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“However inadequate and insignificant it may seem, yet the discovery of Michael Panaretus’ Chronicle alone was enough to present the possibility of a coherent account of the Empire of Trebizond –at least the latter’s basic periods”

(J.-Ph. Fallmerayer, *Αυθεντικά χρονικά ...* [here ftn. 7], 128 [trans. A.G.C.S.])

Following the recent English translation by the young Finnish historian Annika Asp-Talwar with a doctorate on “The Empire of Trebizond and Constantinople, 13th-15th centuries” from Birmingham University1 (“The Chronicle of Michael Panaretos”, in A. Eastmond [ed.], *Byzantium’s other Empire: Trebizond* [İstanbul, 2016], 173-212, text at 188-208) and almost contemporaneously with yet another English translation by the young American byzantinist Scott Kennedy (of Bilkent University, Ankara) (*Two works on Trebizond. Michael Panaretos-Bessarion*, ser. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, # 52 [Cambridge Mass.: Harvard U.P., 2019], at 1-57), this is a most welcome new Russian translation of a major medieval Greek Pontic source, since the more than one hundred years old first Russian translation by A. Khakhanov (Hahanov/ Moscow, 1905), criticized by E. M. Pridik in 1906, is considered faulty and unsuitable for consultation2. The new edition by A.M. Kriukov, with the parallel Russian translation on the right pages (pp. 71-113), offers additionally a most useful photostat reissue of the original manuscript.

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1. To the unbearable sadness of the byzantinological community, the supervisor of this thesis, Dr Ruth Macrides, passed away on 27 April 2019.

(pp. 17-69); the introduction to the author and his work is compiled by the currently foremost authority in the history of the medieval Pontos and author of the fullest account of the history of the Empire of Trebizond (A.D. 1204-1461)\(^3\), the academician professor Sergei P. Karpov (pp. 7-16; esp. p. 11 ff. on Panaretus)\(^4\), while the commentary section, with 243 notes (pp. 115-138) is the collaborative work of Karpov with his student in studia pontica, Rustam M. Shukurov, a merited scholar in the field on his own account with important pontico-turcica contributions\(^5\). Karpov himself has also compiled useful tables of the Trebizondine emperors (p. 141)\(^6\) and metropolitans (p. 142), as well as a table of titles and offices (pp. 143-145) and both Karpov and Shukurov have provided analytical indices (pp. 153-172), which are preceded by an abbreviations and a selective bibliography section (pp. 146-148; 149-152). The edition ends with an English summary (p. 173) and a well-drawn coloured historical map of the Pontus at the very end.

This new edition will doubtlessly be used henceforth by scholars together with Odysseus Lampsides’ superb 1958 edition, while English speakers can now benefit from the aforementioned two recently published English translations of the

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3. See previous note; a detailed presentation of the recent Greek translation of this monumental work, in A. Savvides, Η ελληνική μετάφραση της 'Ιστορίας της Τραπεζούντιακής Αυτοκρατορίας' του Σεργκέι Π. Κάρποφ, ΑΠ 57 (2017), 13-27.


Chronicle; on the other hand, the Chronicle’s modern Greek adaptation by Dr Sabbas Mavrides in the Greek edition of Fallmerayer’s Original-Fragmente (inclusive of a photostat reprint of the original edition of the text) is hopelessly outdated regarding its historical commentary which unfortunately manifests a total unfamiliarity with medieval Pontic bibliography.

Virtually nothing was known about the history of the Empire of Trebizond until the indefatigable German historian Jakob-Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861) discovered the Chronicle of the Grand Comneni by Panaretus together with other important Trebizondine documents in the private collection of Bessarion in Venice (Bibliotheca Marciana), in the early 1820s. Since then the study of medieval Pontic history has been gaining grounds among modern scholars; Fallmerayer himself, who visited the Pontus in 1840, had already written the first modern account of the history of the Grand Comnenus dynasty in 1827, of which the belated 1984 Greek translation has appeared in a third amended edition with notes (Thessalonica: Kyriakides Bros, 2003). He then collected a considerable amount of original material in 1843-1847; his publications—especially Panaretus’ Chronicle already published by him in his Original-Fragmente in 1844 with a German translation—and these, too, were utilized by George Finlay (1799-1875) in his own version of Grand Comnenian history within his seven-volume History of Greece (1851; 2nd ed. by H.F. Tozer, Oxford, 1877, vol. IV: Medieval Greece and the Empire of Trebizond, A.D. 1204-1461, pp. 305-427 with tables and lists of rulers on pp. 434-439); Fallmerayer himself had observed accordingly that Finlay’s work was worthy of a Gibbon!


