

ALESSANDRA BUCOSSI

George Skylitzes' dedicatory verses for the Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros and the Codex Marcianus Graecus 524

The Sacred Arsenal (Ἱερὰ Ὀπλοθήκη) is one of the most important remaining Byzantine inedita of the twelfth century. It was written probably around 1173 by the *megas droungarios tes biglas* Andronikos Kamateros, an aristocrat from the Doukas family, active at the Constantinopolitan court during the second half of the twelfth century¹. Andronikos was an eminent senior office holder (he had the dignity of *sebastos*² and held the office of *epi ton deeseon*³, *eparchos* of Constantinople⁴, and *megas droungarios tes biglas*⁵), and his family was closely connected to the ruling house of the Komnenoi through Andronikos' mother, Irene Doukaina. Scholars hold varying opinions over Irene's identity⁶. She was most probably a niece of the empress Irene Doukaina, wife of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), and she

¹ For a more detailed biography of Andronikos Kamateros see A.C. CATALDI PALAU, *L'Arsenale Sacro di Andronico Camatero, il proemio ed il dialogo dell'imperatore con i cardinali latini: originale, imitazioni, arrangiamenti*. *REB* 51 (1993) 5–62. I add my D.Phil. thesis entitled „Prolegomena to the critical edition of Ἱερὰ Ὀπλοθήκη – Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros“ available for consultation at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Scattered information about Andronikos Kamateros can be found also in L. ALLACCI, *De Ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione*. Cologne 1648, 660–662; G. CAVE, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria a Christo nato usque ad saeculum XIV*. Geneva 1720, 588; C. OUDIN, *Commentarius de scriptoribus Ecclesiae antiquae*, II. Frankfurt / Main 1722, 1463–1466; J.A.G. HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel: sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma*, III. Regensburg 1869, 810–814; A.K. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς, ἥτοι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν γραφάντων κατὰ Λατίνων καὶ περὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτῶν. Leipzig 1872 (reprint Athens 1968) (henceforward abbreviated DEMETRAKOPOULOS, *Graecia Orthodoxa*) 25–29; K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, I. Munich 1897, 90–91; A. PALMIERI, *Camatéros Andronic*. *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* II, 1432–1433; L. BRÉHIER, *Andronic Kamatéros*. *DHGE* II, 1800; M. JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab Ecclesia catholica dissidentium*. Paris 1926–1935, 411–412; V. LAURENT, *Un sceau inédit du protonotaire Basile Kamatéros. Contribution à la prosopographie Byzantine*. *Byz* 6 (1931) 253–272, 261; G. STADTMÜLLER, *Zur Geschichte der Familie Kamateros*. *BZ* 34 (1934) 352–358; H.-G. BECK, *Andronikos Kamateros*. *LThK* I (1957) 523; IDEM, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*. Munich 1959, 626–627; J. DARROUZÈS, *Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine*. *REB* 23 (1965) 42–88, 72–78; D.I. POLEMIS, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*. London 1968; J. DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Dèmétrios Tornikès: lettres et discours*. Paris 1970, 43–49; J. SPITERIS, *I dialoghi di Nicolas Mesarites coi Latini: opera storica o finzione letteraria?* In: *Collectanea Byzantina (OCA 204)*. Rome 1977, 181–186; IDEM, *La critica bizantina del primato romano nel secolo XII (OCA 208)*. Rome 1979, 184–194; A. FAILLER, *Andronikos Kamateros*. *LThK* I (1993) 638.

² On the appellations used to greet Kamateros see M. GRÜNBART, *Formen der Anrede im byzantinischen Brief vom 6. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert (WBS 25)*. Vienna 2005, 195.

³ DARROUZÈS, *George et Dèmétrios Tornikès 140–141, letter 16*.

⁴ *Kinnamos* V, 4, 210 (Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. MEINEKE. Bonn 1836); I. SAKKELION, *Πατριακή βιβλιοθήκη*. Athens 1890, 316.

⁵ S. N. SAKKOS, Ὁ Πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστὶ: ἔριδες καὶ σύνοδοι κατὰ τὸν ἴβ' αἰῶνα, II. Thessalonica 1968 (henceforward abbreviated SAKKOS, *Ekthesis*) 154; *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I: Les actes des patriarches, fasc. II et III: Les registes de 715 à 1206*, ed. V. GRUMEL – V. LAURENT. Paris 1989, revised and corrected by J. DARROUZÈS, number 1075.

