

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE EXACT DATING OF THE DEATH OF THE BYZANTINE HISTORIAN NICETAS CHONIATES

The exact dating of the death of Nicetas Choniates bristles with problems, because of the lack of any direct information about the last years of his life. Moreover, the problem becomes even more complex since Nicetas Choniates discontinued his literary activities a few years before his death (1210-1211). There is positive evidence that he lived for several years after he had ceased writing¹.

The fundamental source for the dating of Nicetas' death is the *Μονωδία*, written by Michael Choniates², lamenting his younger brother's death³. Of course, such a lament could not have been written long after Nicetas' death. Therefore, the exact dating of *Μονωδία* would automatically lead to the dating of Nicetas' death.

There is a highly controversial passage in *Μονωδία* - the focus of heated debate among scholars - which is of extreme importance to any attempt to date this text: "Ἀδελφὸς δ' ἐγὼ... πένθους ἐποιοῦμην ὑποθέσεις ἐπὶ τε καιναῖς καὶ ἰδαίαις ἐμαυτοῦ συμφοραῖς, καὶ... ἑρὸν Ἀθήνησι πιστευθεὺς... ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν ἐκεῖσε πεφυτευμένον τὰ πρῶτα πρὸ δεκάδων ἐτῶν τριῶν καὶ ὑπερέκεινα... οὖν δ' ἐπὶ φάραγγα ὑπάρειον πρὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ κλύδωνος ἐκβρασσόμενον, ἔνθα περέριμμαι μετανάστης..."⁴.

Sp. Lambros defined the year of the composition of *Μονωδία* - and consequently the year of Nicetas' death - c.1214-1215⁵, based on the sentence "ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν ἐκεῖσε πεφυτευμένον τὰ πρῶτα πρὸ δεκάδων ἐτῶν τριῶν καὶ ὑπερέκεινα". According to him, the word "ὑπερέκεινα" means just two or three more years, which added to the three decades mentioned in this passage (δεκάδων ἐτῶν τριῶν) lead us to the year 1182, i.e., the year Michael Choniates became Bishop of Athens⁶.

The scholars who dealt with this problem later⁷ either accepted Lambros' view or dated Nicetas' death between the time he stopped his literary activities and the year in which his older brother, the author of *Μονωδία*⁸, died. Nevertheless, this complicated problem, far from being solved, has continued to be discussed by many scholars⁹, most recently by G. Stadtmüller⁹ and J.A.J. van Dieten¹⁰.

Stadtmüller insists persistently in his last study that there is no way to date exactly the death of Nicetas and that we must restrict ourselves just to a terminus post quem (1213). On the other hand, like Lambros, van Dieten proposes a solution which again involves the puzzling word "ὑπερέκεινα" of the relevant passage of *Μονωδία*; he places the death of Nicetas within the time limit of 1212/13 - 1216/17, during which *Μονωδία* seems to imply that the death of Nicetas took place. For van

Dieten, "ὑπερέκεινα" is a term which cannot be stretched beyond five years. Nevertheless, Dieten's arguments leave plenty of room for discussion:

a) The letter no.164 in Lambros' edition¹¹, informs us that Michael Choniates expresses his great anxiety because Nicetas stopped writing to him¹², should be scrutinized before any conclusions are drawn. Actually it offers us no clues about the date of Nicetas' death because it was written on the island Keo¹³ and it is inserted - without being part of the codex Laurentianus¹⁴ which indicates the chronological order of the letters - among the letters 161, 162, 163, 165 a.o., which were written in the monastery of Prodomos, near Thermopylai, the last refuge of the self-exile of Michael Choniates¹⁵.

b) The news about Nicetas' death could not have reached his brother immediately. However, the transmission of this important news to a close relative could not have taken many months, since we know that of ordinary news at this period required a maximum of two to three months¹⁷ to be transmitted the same distance.

c) Van Dieten calculates the period from Michael Choniates' ascension to the bishopric seat (1182) until the time he wrote the Μονψόζα to be a total of thirty-three years, based on the expression "δεκάδων ἑτῶν τριῶν καὶ ὑπερέκεινα"¹⁸, but in this way he returns to Sp.Lambros' old view that Μονψόζα (and Nicetas' death) should be dated from 1215, an opinion which he explicitly states in a more recent article¹⁹.