8. Of importance were also Fallmerayer’s other findings in the Athonite monastery of Dionysiou, which he visited in the course of his second Oriental journey (1840-42) before publishing his Original-Fragmente: see Greek trans. of his Αυθεντικά κείμενα [as in previous note], 22, 25; cf. A. Savvides, Η θετική πλευρά του έργου του Φαλλμεράϋερ, in iDEM, Ποικίλα δοκίμια ιστορικά, φιλολογικά, βιβλιοκριτικά (Athens: Iolcos, 1999), 15-20, at 18.

These two monumental works, largely based on Panaretus’ account and praised by A. Vasiliev in his 1940/41 invaluable survey of Pontic bibliography, together with an important contribution by the Russian historian A.A. Kunik (1814-1899) on the Trebizondine Empire’s foundation in 1204, published as early as 1854, the Greek monographs by Savvas Ioannides (1829-1910) in 1870 and Tryphon Evangellides (1863-1941) in 1898 and the late 19th-early 20th-century contributions by Athanassios Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1856-1912), laid the basis for a large number of 20th-21st-century contributions on Trebizond and the Grand Comneni. Thus, of immesurable value were a series of authoritative contributions by Fiodor (Fedor) I. Uspensky (1845-1928), Aleksandr A. Vasiliev (1867-1953), William Miller (1864-1945), the Metropolitan Chrysanthos (Philippides) (1881-1949), Émile Janssens, Michel Kurshanskis († 1990), Odysseus Lampides (1917-2006), Anthony A.M. Bryer (1937-2016), Sergei P. Karpov, Rustam M. Shukurov, Jan-Olof Rosenqvist (although the Swedish scholar who has done so much work on the Miracles of Saint Eugenius, has not included Panaretus in his survey of Byzantine literature), and others 10.

All that we know about Panaretus himself is derived from his own account: he seems to have been an influential figure in the court of the Grand Comnenian emperor Alexius III (1349-1390) and from A.D. 1363 (as “protosebastus” and “protonotarius”) was sent repeatedly on important diplomatic missions to the

10. Cf. survey in KARPOV, Ιστορία [here, ftnt. 2], 19 ff., 26 ff.; on the fundamental contributions by Lampides and Bryer, see also their respective obituaries by A.G.C. SAVVIDES in API 52 (2007), 419-429 and 56 (2016), 419-423; see also IDEM, A.A.M. Bryer-Laudatio, API 52 (2007), 389-396; references to publications on Fallmerayer, Finlay, Uspensky, Chrysanthos, Miller and Vasiliev, in SAVVIDES, Το κράτος [here below, ftnt. 18] (2nd ed., 2017), 124. On A.A. KUNIK’s old contribution (Osnovanie Trapezundskoĭ Imperii v. 1204 g., Učenije Zapiski Imper. Akademii Nauk po pervomu i tretjem Odoblenijami 2 [St. Petersburg, 1854], 705-733, see observations by VASILIEV [previous note], 342; of importance was also his pioneering article on the Seljuk attack on Trebizond in 1222/23: “Svjazi trapezundsko-seldžukskoj vojni 1223 g. s pervim našestvem Tatar na Severnoe Černomorje”, Učenije … 2 (1854), 734-746. The unexpected omission of Panaretus in J. O. ROSENQVIST, Η βεζαντινή λογοτεχνία από τον 6ο αιώνα ως την ‘Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης (Athens: Kanake, 2008, first published in Swedish in 2003; German translation, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).
Palaeologi in Constantinople, to the Georgians/Iberians and to various Turcoman chieftains/emirs in Trebizond's surrounding territories. About 1368/69 (A.M. 6876) he lost prematurely his two young sons, Constantine and Romanus, for whom he lamented in his text; crucial details are also provided in the Chronicle regarding the topography and monumental history of the Pontus and Trebizond in particular, utilized brilliantly by the late Anthony A.M. Bryer and the late David Winfield (1929-2013) in their 1985 masterpiece on medieval Pontic topography and monuments. It was Lampsides who showed that the final section of the work, from 1390 until 1426 (i.e. three years before the end of Alexius IV's reign [1417-1429]), was not written by Panaretus' quill but by that of an anonymous continuator who apparently lived in the 15th century; therefore the impossible assumption that the year 1426 was the *terminus post quem* for the author's death at a very old age (over 100, if we accept the proposed year c. 1320 for his birth), is not valid and it is safe to accept Lampsides' dating for his death about 1390 –the same year of Alexius III's death, too-, at the age of about 70 (see Lampsides’ ed. [1958], 10-16, esp. 11 ff.).