⁶ DARROUZÈS, *George et Dèmétrios Tornikès 44* considers Irene to be niece or cousin of the empress Irene Doukaina, Polemis and Varzos in their analyses of the Doukas family are more precise on the genealogical tree and define Irene as a niece of the empress Irene Doukaina, wife of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), suggesting she was the daughter of Michael Doukas (1061–1108/18), brother of the empress (POLEMIS, *Doukai 78–79*). Polemis bases his interpretation on a passage from Prodomos' monody (at 531, lines 11–15 in A. MAJURI, *Anecdota Prodomoea dal Vat. Gr. 305. Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 5, XVII, fasc. 7–9, 518–554, Monody at 528–535) and Kallikles' verses (R. ROMANO, *Nicola Callicle, Carmi. Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico*. Naples 1980, 96f. [no. 21]; K. VARZOS, Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν, I. Thessalonica 1984, 133; 146, n. 5; 315, n. 17).

was the daughter of Michael Doukas (1061–1108/18), brother of the empress; therefore, Andronikos was second cousin⁷ to the emperor Manuel Komnenos. Amongst the most famous Andronikos' descents, we can list his daughter, Euphrosyne Doukaina Kamatera (1169–1210) who married Alexios III Angelos Komnenos around 1169 and was, therefore, empress from 1195 to 1203⁸. Kamateros' life most probably spanned from 1110 to 1180⁹.

The emperor Manuel Komnenos (1143–1180) commissioned the Sacred Arsenal, work of refutation of Latin and Armenian heresies, during a period in which negotiations with the Latin and the Armenian Churches about a possible reunion were proceeding fervently. The text of the Sacred Arsenal is clearly divided in two parts. The first part, dedicated to the Latin Church, opens with a proem that explains the circumstances in which the text was composed and exalts the emperor's piety and orthodoxy. Kamateros introduces then a dialogue, which he claims to be the verbatim transcription of a real encounter between Manuel Komnenos and the cardinals sent from Rome to discuss a possible agreement between the two churches. The topics under discussion cover only two of the points of disagreement between Catholicism and Orthodoxy: the primacy of the Roman Church and the procession of the Holy Spirit (*filioque*). The dialogue is followed by a vast patristic anthology that contains 151 quotations mostly from the Greek Fathers of the Church (three Latin Fathers are also included: Gregory the Great, Augustine and Jerome). A first epilogue concludes the patristic anthology and introduces the third section dedicated to the Latins, which is a compilation of 42 syllogisms collected from five authors who wrote about the procession of the Holy Spirit between the ninth and the twelfth century (Photios, Eustratios of Nicaea, Theophylact of Ochrid, Niketas of Byzantium and Nicholas of Methone). The first part of the Sacred Arsenal ends with a final panegyric epilogue. The second, and longer, part of the Sacred Arsenal substantially follows the same pattern, although after the dialogue it is divided into more sections of anthologies and syllogisms. It begins with a proem, followed by a discussion between the emperor and the Armenian teacher Peter, and then comes a series of anthologies, allocutions and exhortations. Each part ends with a panegyric epilogue. Nevertheless, the second part introduces a variation – while the dialogue is completely dedicated to the Armenian Church, the following collections of quotations and syllogisms refute together with the Armenian Monophysitism four other Christological heresies: Monotheletism, Theopaschitism, Docetism and Aphthartodocetism.

The complete critical edition of the Sacred Arsenal is in process, at the moment only the first half of the text is accessible in a transcription that constitutes the Appendix of my D. Phil. thesis.¹⁰ As far as I have been able to find out, we have at least 10 manuscripts¹¹ containing the direct tradition of the Sacred Arsenal; but only two of them contain a considerable part of the text, although neither of them is complete, these are Monacensis Graecus 229 (XIII c.)¹² and Venetus Marcianus Graecus 158 (coll. 515)

⁷ VARZOS, Ἡ γενεαλογία I 315, n. 17.