The solution to the problem of dating Nicetas Choniates' death, which is closely related to the time of the composition of Μονψόζα should not be solely based on the interpretation of the word "ὑπερέκεινα"²⁰, as has been done by some modern scholars. It is also a mistake to believe that Michael Choniates learned about his brother's death and wrote his Μονψόζα while living in exile in Keo²¹. This is not true. From the same passage of Μονψόζα, mentioned at the beginning of this paper, there is no doubt that the text was written in the monastery of Prodomos, in the district of Thermopylai²².

To understand and explain this problem we must scrutinize the chronological problems which refer to Michael Choniates' movements. I believe that the time of Michael's arrival at the monastery of Prodomos forms a convenient terminus post quem for both the composition of Μονψόζα and the dating of Nicetas' death. For the understanding of this problem the relevant correspondence of Michael Choniates is very valuable.

G.Stadt Müller expressed the view that letter 165 was the first to be written at the monastery of Prodomos of Mountinitza²³. Van Dieten points out that in letter 161²⁴ the sentence "εἰ μὴ δὲ ὄλων ὁώδεκα ἐνταυ- τῶν..." is closely related to letter 165, where we meet a similar chrono-

logical reference: "καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ παρώκησα ἔτος τοῦτ' ὡδέκατον"²⁵. Therefore, these two letters were written when Michael had completed twelve years of exile in Keo.

We must not, however, overlook the fact that there are certain difficulties in dating the year to which the expression "ὡδέκατον ἔτος" (twelfth year) of Choniates' exile refers. Lambros expressed the view that "Michael went to Keo about a year after the capture of Athens, which probably took place in 1205"²⁶. According to Gregorovius Michael "μετέβη εἰς τὴν νῆσον Κέων τῷ 1206"²⁷. The sack of Athens by the Franks is placed, as we know, at the end (October or November) of 1204²⁸. It is also known that Michael's dismissal from the bishopric seat of Athens and his exile did not take place abruptly. Certain time was needed during which Michael tried to negotiate an agreement with the Latins²⁹. We cannot therefore accept the view that the beginning of his exile must be placed in 1204. Concerning Lambros' and Gregorovius' opinions that Michael arrived in Keo in 1206³⁰, I believe that a transposition - for greater accuracy - of the year of Michael's arrival in Keos to the end of 1205 is in accordance with what the exiled archbishop himself relates: "Ὅτε δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐξήλειμεν ὅσα δαπάνης ἔνεκα ἐκομιζόμεθα, ταῦτα ἐπαναπλεύσαντες εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην παρὰ τὸν καρδινάριον καὶ πάλιν κατελθόντες εἰς Εὐβοίαν κάκεῖθεν δεῦρο [i.e., in Keo] διαπλωιζόμενοι ἀνηλώσαμεν πάντα ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ"³¹ (within a year, as long as his hardships lasted until his arrival in Keos). Therefore, Gregorovius postulated correctly that "Michael dared to return to Athens. He did so secretly, perhaps in the year 1217"³² (i.e., after residence of twelve years on the island). We could therefore accept, in accordance with van Dieten, that the twelfth year, mentioned in letters 165 and 161, refers to the end of 1216 or more probably to the beginning of 1217³³, a time which coincides with Michael's final abandonment of the island and his movement to the monastery of Prodomos through Euboea. Actually, based on these arguments, Stadtmüller places letter 165 in 1217³⁴.