The Chronicle is unfortunately too brief for the formative decades of the Byzantine Pontic Empire, from 1204 until 1280, when most important events are mainly derived from other sources, mainly Greek or Oriental, e.g. the strife between the co-founder David Grand Comnenus and the Nicaean emperor-in-exile, Theodore


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I Lascaris (mainly related by Nicetas Choniates and George Acropolites), the Seljuk capture of Sinope in 1214 and the hapless Trebizondine alliance with the Rum Seljuks against the Ilkhanid Mongols in the battle of Köse-Dagh, in 1243 (narrated by the Persian chronicler at Iconium/Konya court, Ibn Bibi), while the massive albeit abortive Seljuk attack on Trebizond itself in 1222/23 (related by the Miracles of Saint Eugenius by the 14th-century metropolitan John-Joseph Lazaropulus) is in Panaretus’ account dispensed with in less than three lines! It is only from A.D. 1280 (beginnings of the reign of the Grand Comnenus John II) that the account becomes more detailed (particularly so for the events of Panaretus’ contemporary emperor Alexius III). Of particular merit are his pieces of information regarding the various neighbouring Turcoman dynasties of the Orient with whom the rulers of Trebizond either waged intermittent warfare or sought profitable marriage alliances in the 14th and 15th centuries, while there are also some pieces of information regarding the early Ottomans as well.

The present edition is nicely printed and does justice to the authoritative series in which it is included. The Greek script is on the whole adequate save a few minor orthographical errors, while the references are generally well presented, with only minor slips –e.g. on p. 150 in the reference to Lampros’ article «Διόρθωσις εις το Χρονικόν του Παναρέτου», in Νέος Ελληνομνήμων 4 (Athens, 1907), page 490 has dropped out at the end of the entry. The notes are carefully compiled, but seem to rest (understandably) too heavily on Karpov’s and Shukurov’s own contributions, which in themselves originally cite several other items, yet the latter almost invariably do not appear in the bibliography of the present publication.


15. For example, on p. 117, n. 7, on the identification of «σουλτάν Μελίκ» (who attacked Trebizond in 1222/23) with the sultan of Rum Ala al-Din Kaykubad I (1220-1237), see A. Savvides, Για την ταυτότητα του ‘Μελίκ’ στην σελτζουκική εκστρατεία του 1222-1223 κατά της Θρακοβάουντας, Πρακτικά ΙΔ’ Πανελληνίου Ιστορικού Συνεδρίων (Thessalonica, Greek Historical Society, 1994), 79-98 (repr. in Idem, Βυζαντινή προσωπογραφία, τοπική ιστορία και βυζαντινοτουρκικές σχέσεις. Ανατέταπα άρθρον 1991-1994 [Athens: Kritike, 1994], # XX, pp. 235-252). Moreover, on 117, n. 2, on the Georgian queen Tamaras’ role in the foundation of the Trebizondine Empire, there are two pertinent articles in Greek: A. Savvides, Η βασίλισσα Ταμάρα-Θάμαρ της Γεωργίας (Ιβηρίας). Μια μεσαιωνική
which would in any case have profited immensely by an exhaustive reference section; after all, Karpov himself has repeatedly referred to the usefulness of compact bibliographical surveys, most recently in his *opus magnum*, where he provides a detailed account of the development of Byzantine Pontic studies as well as a scrutiny of the primary sources for the Trebizondine Empire.