⁸ Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi – Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη VII, ed. K.N. SATHAS. Venice–Paris 1872–1894 (reprint 1972), 414; Πατριακά Β. Πρόσταξις τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουῆλ Α' Κομνηνοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν Πάτρῳ μονῆς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, ed. E.L. VRANOUSE, in: Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon, II. Athens 1966, 95–96; POLEMIS, Doukai 131; Niketas Choniates I 455 (Nicetae Choniatae historia I, ed. J.-L. VAN DIETEN [CFHB 11, 1–2]. Berlin–New York 1975); VARZOS, γενεαλογία II 727.

⁹ DARROUZÈS, George et Dèmetrios Tornikès 49.

¹⁰ See above n. 1.

¹¹ Monacensis Graecus 229, ff. 1–309^r, XIII century; Venetus Marcianus Graecus 158 (coll. 515), ff. 1–309^v, early XIV century; Athonensis Philotheou 249, ff. 165bis^r–201^v, first quarter of the XIV century; Mosquensis Synodalis Graecus 239, ff. 189–242^v, 1387 AD; Genuensis Urbani 32, ff. 1–88, datable XV century, ff. 89–309, dated 1321 AD (f. 241v); Atheniensis, Μετοχίου τοῦ ἁγίου Τάφου 204, ff. 301^r–337^v, 1598 AD. Versio brevis: Parisinus Graecus 214A, ff. 270^v–274^v, XIV century; Venetus Marcianus Graecus Z. 150 (coll. 490), ff. 297–307^v, datable to 1431 AD; Monacensis Graecus 28, ff. 335–346, 1550 AD circa; Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 409, ff. 338–350, datable to 1550 AD.

¹² I. HARDT – J.C. ARETIN, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae, II. Munich 1806, 490–497.

(early XIV c.)¹³. A small part (about 63 of 309 folia) is published in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* as part of the work written by John Bekkos¹⁴.

The manuscripts Monacensis Graecus 229 and Venetus Marcianus Graecus 158 preserve the dedicatory verses attributed to George Skylitzes, Ἐπίγραμμα τῆς βίβλου δι' ἰάμβων στίχων τοῦ πρωτοκουροπαλάτου κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Σκυλίτζη, a iambic poem that introduces the contents of Kamateros' text. We know very little about this author¹⁵. Sources of the period attest the existence of a George Skylitzes who was governor of Serdica (Sofia) under Manuel Komnenos and played a part at the synod of the Great Palace on 6 March 1166¹⁶ when he held these titles, μεγαλεπιφανεστάτου πρωτοκουροπαλάτου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματικοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Σκυλίτζη. On this occasion, he was the intermediary between Manuel and the synod. Through him, in fact, Manuel suggested the synod how to deal with the case of the Metropolitan of Nicaea¹⁷. Following Magdalino's reconstruction¹⁸, we consider this George Skylitzes to be the author of the iambic poem that introduces the Sacred Arsenal.

This article is a first attempt at rectifying the lack of attention on Kamateros' text and a first presentation, after Demetrakopoulos' transcription in 1872¹⁹, of George Skylitzes' verses. The new edition of the iambic poem (below *****) is established by the collation of the two available sources (Monacensis Graecus 229 and Venetus Marcianus Graecus 158), while Demetrakopoulos took into account only the Monacensis manuscript. The edition is introduced by an interpretation of the text based on the analysis of the relation between Skylitzes' verses, passages from the Sacred Arsenal and some epigrams preserved in the Codex Marcianus Graecus 524.

The Codex Marcianus Graecus 524 preserves a poetry anthology of the Komnenian era²⁰. Amongst the poems collected in the Venetian manuscript, a few votive epigrams on icons that Andronikos Kamateros commissioned or had decorated have survived²¹. These poems generally do not greatly enrich our knowledge about Kamateros' life or the composition of the Sacred Arsenal; nevertheless, as Magdalino has already pointed out, one epigram – number 81 – is particularly interesting²². This is the description of a portrait of Manuel that Kamateros commissioned for his house; the emperor is crowned by the Virgin and surrounded by three other holy figures: an angel preceding him, Saint Theodore Tiro handing him a spear, and Saint Nicholas protecting his rear. Magdalino proposes a very interesting interpretation of this icon arguing that the choice of the figures portrayed could hide significant connections

¹³ E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti, I: Thesaurus Antiquus, codices 1–299*. Rome 1981, 230–231.

