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Book Review: Michael Panaretos, Chronicle (in russian), ed. M. Kriukov, introd.-comment. S. P. Karpov, R. Sukurov, St Petersburg 2019

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Mihail Panaret, O Velikih Komninah (Trapezundskaja Khronika), ed. A. M. KRIUKOV, introd.-comm. S. P. KAPOV & R. M. ŠUKUROV [ser. Vizantijskaja Biblioteka/ Istočniki], St. Petersburg: Aleteija, 2019, pp. 173 & map at end. ISBN: 978-5-907115-64-4

“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* [Istanbul, 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

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

2. Cf. S. P. KAPOV, *Ιστορία της Αυτοκρατορίας της Τραπεζούντας* (Athens, Hellenic National Research Foundation, 2017), 29, note 101.

(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* contributions⁵. 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

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 Τραπεζουντιακής Αυτοκρατορίας' του Σεργκί Π. Κάροφ, ΑΠ 57* (2017), 13-27.

4. See entry on Panaretus and his work, with basic bibl., in A. SAVVIDES, *Ιστορία της Αυτοκρατορίας των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών της Τραπεζούντας (1204-1461)*, 3rd ed. (Thessalonica: Despoina Kyriakides, 2016), 198-201 [a photostat reprint of Fallmerayer's 1844 ed. on pp. 305-334]; cf. also recently the analysis of the Chronicle in Ap. KARPOZELOS, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι, v. IV: 13ος-15ος αι.* (Athens, 2015), 503-515, esp. 504 ff. On Karpov and his contributions, see A. G. C. SAVVIDES, *O Sergei Pavlovič Karpov και το έργο του*, pp. 385-396 in the Greek trans. of S.P. KARPOV, *Η Αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας και τα δυτικοευρωπαϊκά κράτη στους 13ο-15ο αιώνες* (Athens: Hērodotos, 2017); for Karpov's invaluable collection *Srednevekovij Pont* (Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter, 2001) [pp. 206-208 on Panaretus], see review by A. G. C. SAVVIDES (in Greek), *Βυζαντιακά* 24 (2004; publ. 2005), 450-451.

5. See his two pertinent synthetic works: *Velikie Komnini i Vostok, 1204-1461* (St. Petersburg, 2001), reviewed by A.G.C. SAVVIDES (in Greek), in *ΑΠ 50* (2003-4), 291-297; and *The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016), with a significant section on the Pontus of the Grand Comneni; cf. IDEM, *Turki v vizantijskom mire, 1204-1461* (Moscow, 2017).

6. On p. 117, n. 6, Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea (1204/5-1222) is dated to 1205-1221, as in M.J. ANGOLD, Theodore I Laskaris, in A.P. KAZHDAN et al. (edd.), *ODB*, III (New York-Oxford, 1991), 2039-2040, following the dating of the late J. Darrouzes (1912-1990).

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 bibliography⁷.

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)⁸, 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!⁹.

7. J.-Ph. FALLMERAYER, *Αυθεντικά κείμενα, χρονικά, επιγραφές και άλλο υλικό για την ιστορία της Αυτοκρατορίας της Τραπεζούντας*, Thessalonica: Kyriakides Bros, 2002, 127-133 (Fallmerayer's preface), 135-202 (Mavrides' adaptation & notes), 241-270 [Fallmerayer's photostat ed.].

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 Φαλλμεράιερ, in IDEM, *Ποικίλα δοκίμια ιστορικά, φιλολογικά, βιβλιοκριτικά* (Athens: Iolcos, 1999), 15-20, at 18.

9. On Finlay's utilization of Fallmerayer, see the article by the late Joan M. HUSSEY (1907-2006), Jakob-Philipp Fallmerayer and George Finlay, *BMGS* 4 (1978), 79-87. See also A. SAVVIDES, Η Αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας και η σημασία της μελέτης της ιστορίας της. Οι πηγές και η διαχρονική πρόοδος της έρευνας, *ΑΠ* 52 (2007), 95-126, esp. 104 ff. (=reissued with bibl. additions in A. SAVVIDES-N. NIKOLOUDES, *Ο ύστερος μεσαιωνικός κόσμος [11ος-16ος αι.]* [Athens: Hērodotos, 2007], # XXVIII, 445-478, esp. 453 ff.);

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 Evagellides (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 immeasurable 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 Lampsides (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 others¹⁰.