While Stadtmüller dates letter 165 in 1217, he suggests the year 1215 for letter 161³⁵. But the expressions "ὡδέκατον ἔτος τοῦτ'" and "δὲ ὅλων δώδεκα ἐνιαυτῶν" lead us to the dating of both letters from the same year. The information in letter 160, in which Michael mentions the decision of his student, George Bardanes, to go to Nikaia³⁶, to Patriarch Manuel Sarantenos, who succeeded Maxim II after December 1216³⁷ also leads us to this conclusion. Therefore, Bardanes' trip, in spite of Stadtmüller's different opinion³⁸, must be placed a year later, in the winter of 1216/1217. The sentence "Βαβαῖ τῆς τόλης ὅτι καὶ νῦν χειμῶνος ἤδη προσέρποντος ὅτε πᾶς..."³⁹ of letter 160, which may have covered a period extending from October / November 1216 to the spring of 1217, also leads us to this conclusion. There-

fore, if the letter 160 dates from the end of the 1216 or the beginning of 1217, the next one - according to the cod. Laurentianus must have dated at least from the same period. This dating is also confirmed by the fact that letter 161 is closely connected with letter 165, which dates from 1217. There is a close thematic interrelationship between those two letters.

In letter 161 there are some very important elements: first of all, the information that Michael, after a twelve-year exile, had changed his place of residence and moved to in the monastery in which he had chosen to spend the rest of his life. It is the monastery of Prodomos, near Thermopylai. Therefore, letter 161 (and not 165) is the first letter which was written in the area of Thermopylai. Letter 165 to Theodore Ducas follows. Sp. Lambros had correctly pointed out that the exalting attitude which we discern towards Theodore in this letter can be attributed to his later fame⁴⁰, after his triumphant victory and the crushing defeat of the Latin emperor Pierre de Courtenai, near Dyrrachium (April 1217)⁴¹. Theodore Ducas seemed to have been in the area of Dyrrachium, when Choniates sent his letter 167 to John Apokaukos⁴², a letter which is found according to cod. Lau - rentianus in chronological sequence with the previous ones.

Therefore, it seems that Michael Choniates arrived at the monastery of Prodomos in the spring of 1217. Then he immediately wrote to the abbot of the monastery of Saint Meletios, to whom he felt obliged to explain why he chose not to go to Saint Meletios' monastery after his flight from Keos. He also wrote to Theodore of Epiros, relating the reasons which led him to the decision to stop and reside in the monastery of Prodomos and not to proceed to any monastery of the area under him. He wrote in a similar spirit to the archbishop of Naupaktos, John Apokaukos. All these letters should be dated from about the same time.

The rest of Choniates' letters were sent from the monastery of Prodomos. Letter 168 dates from 1217⁴³ and the immediately following letter⁴⁴ mentions the winter trip of Vardanes which cannot be placed out of the strictly chronological order of the letters of cod. Laurentianus. Very close to the time of Michael's change of residence is letter 170 to Euthymios Tornikes⁴⁵. Letter 171 - which is addressed to patriarch Manuel⁴⁶ - is not irrelevant to the above-mentioned Vardanes' trip to Nicaea. To the letters dated from 1217, we can also add letters 172 and 173. Letter 173 can be dated more precisely from a certain period of fasting⁴⁷, and can be connected with another similar letter of Apokaukos which must have been written, according to E. Bees-Sepherles, "probably or about the end of the year 1217, shortly after Michael's arrival at this monastery (of Prodomos) and after the exchange of letters with Apokaukos ... or between September and December 1219. It was at that time that, thanks to George Vardanes, the correspondence between the two men which had been

interrupted earlier⁴⁸, was resumed. The correlation of Apokaukos' letter with Choniates' letter 173 leads us to the dating of both letters from 1217, because letter 173 in the strict order of cod. Laurentianus excludes the dating from the period between September to December 1219. In the person of Kostomoiros, to whom the letter 174 is addressed⁴⁹, we can discern, as E. Bees-Sepherles suggests⁵⁰, Logariastes Kostomoiros who occupied the bishopric seat of Neai Patrai (Ypate), instead of Euthymios Tornikes who had been proposed as a bishop by John Apokaukos. Of course, the filling of this seat took place after the liberation of Neai Patrai from the Franks and after Theodore Ducas' march to the north⁵¹. This event can be dated from 1219⁵² and the letter seems not to be irrelevant to the proceedings of Kostomoiros' election. Kostomoiros, because of the discussions about the filling of the bishopric seat, might have wanted to see Michael Choniates and asked to visit him, since Michael was very close to Ypate at that time.