¹⁴ John Bekkos, *Refutationes adversus Andronici Camateri, viglae drugarii, super scripto traditis testimoniis de Spiritu Sancto animadversions*. *PG* 141, 396–613.

¹⁵ See A. KAZHDAN, Skylitzes, George. *ODB* III 1913–1914; BECK, Kirche 663. A first edition of Skylitzes' verses can be found in DEMETRAKOPOULOS, *Graecia Orthodoxa* 27–29, although Demetrakopoulos' edition is based only the ms. Monacensis Gr. 229, ff. 1–3^r. In the *ODB* entry another George Skylitzes is mentioned in an epigram edited in S.P. LAMPROS, Ὁ Μαρκανός κώδιξ 524. *NE* 8 (1911) 1–59, 123–192, at 186 no. 367 (from now on Marcianus 524).

¹⁶ SAKKOS, *Ekthesis* 155.

¹⁷ P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge 1993, 290–291.

¹⁸ MAGDALINO, Manuel 319–320.

¹⁹ See above n. 1.

²⁰ LAMPROS, Marcianus 524, 1–59, 123–192; P. MAGDALINO – R. NELSON, The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century. *BF* 8 (1982) 123–183, at 147–151; C.A. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents*. Toronto, Ont. 1986, 224–234; MAGDALINO, Manuel 413–488; W. HÖRANDNER, Epigrams on Icons and sacred Objects. The Collection of Cod. Marc. Gr. 524 once again, in: *La poesia tardoantica e medievale. Atti del I Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Macerata, 4–5 Maggio 1998*, ed. M. SALVADORE (*Centro Internazionale di Studi sulla Poesia Greca e Latina in Età Tardoantica e Medievale. Quaderni* 1). Alessandria 2001, 117–124; P. ODORICO – C. MESSIS, L'anthologie Comnène du cod. Marc. Gr. 524. Problèmes d'édition et problèmes d'évaluation, in: *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: projets actuels et questions de méthodologie: actes de la 16^e table ronde organisée par Wolfram HÖRANDNER et Michael GRÜNBART dans le cadre du XX^e Congrès international des études byzantines, Collège de France, Sorbonne, Paris, 19–25 Août 2001*. Paris 2003, 191–213.

²¹ LAMPROS, Marcianus 524, 1–59, 123–192, on Kamateros epigrams 81, 88, 91, 93, 94, 97.

²² MAGDALINO, Manuel 471–472.

with imperial policy. In this reading, Andronikos would have chosen Saint Theodore Tiro because, being of Anatolian origin, he was the appropriate saint for the celebration of Manuel's Anatolian campaigns; Saint Nicholas because, being patron saint of Bari, he represented the "rear that Manuel had to cover while he campaigned in the east"²³. This interpretation could perhaps be enriched if we consider another image that was owned by Kamateros and described by Theodore Prodromos²⁴. In this second painting, Manuel does not appear, but only the Theotokos is depicted, surrounded by Saint Nicholas, Gregory of Nazianzos, John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea. In this case, we cannot certainly say that Saint Nicholas represents "the rear" of the empire. I would be more inclined to read in this an allusion to the role of Saint Nicholas as protector of the Orthodox Faith at the council of Nicaea, especially considering the other saints portrayed. Therefore, I would suggest a different interpretation of the first icon saying that the two saints could represent the two major concerns of Manuel's reign: Theodore Tiro the military campaigns and Nicholas the need to safeguard the Orthodox Faith, especially in reference to the Latin Church.

Again from the Codex Marcianus 524, we can read a second interesting epigram: number 331 in Lampros' edition. This epigram describes an image that is not attributed to Andronikos Kamateros, but which Magdalino rightly considered as strictly related to his work. Given the relevance of the text examined to the Sacred Arsenal, I include here text and translation from Magdalino–Nelson²⁵, slightly revised following Hörandner's amendments to the Greek text²⁶.

XI. fol. 181^r ἑπὶ τοῖς εἰκονίσμασι τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ μὲν Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ συλλαλοῦντος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ οὐς, τοῦ δὲ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατερχομένου, τῶν δὲ ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατριαρχῶν τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχιερέων ἐπιδιδόντων αὐτῷ τόμους τῶν χρήσεων.