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

SAVVIDES, *Ιστορία* [here, fn. 4], 20 ff. and *Το κράτος* [here below, fn. 18] (2nd ed., 2017), 124; IDEM, *The beginnings and foundation of Byzantine studies. A survey with a bibliographical appendix* (Athens: Hērodotos, 2018), 107-108 with refs in fnns 11-12. On VASILIEV's eulogies for Fallmerayer's and Finlay's accounts, see his "The Empire of Trebizond in history and literature", *Byz* 15 (1940/41), 316-377, at 332-334 and 338-342 respectively.

10. Cf. survey in KΑΡΡΟΒ, *Ιστορία* [here, fn. 2], 19 ff., 26 ff.; on the fundamental contributions by Lampsides and Bryer, see also their respective obituaries by A.G.C. SAVVIDES in *ΑΠ* 52 (2007), 419-429 and 56 (2016), 419-423; see also IDEM, A.A.M. Bryer-Laudatio, *ΑΠ* 52 (2007), 389-396; references to publications on Fallmerayer, Finlay, Uspensky, Chrysanthos, Miller and Vasiliev, in SAVVIDES, *Το κράτος* [here below, fn. 18] (2nd ed., 2017), 124. On A.A. KUNIK's old contribution (*Osnovaniye Trapezundskoj Imperii v. 1204 g., Učeniye Zapiski Imper. Akademii Nauk po pervomu i tretjemi Otdblenijami* 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 našestviem Tatar na Severnoe Černomorje", *Učeniye ...* 2 (1854), 734-746. The unexpected omission of Panaretus in J. O. ROSENQVIST, *Η βυζαντινή 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 monuments¹¹. 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.)¹².

The Chronicle is unfortunately too brief for the formative decades of the Byzantine Pontic Empire, from 1204 until 1280¹³, 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

11. A. BRYER-D. WINFIELD, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, nos. 20/1-2; Washington, 1985); cf. review (in Engl.) by A. G. C. SAVVIDES, *Bsl* 52 (Prague 1991; publ. 1992), 167-169; also, previously rev. in Greek, in *Παροναστός* 28 (1986), 436-438.

12. Cf. also the dating 1320/30-*post* 1386 in КАРПОВ, *Srednevekovij Pont* [here, fn. 4], 206; when his son Romanus died at 17 in 1368/69, Panaretus himself must have been about 48/49. The entire work was ascribed to Panaretus by the late Robert Browning (1914-1997), who dated the author's *floruit* to the first half of the 15th century (moreover citing only the edition of the Chronicle by the late Jordanes PAMPOUKES [1915-1985] [Athens, «Ποντιακά» # 2, 1947], preface on pp. 5-38, text at 39-59, endnotes at 60-61): R. BROWNING, entry "Panaretos", in D. R. DUDLEY – D. M. LANG (edd.), *Penguin companion to literature*, 4: *Classical and Byzantine, Oriental and African* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 202b.

13. A period complemented by Nicetas Choniates, Nicholas Mesarites, George Acropolites, Theodore Scutariotes, Ephraem Aenius, George Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, the *Miracula S. Eugenii* by John-Joseph Lazaropoulos and Constantine Loukites and (from the 13th c. onwards) by the Vazelon monastery documents; especially on the *Miracula* (with reviews on Rosenqvist's 1996 edition-Engl. transl.), see SAVVIDES [here, fn. 9], *ΑΠ* 52 (2007), 105-106 = reissued in SAVVIDES-NICOLOUDES (here fn. 9), 455-456.

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 centuries¹⁴, 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 Ελληνομνημίων* 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 publication¹⁵,

14. Cf. appendix IV, in SAVVIDES, *Ιστορία* [here, fn. 4], 213-219; cf. N. NICOLOUDES, Ο βυζαντινός Πόντος και τα τουρκικά φύλα, in A. SAVVIDES (ed.), *Ο βυζαντινός Πόντος* [here below, fn. 18] (2013), 81-112, esp. 105-106. On 13th-century Trebizondine-Turkish relations, see also D. KOROBENIKOV, *Byzantium and the Turks in the 13th century* [Oxford Studies in Byzantium] (Oxford U.P., 2014), not utilized in the edition under review.