A close scrutiny of Michael Choniates' correspondence enables us to trace Michael's movement from Keos to Mountinitza, and to establish precisely the date of his arrival at the monastery of Prodromos. We also observe that between the years 1217 and 1219 there is an interruption in Michael Choniates' correspondence. The question which arises next is: what happened at this interval which forced the metropolitan to isolate himself? Many explanations can be suggested. We must not, however, forget that the text of Μοναδία reveals that it was written at the monastery of Prodromos where Michael resided from the beginning of 1217. We have a definite terminus post quem for its composition. Can we consider Choniates' interruption of his correspondence as an argumentum ex silentio for Nicetas' death?

In letters 162 and 163 Michael addresses himself to Nicephoros Verivoes and his wife Verivoessa⁵³ (writing from the monastery of Pro-dromos in a period which can be placed not far from the spring of 1217, i.e., near the time the letters 161 and 165 - found in the cod. Laurentianus - were written). Those letters were written by Michael in order to console the Verivoes couple after the death of their daughter, the wife of a certain nephew of Choniates. Had Michael's own brother recently died, one would expect a reference to his death in these condolence letters.

But Michael made reference to that tragic event neither in those two letters nor in the rest of the letters dated from 1217. In fact, it is noteworthy that his last letter of 1217 (perhaps during the Lent of August)⁵⁴ was written in a charming and negligent style, betraying that by that time no bad news about his brother had disturbed his mind⁵⁵.

If we accept van Dieten's logical view that the term "ὑπερέκει-

va" cannot be stretched beyond a period of five years, this enables us to put with reasonable certainty the terminus ante quem for the composition of Μονψόφα after the summer of 1217. This also implies that Nicetas' death should be placed a little earlier, but no later than two or three months, in any case, after the spring of 1217.

N O T E S

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1. For the life and work of Niketas Choniates see J.A.J.van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen Nebst einer Biographie [Supplementa Byzantina, 2], Berlin 1971, pp.1-60, and the relevant bibliography (hereafter: van Dieten, Niketas Choniates). See also: H.Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, vol.I [Byzantisches Handbuch, XII.5.1], München 1978, pp.430-441.

2. For the life and work of Michael Choniates this monograph is still a useful one: G.Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen (ca 1138-1222), Orientalia Christiana, vol.XXXIII-2, Nu 91 (Februario-Martio 1934), Roma 1934. See also: H.-G.Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich, München ²1968, pp.637-638; A.Solignac, Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, vol.X (1980), col.1176-1178, s.v. Michel Choniates, and the relevant bibliography. For the appellation "Ἀκομινάτος" see: O. Lampsidis, Nochmals der Name AKOMINATOS, Byzantinische Zeitschrift 64(1971) 26-27.

3. See: Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, ed.Sp.P.Lambros, vol.1, Athens 1879 (phot.repr.Groningen 1968), pp.345-366 (hereafter: Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol.1 or 2).

4. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol.1, pp.357, 17-25 - 358, 1-8.

5. Op.cit., vol.2, Athens 1880, pp.538-539, 547. See also: G.Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, pp.230-231 [108-109], 257 [135].

6. Sp.P.Lambros, Αὐτὸς Ἀθηναῖος περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος κατὰ πηγὰς ἀνεκδότους, Athens 1879, p.20 note 5. See also: F.Gregorovius - Sp.P.Lambros, Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων κατακτῆσεως, vol.1, Athens 1904, p.281 and note 3. K.M.Setton, Athens in the later twelfth century, Variorum Reprints, London 1975, pp.207-208 (Addendum).

7. Before Sp.Lambros, F.Uspenskij (Bizantijskij pisatelj Nikitas Akominatos iz Hon, St.Petersburg 1874, p.35) had specified the date of Nicetas' death between 1210-1215.