ἑσὺ μὲν Θεοῦ παῖ²⁷ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσλάλει

ὁ δ' ἄ²⁸ πρὸς οὐς ἤκουσε κηρύττειν θέλει
ὡς εἷς μὲν εἶ σὺ²⁹ πλὴν φύσεις σώσεις δύο³⁰
ἀμφοῖν ἀμίκτους εἰς ὑπόστασιν μίαν,
καὶ σὺ δὲ Πνεῦμα χάριν ὑψόθεν δίδου
καὶ σὴν γὰρ ἐκπόρευσιν ἐκ Πατρὸς μόνου
πιστῶς διδάσκειν καὶ μίαν³¹ ἀρχὴν σέβειν.
Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν, ἱεράρχων ἀκρότης
παρέσθιν ἰδοῦ καὶ προτείνεται τόμους
πλήρεις ἀκριβῶν ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων
τούτους Μανουὴλ Αὐσονοκράτορ δέχου
καὶ δόγμα πᾶν ἐκφύλον αὐτοῖς ἐκτρέπου.

XI – On the representations of the emperor, our Lord Jesus Christ speaking in his ears, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descending from heaven, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and the holy patriarchs Chrysostom, the Theologian and other bishops giving him tomes of quotations.

– You, O Son of God³², speak to the emperor; he wishes to proclaim what his ear has heard, how You are one although You have two natures, both unmixed in one person. And you, O Spirit, give [him] grace from above to teach³³ faithfully your procession from the Father alone and to revere your one origin. Behold, the most exalted of Christ's disciples and hierarchs are present and

²³ MAGDALINO, Manuel 476.

²⁴ Theodoros Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. HÖRANDNER (WBS 11). Vienna 1974, 467 epigram 57.

²⁵ MAGDALINO – NELSON, *Emperor in Byzantine Art* 147.

²⁶ HÖRANDNER, *Epigrams on Icons* 118 note 2.

²⁷ ὦ Παῖ MAGDALINO – NELSON.

²⁸ ὁ δ' ἄν MAGDALINO – NELSON.

²⁹ ἔσὺ MAGDALINO – NELSON.

³⁰ δις MAGDALINO – NELSON.

³¹ πιστοῖς διδάσκει, καὶ μίαν MAGDALINO – NELSON.

³² O Child: MAGDALINO – NELSON.

³³ And you, O Spirit, give grace from above, for he teaches the faithful to revere your procession from the Father alone, and your one origin: MAGDALINO – NELSON.

proffer tomes full of proper orthodox doctrines. Receive these, Manuel, ruler of the Ausonians, and reject all teachings which are foreign to them.

In 1982, Magdalino and Nelson suggested that these verses were written in 1166, in connection with the synods for the interpretation of the passage “The Father is greater than I”³⁴. They explain easily the different figures described. The descending dove recalls the images of the baptism of Christ, but even more, they add, the image of the Psalter of Paris (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 139, f. 7^v) where David, portrayed as an emperor, receives inspiration from the dove that flies above his halo. The image of Jesus inspiring Manuel can find its prototype in groups where a muse or an Apostle inspires David or a Father of the Church³⁵. However, when they come to the conclusion of their explanation, Magdalino and Nelson add, “It is difficult to reconcile such a self-contained group with the inclusion of the Fathers offering Manuel their tomes and with the suggestion that the emperor in some way is receiving these gifts”³⁶.

In his later publication on the reign of Manuel Komnenos, Magdalino proposes a more compelling interpretation³⁷. In analyzing the theological issues mentioned by the verses in Marcianus Graecus 524, he recognizes in them the two main topics tackled by Kamateros in the Sacred Arsenal: the procession of the Holy Spirit and the two natures of Christ. The absolute accuracy of this hypothesis can be proved if we bring into play a third text: Skylitzes' dedicatory verses for the composition of the Sacred Arsenal. These verses are fundamental not only to understand proem, epilogues, allocutions (προσφώνημα) and exhortations (προδιαλαλιά) of the Sacred Arsenal but also to date the text as they preserve the only certain terminus post quem: the crowning of Alexios II Komnenos, who was crowned on 24 March 1171³⁸.

