

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 κη' ἡμέρας (“and on the *twenty-eighth*”; *Two Works*, p. 24, italics added), but should read καὶ εἰς τὰ κ' ἡμέρας (“and on the *twentieth*”). As Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov correctly point out, the manuscript reading κη' 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

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, ἡψνα' ἔτει, ἰνδικτιῶνος α', 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, ἡψνα' ἔτει, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε', 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 α' (“*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

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Γαντοπέδιν και Μάρμαρα και διαβάντες τὸν ἅγιον Μερκούριον ἀνήλθομεν εἰς τὸν Ἀχάντακαν, πεζοὶ και καβαλλάριοι ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισχιλίους· και ποιήσαντες μετὰ τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ ἡμέρας δ' ἄλιν ὑπεστρέψαμεν.

87b: Μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος ε', τοῦ ρωοε' ἔτους, καταβάντες ἐν τῇ Λαζικῇ μετὰ δυνάμεως διὰ τε ξηρᾶς και διὰ θαλάσσης ἅμα βασιλεῖ και τῇ τούτου μητρὶ τῇ δεσποίνῃ, κατέχοντες ἅμα και τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέραν, κυρὰν Ἄννην τὴν Μεγάλην Κομνηνὴν, ἣτις συνεζεύχθη τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰβήρων και Ἀβαζγῶν, κῦρ Παγκρατίῳ τῷ Παγκρατιανῷ, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Μακροῦ Αἰγιαλοῦ. Ἐλθόντες δέ, παρευθὺς ἀνήλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν παρχάριν τῆς Λαραχανῆς, εἰς τὸ Λιμνίον, και ἀπῆλθεν ἕως 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 cavalymen. 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; *Βελικικη Κομνηναχ*, 53), includes a break between 87a and 87b (ὑπεστρέψαμεν· μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος ε', τοῦ ρωοε' ἔτους), which was ignored by previous editors of the text.⁴ 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; *Βελικικη Κομνηναχ*, p. 24) reads:

ἐν γὰρ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, παρέλαβον οἱ τοῦρκοι τὴν χαλυβίαν· καὶ γέγονε παρ' αὐτῶν μεγάλη ἐπίδρομή· ὥστε ἀοίκους γενέσθαι τὰς χώρας ὄλας· ἐπὶ 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 τὴν Χαλυβίαν καὶ γέγονε παρ' αὐτῶν μεγάλη ἐπίδρομή, ὥστε ἀοίκους γενέσθαι τὰς χώρας ὄλας. Ἐπει

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 ἐπιδρομή, 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”).⁵ In the notes, Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov propose moving the problematic phrase to the previous sentence.⁶ 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

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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”).⁷ 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.”⁸ But to sum up, Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov’s proposed emendation is not grammatically sound and should be rejected.

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NOTES

¹ Michael Panaretos and Bessarion, *Two Works on Trebizond*, ed. and trans. Scott Kennedy, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 52 (Cambridge, 2019).

² Sergei Karpov, Rustam Shukurov, and A. M. Kryukov, *Μιχαήλ Παναρέτ: Ο Βελλικη Κομνηνη (Τραπεζουνδική Χρονική)* (Saint Petersburg, 2019).

³ Karpov, Shukurov, and Kryukov, *Βελλικη Κομνηνη*, 127n98. Following Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer. “Originalfragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und anderes Material zur Geschichte des Kaisertums Trapezunt,” *Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 4, no. 1 (1844): 24.

⁴ *Βελλικη Κομνηνη*, 133n173.

⁵ See the discussion of Odysseus Lampsides, “Μιχαήλ του Παναρέτου περὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν,” *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 22 (1958): 21–22; Annika Asp-Talwar, “The Chronicle of Michael Panaretos,” in *Byzantium’s Other Empire: Trebizond*, ed. Anthony Eastmond, Glenn Peers, and Barbara Roggema (Istanbul, 2016), 190n80.

⁶ *Βελλικη Κομνηνη*, 120n26.

⁷ For similar examples, see Porphyry, *Chronicle*, fragment 7.1 (ed. Müller): Ἐπεὶ δὲ ζῶν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς παρεχώρησε τῷ υἱῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ ἐπικληθέντι Φιλαδέλφῳ; Mirjana Živojinović, Vassiliki Kravari, and Christophe Giros, *Actes de Chilandar* (Paris, 1998), p. 125, lines 9–13: ἐπεὶ ζῶν ἔτι ὁ ῥηθεὶς αὐθ(έν)τ(ης) καὶ π(ατ)ῆρ ἡμῶν ὁ μακαρίτ(ης) ἐκεῖνο(ς) κῦ(ρ) Δαυίδ . . . πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἐν διαφόρ(οις) τῶν ἐντὸ(ς) τὲ καὶ ἐκτὸ(ς) μονῶν τ(ῆσ)δε τ(ῆσ) πόλ(εως) ἀγαθὰ καὶ θεοφιλῆ διεπράξατο, ὡς ἴσασιν ἅπαντ(ες), ἔφθασε δὲ καὶ τῆ ὑπὸ σὲ εἰρημ(έ)νη ἀγία μονῆ δῶρον. . . .

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⁸ For examples, see Карпов, 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.