On the whole the selective bibliography has some notable omissions, e.g. Apostolos Karpozelos’ succinct and brilliant analysis of Panaretus’ *Chronicle* in vol. IV (2015) of his *Byzantine historians and chroniclers* (see here above, footnote 3), Simon Bendall’s *An introduction to the coinage of the Empire of Trebizond* (London: Spink, 2015)17 and Dimitri Korobeinikov’s 2014 monograph on 13th-century Byzantine-Turkish relations (see here above, footnote 14), while some of its Greek bibliography unwarranted ‘absences’ include recent publications, individual or collective, undertaken by the Society for Pontic Studies at Athens18, the idiosyncratic

16. Karpov, *Ιστορία* [here, n. 2], pp. 18-28 (footnotes 2-93), 28-40 (footnotes 94-203); the book’s bibliography is also exhaustive (pp. 561-619); see also bibl. in *Savvides, Ιστορία* [here, ft. 4], 220-287; summarized in idem, *Το κράτος* [here, in ft. 18], 122-132. A solid specialized bibliography also in Shukurov, *Velikie Komnini* [here, n. 5], pp. 375-408.

17. Recently translated into Greek by the numismatist Dr Eleni Lianta: *Εισαγωγή στη νομισματική της Αυτοκρατορίας της Τραπεζούντας* (Thessaloniki: Despoina Kyriakides, 2018), reviewed in the current vol. of *ByzSym*, below, pp. 445-452.

- albeit useful- monograph by Vassileios Ch. Lymeropoulos, the reissue of F. Uspensky’s and V.N. Benešević’s 1927 edition of the Vazelon Acts, reedited (with precious notes) by the late Constantine Papoulides (1934-2017), Elias Yarenes’ work on early Nicaean-Trebizondine relations centering around the struggle between David Grand Comnenus (the co-founder of the Empire of Trebizond) with Theodore I Lascaris over control of Paphlagonia, Athena A. Koltsida’s monograph on the Grand Comneni’s relations with the Trebizondine Church, Chrestos Samouelides’ manual on the Empire’s history, as well as pertinent entries in two
encyclopedic works including several well-documented entries on the medieval Pontus, like the six-volume *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού* (ed. Th. GEORGIADES, Thessalonica: Malliares-Paideia, 1988-1992, with reissues) and the *Εγκυκλοπαίδικο προσωπογραφικό λεξικό βυζαντινής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού* (letters A-E, in 6 vols, ed. A. SAVVIDES, Athens: Iolcos-Metron, 1996-2006) together with its English edition: *Encyclopaedic prosopographical lexicon of Byzantine history and civilization* (letters A-J, in 3 vols, edd. A. SAVVIDES – B. HENDRICKX, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007-2012). Perhaps a future updated edition will provide a fuller bibliography; indeed a definitive edition of a major source with an extensive historical commentary seems to be an apt place for a detailed reference section for the benefit of a steadily growing number of scholars who are beginning to study seriously various aspects of the history and culture of the Byzantine Pontus and its later era, i.e. that of “the last Greek Empire of the Byzantine era” (W. Miller).25

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24. The unoriginal compilation in the form of a short survey with inadequate bibl. by the late balkanist Joannes A. PARADRIANOS (Η Αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας, 1204-1461. Σύντομη ιστορική αναδρομή [Thessalonica: Kyriakides Bros, 2004], 46 pp. (with a photostat reprint of Panaretus’ Chronicle also here, pp. 47-78), also not included here, was cited by Karpov in his Ιστορία bibliography [as in ftn. 2], p. 600.

25. The addition “of the Byzantine era” was made in Miller’s classic short monograph by his posthumous editor, Anastasius C. Bandy, who provided a preface and also updated the bibl. of the 1926 original (*Trebizond, the last Greek Empire* [London, 1926] – *Trebizond, the last Greek Empire of the Byzantine era* [repr. Amsterdam 1968 and Chicago 1969]); there is also a Greek trans. of this work (W. MILLER, Τραπεζούντα, η τελευταία Ελληνική Αυτοκρατορία της βυζαντινής εποχής, 1204-1461 [Thessalonica: Kyriakides Bros, 2002]), also not cited here (nor in Karpov’s aforementioned Ιστορία); cf. review of the Greek trans. by Kyriakos PAPOLIDES, *AIP* 50 (2003-4), 309-313 (in Greek).