When epigram 331, the Sacred Arsenal and George Skylitzes' dedicatory verses are analyzed together Magdalino's hypothesis is confirmed: the three texts are strictly related. First, we should analyze the description of the image. Every single personage portrayed in this description has an exact reference in the Sacred Arsenal. Let us examine, for instance, the reference to Peter and Paul. The proem and the three rhetorical passages (exhortation, allocution and epilogues) of the first half of the Sacred Arsenal describe Manuel, comparing him to Peter and Paul. The proem opens with a parallel between the emperor and Peter; they both have their hearts inflamed by love of God and they both fight against the enemies of Jesus: Peter cutting the ear of the servant of the chief priest, Manuel cutting off the heresies from the Church³⁹ (βασιλέως τηλικού τῆ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπῃ καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ζήλῳ τὴν καρδίαν πυρουμένου κατὰ Πέτρον τὸν μέγαν κορυφαῖον ἀπόστολον, κἀντεῦθεν ἔλκοντος τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος μάχαιραν, τὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ δηλονότι χειλέων ἐκπορευόμενα τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥήματα, καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς πατάσσοντος τῶν τῷ τῆς αἰσχύνῃς ἀρχιερεῖ Σατὰν δουλουμένων). The last epilogue concludes the first half of the Sacred Arsenal with Manuel sharing with Peter a special role in the Kingdom of Heaven⁴⁰. Furthermore, Kamateros often uses the parallel with Paul. Indeed, throughout the proem Manuel is compared to the “herald of God”, because of his care for the Church, its unification and his stamina in announcing and defending right belief⁴¹. The same reference to Paul can be found in the verses written by

³⁴ MAGDALINO – NELSON, Emperor in Byzantine Art 148.

³⁵ See MAGDALINO – NELSON, Emperor in Byzantine Art 149, n. 57 for related bibliography.

³⁶ MAGDALINO – NELSON, Emperor in Byzantine Art 149.

³⁷ MAGDALINO, Manuel 476.

³⁸ Skylitzes' verses for the Sacred Arsenal, line 100, see below. On the dating of the Sacred Arsenal, see A. BUCOSI, New historical evidence for the dating of the Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros. *REB* 67 (2009) 111–130.

³⁹ M 4^v–5^r. All secondary sources indicate the Monacensis 229 manuscript as the only complete copy of the Sacred Arsenal, and thus this is the only manuscript quoted when reference is made to Kamateros' text. Hence, to avoid confusion when I refer to the manuscript I refer only to *Monacensis folia* (= M). However, the collation against the Venetus Marcianus Graecus 158 demonstrated that M is not a complete version either of Part I or of Part II of the Sacred Arsenal.

⁴⁰ Venetus Marcianus Gr. 158 (=V), 70^v–71^r.

⁴¹ M 5^r, 6^r, 7^r, 81^v, V 71^r.

Skylitzes; at verse 7⁴², in fact, the author uses the word *ἀειμέριμον* recalling clearly the Pauline image of the Sacred Arsenal (βασιλέως ᾧ, κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς σκευῶς, τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου στόμα, τὸν θεοκῆρυκα Παῦλον, διηνεκῆς ἢ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πασῶν *μέριμνα* καὶ ἡ φροντίς τῆς τούτων ἐνώσεως)⁴³ to describe Manuel's care for the Church and for orthodoxy.

Furthermore, it is interesting to consider how the combined analysis of these writings is fundamental not only to understand the image of the Marcianus epigram but also some cryptic passages of the Sacred Arsenal. A clear example of this is the passage about Christ speaking to Manuel. The proem of the Sacred Arsenal includes this passage in its portrait of Manuel:

μᾶλλον μὲν οὐκ ᾧ [βασιλεῖ] διὰ τοῦ θείου φόβου καὶ πόθου πρὸς ὕψος ἀρθέντι πασῶν ἀρετῶν, οὕτω τε Θεῷ πλησιάσαντι, ἀνήκουστα μὲν τοῖς ὤσιν ἀνθρωπίναις τε καρδίαις μὴ ἀναβαίνοντα ἠκούσθησαν ῥήματα· διὸ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ πολλάκις ἡμῖν συχναῖς μὲν ἀγράφοις δημηγορίαις, οὐχ' ἦττον δὲ κἂν σιληντίοις Θεοῦ κατηγγέλη μυστήρια.

