρέλαβον οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὴν Χαλυβίαν καὶ γέγονε παρ’ αὐτῶν μεγάλη ἐπιδρομὴ, ὥστε ἀοίκους γενέσθαι τὰς χώρας ὅλας, ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτι. Ἐκομίσθη τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Χρυσοκεφάλου. (*Великих Комнинах*, 76–78)

The phrase ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτι has elicited much discussion, as it suggests his remains were transported while he was still alive (ζῶ, “live”). Alternative readings have sought to either emend the text to σῶν (“fresh, uncorrupted”) or understand it as ζῶν, the masculine singular participle of ζέω (“boil”). In the notes, Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov propose moving the problematic phrase to the previous sentence. Following their emendation, one would render the sentence, “During his reign, the Turks took Chalybia and launched a great invasion that rendered all of the lands uninhabitable, while he was still alive.” Their emendation solves the issue of ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτι, but is grammatically
unsound. The conjunction ἐπεὶ sets up a subordinate clause that requires a main verb to be complete (LSJ ἐπεὶ). In ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτι, we only have the masculine singular participle ζῶν and no third-person singular main verb. Similarly, there cannot be an understood main verb, as the only verbs in the main clause are παρέλαβον (“took”) and γέγονε (“launched”), neither of which has a masculine singular subject. Thus, the clause is incomplete. As the manuscript punctuation indicates, ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτι belongs with the following sentence, where the confusion between the masculine emperor and his neuter corpse (λείψανον) is more understandable.

Nonetheless, the text still does pose problems. One would expect that the temporal/causal dependent clause set up by ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτι would require a proper apodosis (“Since/when his remains were conveyed to Trebizond while he was still hot, x happened”). The apodosis here is unsatisfying (“he was also buried in the church of the Chrysokephalos”). Perhaps a line of the text has dropped out after ἔτι, and we should understand “Since/when he was still alive. . . .” Or perhaps the ἐπεὶ καὶ is similar to the unusual use of ὅτε καὶ elsewhere in the text, which is often appended to an entry with the meaning “this was also when,” or “then also.” But to sum up, Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov’s proposed emendation is not grammatically sound and should be rejected.

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Notes


2 Sergei Karpov, Rustam Shukurov, and A. M. Kryukov, *Михаил Панарет: О Великих Комнинах (Трапезундская Хроника)* (Saint Petersburg, 2019).


4 *Великих Комнинах*, 133n173.


6 *Великих Комнинах*, 120n26.

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8 For examples, see Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov, Великих Комнинах, p. 78, lines 11, 16, 34; p. 80, line 5; p. 84, line 25; p. 86, line 35; p. 88, line 21; p. 90, line 31; p. 92, line 2; p. 94, line 29; p. 96, lines 29, 32; p. 98, lines 5, 9; p. 100, line 3; p. 102, lines 14, 22, 36.