8. H.v.Kap-Herr, Die abendländische Politik Kaiser Manuels mit beson-

derer Rücksicht auf Deutschland, Strassburg 1881 (prot. repr. Amsterdam 1966), p. 122. C. Neumann, Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichts Quellen im 12 Jahrhundert, Leipzig 1888 (prot. repr. N. York 1971), pp. 104-105. K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453), München 1897, p. 282. Ant. Meliarskes, 'Ιστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας καὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου (1204-1261), Athens 1898, p. 150. L. Petit, Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, vol. I (1903), col. 317, s. v. Akominatos Nicētas. F. Chalandon, Les Commēnes, vol. II, Jean Commène (1118-1143) et Manuel Commène (1143-1180), Paris 1912, p. XXIII and note 1. K. I. Dyouniotes, Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, vol. 3 (1927), p. 131, s. v. Ἀκομινᾶτος 2) Νικῆτας. N. A. B(ees), Ἐλευθερουδάκη, Ἐγκυκλοπαίδειδὸν Λεξικόν, vol. 1 (1927) p. 637, s. v. Ἀκομινᾶτου - Νικῆτας. S. G. M(ercati), Enciclopedia Italiana vol. 1 (1929), p. 335, s. v. Acominato Niceta. G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, pp. 256-257 [134-135]. Br. Lehmann, Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates, Georgios Akropolites und Pachymeres über die Selçuquen in der Zeit von 1180 bis 1280 n. Chr., Diss. Leipzig 1939, p. 16. V. Grecu, Nikētas Choniātēs a-t-il connu l'histoire de Jean Cinnamos?, Revue des Études Byzantines 7 (1949) 194. D. S. Mbalanos, Οἱ βυζαντινοὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ συγγραφεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ 800 μέχρι τοῦ 1453, Athens 1951, p. 109. M.-E. Colonna, Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo: I. Storici profani, Napoli 1956, p. 89. N. B. Tomadakes, Βυζαντινὴ Γραμματολογία (1204-1453), Φραγκοκρατία καὶ Παλαιολόγιοι χρόνοι, fasc. 1, 'Ο δέκατος τρίτος αἰών, Athens 1957, p. 93 (= Σύλλαβος Βυζαντινῶν Μελετῶν καὶ Κειμένων, fasc. 2, Φραγκοκρατία καὶ παλαιολόγιοι χρόνοι, Athens 1961, p. 455); see also by the same author: Ὁρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἡθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, vol. 9 (1966), col. 472, s. v. Νικῆτας. 'Ο Χωνιάτης. D. Zakythenos, Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα [Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη "'Αετοῦ", 3], Athens 1957, p. 243. G. Moravcsik, Byzantino-turcica, vol. I, Berlin 1958, p. 445. E. Kriaras, Ἡ μεσαιωνικὴ ἑλληνικὴ γραμματεία, Νέα Παγκόσμια Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, vol. "'Ελλάς", 1958, p. 570. H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich, p. 663. W. Buchwald-A. Holzhweg-O. Prinz, Tusculum-Lexikon, Griechische und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters, München 1963, p. 357. Fr. Dölger, Byzantine Literature, The Cambridge Medieval History, vol. IV, part II, Cambridge 1967, p. 231. J. A. J. van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, p. 19. I. E. Karayannopoulos, Πηγαὶ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἱστορίας, Thessaloniki³ 1975 (1978), p. 355. K. M. Setton, The papacy and the Levant (1204-1511), vol. I, The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Philadelphia 1976, p. 483. K. Manaphes, Γραμματολογικὰ καὶ κείμενα συγγραφέων 13^{ου} αἰῶνος, fasc. 1, Athens 1976, p. 223. H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur, vol. I, p. 431.

9. See: G. Stadtmüller, Zur Biographie des Niketas Choniates (um 1150-um 1214), Byzantinische Forschungen 1 (1966) 327.

10. J. A. J. van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, p. 18. See also: J. A. J. van

Dieten, Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas, vol. III, München 1979, p. 319. s.v. Niketas Choniates.

11. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, pp. 324-326.

12. Op.cit., p. 325, 13-15; see also: J.A.J. van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, p. 18.

13. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 324, 8-12.

14. Description of codex Laurentianus LIX, 12 see in: A.M. Bandini, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae, vol. II, Lipsiae ²1961 (phot. repr. of the Florence ed. 1768), col. 501-516. For the exact chronological sequence of the letters in cod. Laurentianus see Lambros' relevant remark in Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 549.

15. See my article: 'Η "κατὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα" βυζαντινὴ μονὴ τοῦ Προδρόμου, τελευταῖος σταθμὸς τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτη, Βυζαντινά, 1 (1981) 99-138.