[An emperor] by whom words unheard by ears and that do not enter the hearts of men were heard, because he was lifted up, through his fear and his desire of God, to the height of all virtues and thus drew near God. Wherefore the mysteries of God were often proclaimed by him to us in many unwritten orations no less than in catechetical orations⁴⁴.

In this case, the epigram clarifies the context in which we should interpret the passage of the Sacred Arsenal. The words ἀνήκουστα μὲν τοῖς ὤσιν ἀνθρωπίναις τε καρδίαις μὴ ἀναβαίνοντα are those which Manuel “wishes to proclaim” because “his ear has heard” (ὁ δ' ἅ πρὸς οὓς ἤκουσε κηρύττειν θέλει, Marcianus line 2). Here Kamateros recalls the first letter to the Corinthians 2: 9, Ἄλλα καθὼς γέγραπται· Ἐὰν ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν⁴⁵. If we read the passage to the Corinthians further, Paul – who is describing his way of preaching the Gospel, based not on human wisdom but on the Holy Spirit – says, “But God has revealed it to us by his Spirit. The Spirit searches all things, even the deep things of God”. Here again, the core aim of the Sacred Arsenal is stated, and Kamateros implies that when announcing the “mysteries of God”, again a reference to this chapter of Paul καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, only those inspired by the Spirit can reveal the Truth, and the only one who is worth of being inspired by the Spirit is, of course, Manuel.

However, this passage could be also an echo of the Book of Ezekiel⁴⁶. In this case, we could link the Pauline passage to a broader context, and enrich our understanding of the variety of meanings that this reference could have. God speaks to Ezekiel and says, Υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, πάντα τοὺς λόγους, οὓς λελάληκα μετὰ σοῦ, λαβὲ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν σου ἄκουε – “Son of man, take into your heart all My words which I will speak to you and listen closely”⁴⁷. It is clear, therefore, that here Manuel is portrayed like Ezekiel listening to God and like Ezekiel proclaiming the words of God. When Manuel is described as listening to the ἀνήκουστα μὲν τοῖς ὤσιν ἀνθρωπίναις τε καρδίαις μὴ ἀναβαίνοντα, reference is made to Israel in the passage of Ezekiel – ὁ δὲ οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ μὴ θελήσωσιν εἰσακούσαί σου, διότι οὐ βούλονται εἰσακούειν μου· ὅτι πᾶς ὁ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ φιλόνηκοί εἰσιν καὶ σκληροκάρδιοι. Here, in a perfect Byzantine style, every single word has a reference to the Bible, and only through the reference to the Bible can it be understood. Moreover, the scriptural passages always conceal the polemic; this technique appears clearly throughout the Sacred Arsenal. Here, when Kamateros hints at the words of God to Ezekiel about the rebellious house of Israel, he is referring to the enemies of the Greek Church, to those

⁴² See below.

⁴³ M 5^r.

⁴⁴ M 5^r.

⁴⁵ Quotation from Apocalypses Eliae, see *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca*, ed. A.-M. DENIS, (*Pseudepigrapha veteris testamenti Graece* 3). Leiden 1970, Fragment a, col. 1, line 2. See also the version given by John Chrysostom, *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt, τὰ ἀνήκουστα, τὰ εἰς καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου μὴ ἀναβάντα* in Jean Chrysostome. *Sur la providence de Dieu*, ed. A.-M. MALINGREY (*SC* 79). Paris 1961, chapter 3, section 8, line 8.

⁴⁶ Ezekiel chapters 2 and 3.

⁴⁷ Ezekiel 3: 10. English translation taken from the New American Standard Bible (N.A.S.B.). Anaheim, California 1995.

who do not want to accept the right dogmas, meaning the Catholics and the Armenians. If we recall the entire passage from the Book of Ezekiel and we read it in a “Byzantine way”, we can understand the significance of this reference,

Then He said to me, “Son of man, go to the house of Israel and speak with My words to them. For you are not being sent to a people of unintelligible speech or difficult language, but to the house of Israel, nor to many peoples of unintelligible speech or difficult language, whose words you cannot understand. But I have sent you to them who should listen to you; yet the house of Israel will not be willing to listen to you, since they are not willing to listen to Me. Surely the whole house of Israel is stubborn and obstinate. Behold, I have made your face as hard as their faces and your forehead as hard as their foreheads. Like emery harder than flint I have made your forehead. Do not be afraid of them or be dismayed before them, though they are a rebellious house”⁴⁸.