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 Τραπεζούντας, *Πρακτικά ΙΔ' Πανελληνίου Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου* (Thessalonica, Greek Historical Society, 1994), 79-98 (repr. in IDEM, *Βυζαντινή προσωπογραφία, τοπική ιστορία και βυζαντινοτουρκικές σχέσεις. Ανατύπωση άρθρων 1991-1994* [Athens: Kritike, 1994], # XX, pp. 235-252). Moreover, on 117, n. 2, on the Georgian queen Thamar's/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 Empire¹⁶.

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

‘Σεμίραμις του Καυκάσου’, reissued in SAVVIDES – NICOLOUDES [here, fn. 9], pp. 255-264, esp. 259 ff. as well as Lina M. POZIDOU, Η συμβολή της βασίλισσας Ταμάρας (Θάμαρ) στην ίδρυση της Αυτοκρατορίας της Τραπεζούντας, in A. SAVVIDES (ed.), *Ο βυζαντινός Πόντος* [here below, fn. 18] (2013), 177-195.

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, fn. 4], 220-287; summarized in idem, *Το κράτος* [here, in fn. 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* (Thessalonica: Despoina Kyriakides, 2018), reviewed in the current vol. of *ByzSym*, below, pp. 445-452.

18. E.g. A. SAVVIDES (ed.), *Ο βυζαντινός Πόντος (4ος-15ος αι.). Ιστορικές συμβολές* (Athens, 2013), with contributions among others by Jasmine MOYSEIDOU (survey of the history of the Trebizondine Empire, pp. 49-79), Nikos NICOLOUDES (on the Byzantine Pontus and Turkish peoples, pp. 81-112), Stylianos LAMPAKES (on letters, education, science and culture, pp. 113-137), and the late numismatist Vasso PENNA (1951-2018) (on 10th-13th-c. Trebizondine coins, pp. 139-176 with illustrations); also, A. SAVVIDES, *Το κράτος των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών της Τραπεζούντας (1204-1461 μ.Χ.). Η Βυζαντινή Αυτοκρατορία του Πόντου. Μια ευσύνοπτη ιστορική επισκόπηση* (Athens, 2016 and 2nd updated ed., 2017), with English summary at 133-136. A fairly recent solid survey of the Trebizondine Empire's main features, in J. MOYSEIDOU, *Η Αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας. Ένα ‘παρασιωπημένο’ κεφάλαιο της βυζαντινής ιστορίας*, in T. KOLIAS – C. PITSAKES [edd.], *Aureus. Τόμος αφιερωμένος στον καθηγητή Ενάγγελο Κ. Χρυσό* (Athens, Hellenic National Research Foundation, 2014), 591-602. On the historical publications of the Society for Pontic Studies with special reference to the medieval period, see survey in A. G. C. SAVVIDES., *Το ιστορικό έργο της Επιτροπής Ποντιακών Μελετών – μια γενική αποτίμηση*, in *Επιτροπή Ποντιακών Μελετών, 1927-*

-albeit useful- monograph by Vassileios Ch. Lymperopoulos¹⁹, 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)²⁰, Elias Yarenēs' 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 Paphlagonia²¹, Athena A. Koltsida's monograph on the Grand Comneni's relations with the Trebizondine Church²², Chrestos Samouelides' manual on the Empire's history²³, as well as pertinent entries in two

2017. *Ενεήντα χρόνια από την ίδρυσή της. Επετειακό λεύκωμα* (Athens, 103-109) and especially recently Lina M. POZIDOU, *Αρχαίον Πόντου: istorija devjati desjajiletij. Istoriko-bibliografičeskij obzor, Vizantijskij Vremennik* 102 (Moscow U.P., 2018), 335-351 with detailed refs. Mrs Pozidou is a PhD candidate at Peloponnesos University, Kalamata, with a thesis on Trapezuntine-Georgian relations entitled «Σχέσεις των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών της Τραπεζούντας με το μεσαιωνικό κράτος της Ιβηρίας [Γεωργίας] του Καυκάσου».