16. van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, p. 19.

17. For the time needed for correspondence between Epiros and Nikeia see V. Vasilievskij, Epirotica Saeculi XIII, Viz. Vrem. 3 (1896) 291, 24-27: καὶ ἐτέθη ὁρος τῇ πρὸς τὰ γραφέντα ταῦτα ἡμετέρῳ ἀπολογίᾳ τριμηνιαῖον διάστημα, ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ὁφείλον ἔχειν τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐνθάδε πρὸς τὰ ἐξῆ ἀνάπλου καὶ τέλος τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐξῶν κατάπλου πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα δυτικὰ.

18. van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, p. 19.

19. van Dieten, Biographisches Lexikon, vol. III, p. 319-320.

20. See: G.W.H. Lampe, A patristic Greek Lexikon, London ³1972, p. 1438.

21. See: Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, pp. 546, 647, 651, 654. See also: G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, pp. 256 [134], 271-272 [149-150]; van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, p. 19.

22. See: B. Katsaros, 'Η "κατὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα" βυζαντινὴ μονὴ τοῦ Προδρόμου, p. 123. Unfortunately professor N.B. Tomadakes failed to elaborate his original correct remark (See: Σύλλαβος Βυζαντινῶν Μελετῶν καὶ κειμένων, fasc. 2, p. 363) for the solution of this problem (See: op.cit., p. 455 and θρησκευτικὴ καὶ ἠθικὴ Ἑγκυκλοπαίδεια, vol. 9, col. 472).

23. G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, p. 264 [142].

24. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 319-320.

25. van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, p. 19. Sp. P. Lambros in: Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 644.

26. Sp. P. Lambros, Αὐτὸς Ἰσθμὸς περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 18' αἰῶνος, p. 108, note 2.

27. F. Gregorovius-Sp. P. Lambros, Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν, vol. 1, p. 419.

28. Op.cit., p. 374. See also: K.M. Setton, The Latins in Greece and the Aegean from the fourth Crusade to the end of the middle ages, The Cambridge Medieval History, vol. IV, part I, Cambridge 1966, p. 389.

29. F. Gregorovius-Sp. P. Lambros, Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν, vol. 1, p. 417 and note 3.

30. See notes 26, 27 above.
31. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 312, 12-16.
32. F. Gregorovius-Sp. P. Lambros, 'Ιστορία τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν, vol. 1, p. 423.
33. See: van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, p. 19.
34. G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, p. 264 [142].
35. Op. cit., p. 263 [141].
36. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 337, 14-17.
37. See: V. Laurent, Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, vol. I, fasc. IV, Paris 1971, p. 27.
38. G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, p. 205 [85].
39. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 318, 16-17, 644.
40. Op. cit., p. 646.
41. D. M. Nicol, The fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin empires 1204-1261, The Cambridge Medieval History, vol. IV, part I, Cambridge 1966, p. 305.
42. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 648.
43. G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, p. 264 [142].
44. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 334-335. See also G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, p. 205 [143].
45. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 335-336.
46. Op. cit., p. 336-337.
47. Op. cit., p. 339, 2-3. See also: N. A. Bees, Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropolitens von Naupaktos (in Aetolien), Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher 21 (1976) 84-85, text no. 26.
48. E. Bees-Sepherles, Προσθήκαι καὶ διορθώσεις, Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher 21 (1976) 184.
49. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 346-350. For appellation Κοστωμήρης see: Ph. Koukoules, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 5 (1928) 9; idem Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν 4 (1953-54) 70. See also by the same author: Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, vol. 6, Athens 1957, p. 479.
50. E. Bees-Sepherles, Προσθήκαι καὶ διορθώσεις, p. 192.
51. Op. cit., p. 193.
52. D. M. Nicol, The Despotat of Epirus, Oxford 1957, p. 58.
53. Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 320-323.
54. The place where Apocaukos' "ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐδωδύμων" gifts for Choniates came from is probably the lake of Messolongi. Perhaps those gifts were picked up at the season-time of caviar (i.e., July-August), see: Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, vol. 14, p. 311, s.v. Κέφαλος.
55. See Lambros' remarks in: Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2, p. 650.