19. V. Ch. LYMPEROPOULOS, *Ο βυζαντινός Πόντος-Η Αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας, 1204-1461. Ο χώρος, οι άνθρωποι, η οικονομία* (Athens: Demiourgia, 1999); reviewed by A. G. C. SAVVIDES, *ΑΠ* 48 (1998-99), 411-414. Karpov cites it in his *Ιστορία* [here, fn. 2], 596.

20. *Τα Acta της μονής Βαζελώνος. Στοιχεία για την ιστορία της αγροτικής και μοναστηριακής εγγείας ιδιοκτησίας στο Βυζάντιο κατά το 13ο-15ο αι.*, preface-ed.-additions by C. C. PAPOULIDES, Greek transl. Elias C. PETROPOULOS (Thessalonica: Kyriakides Bros, 2002) [KARPOV utilizes the old edition in his *Ιστορία*, op.cit., 20-21]; on the original 1927 ed. and its reviews, see A. SAVVIDES - S. LAMPAKES, *Γενική βιβλιογραφία περί του Βυζαντινού Πόντου και του κράτους των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών της Τραπεζούντας* (Athens: Domos, 1992), 41.

21. See E. GIARENES, *Ο Δαβίδ Κομνηνός συνιδρυτής και στρατιωτικός ηγέτης της Αυτοκρατορίας της Τραπεζούντας. Ο αγώνας κυριαρχίας, η αντιπαράθεση με τη Νίκαια και ο ρόλος των λογίων*, *Βυζαντινά* 25 (2005-6), 169-189; IDEM, *Η συγκρότηση και η εδραίωση της Αυτοκρατορίας της Νίκαιας. Ο αυτοκράτορας Θεόδωρος Α΄ Κομνηνός Λάσκαρις* (Athens: Hellenic National Research Foundation, 2008), esp. pp. 162-185 [«Οι σχέσεις με την Αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας»]. These publications however were utilized by KARPOV in his *Ιστορία* [here, fn. 2], bibl. on p. 589. On David Grand Comnenus († 1212) see also A. SAVVIDES, *Βυζαντινά στασιαστικά και αυτονομιστικά κινήματα στα Δωδεκάνησα και στη Μικρά Ασία, 1189-σ. 1240 μ.Χ.* (Athens: Domos, 1987), pp. 260-300 («Ο Δαβίδ Κομνηνός του Πόντου [1204-1212]») and R.M. SHUKUROV, «The enigma of David Grand Komnenos», *Mésogeios* 12 (Paris: Hérodotos, 2001=N. NICOLOUDES [ed.]: *Byzance*), 125-136.

22. A. A. KOLTSIDA, *Οι σχέσεις των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών με την Εκκλησία της Τραπεζούντας (1204-1461)* (Thessalonica: Kyriakides Bros, 2005).

23. Despite its bibliographical shortcomings, one should also refer to this detailed popularized history of the Empire of the Grand Comneni: Chr. SAMOUELIDES, *Η Αυτοκρατορία*

encyclopedic works including several well-documented entries on the medieval Pontus, like the six-volume *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού* (ed. Th. GEORGIADIS, Thessalonica: Malliades-Paideia, 1988-1992, with reissues) and the *Εγκυκλοπαιδικό 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)²⁴. 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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της Τραπεζούντας. Τα 257 χρόνια του ελληνικού μεσαιωνικού κράτους των 21 Κομνηνών αυτοκρατόρων του Πόντου, 1204-1461 (Athens: Ελληνικά Γράμματα, 2007; reissued Thessalonica: Kyriakides Bros, 2013). Karpov however has cited in his *Ιστορία* (here fn.4, 24) the 3rd [=in fact 2nd] ed. of Samouelides' older general popularized manual entitled *Ιστορία του ποντιακού Ελληνισμού*, which was republished in Athens (Νέα Σύνορα-Livanes, 2002) and not in Thessalonica (with a long chapter III on the Empire of the Grand Comneni, at 65-124).

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 KΑΡΡΟV in his *Ιστορία* bibliography [as in fn. 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 KΑΡΡΟV's aforementioned *Ιστορία*); cf. review of the Greek trans. by Kyriakos PAPOULIDES, *ΑΠ* 50 (2003-4), 309-313 (in Greek).