God says to Ezekiel that he will be sent to the house of Israel, to a people who speak the same language, meaning those who have the same God, the same Faith. Manuel is sent to the Roman Church, traditionally even in the Byzantine tradition the hearth of Christendom; he is sent to those who should be perfectly orthodox, but instead they do not want to listen to God, “they are a rebellious house”. The reference to Ezekiel is not a soft one; instead, it is a severe attack against the unorthodox nature of the Roman and the Armenian Churches, an attack against those who are idolatrous and heretic. But even more, Ezekiel chapter 36⁴⁹ is the prefiguration of the parable of the Good Shepherd, the text that will be the key metaphor of Kamateros' text, where Manuel is portrayed as the new Good Shepherd in succession to Christ, in open polemic against the primacy of the Roman Church, which traditionally attributes this role to the Pope⁵⁰.

The combined analysis of these three texts reinforces the hypothesis that the Book of Ezekiel is the background that can clarify the interpretation of both the epigram and the Sacred Arsenal. Indeed a second even more explicit example of this is the reference to the famous passage from Ezekiel, quoted in both the Sacred Arsenal and Skylitzes, in which Ezekiel eats the scroll. Here too, the biblical reference helps the interpretation, in this case the interpretation of the presence of the Fathers in the icon described by the epigram and the fact that they are depicted offering τόμους πλήρεις ἀκριβῶν ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων (l. 10). We should start by recalling the passage of Ezekiel:

“Now you, son of man, listen to what I am speaking to you; do not be rebellious like that rebellious house. Open your mouth and eat what I am giving you.” Then I looked, and behold, a hand was extended to me; and lo, a scroll was in it. When He spread it out before me, it was written on the front and back, and written on it were lamentations, mourning and woe. Then He said to me, “Son of man, eat what you find; eat this scroll, and go, speak to the house of Israel.” So I opened my mouth, and He fed me this scroll. He said to me, “Son of man, feed your stomach and fill your body with this scroll which I am giving you”. Then I ate it, and it was sweet as honey in my mouth⁵¹.

Kamateros refers to this passage toward the end of the dialogue of the first part of the Sacred Arsenal. The cardinals speak to the emperor with these words inspired by Ezekiel, “The Lord fed you with the scroll of his dogmas and you ate it to satiety and in your mouth it was sweeter than honey” – Ἐψώμισέ σε Θεὸς τὴν κεφαλίδα τῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ κατακόρων ἔφαγες ταύτην καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ὑπὲρ μέλι γλυκάζων ἐγένετο⁵². Skylitzes mentions exactly the same biblical references⁵³.

⁴⁸ Ezekiel 3: 4–9.

⁴⁹ Cfr. Ezekiel 36, especially verses 37–38.

⁵⁰ Cfr. Proem, Exhortations and Allocutions throughout the Sacred Arsenal, first half, against the Latin Church.

⁵¹ Ezekiel 2: 8–3: 3, Χάνε τὸ στόμα σου καὶ φάγε ἃ ἐγὼ δίδωμι σοι. Καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ χεῖρ ἐκτεταμένη πρὸς με, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κεφαλὴς βιβλίου· καὶ ἀνείλησεν αὐτὴν ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα ἦν τὰ ὄπισθεν καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ ἐγγράπτο εἰς αὐτὴν θρῆνος καὶ μέλος καὶ οὐαί. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με Υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, κατάφαγε τὴν κεφαλίδα ταύτην καὶ πορεύθητι καὶ λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ διήνοιξα τὸ στόμα μου, καὶ ἐψώμισέν με τὴν κεφαλίδα. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με Υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, τὸ στόμα σου φάγεται, καὶ ἡ κοιλία σου πλησθήσεται τῆς κεφαλίδος ταύτης τῆς δεδομένης εἰς σέ. Καὶ ἔφαγον αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ στόματί μου ὡς μέλι γλυκάζων. Cfr. reference to Ezekiel in Apocalypses 10: 8–10.

⁵² M 21^r.

⁵³ See below, lines 35–41.

Ταύτην τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶς ἀναπτύσσω βιβλὸν
καὶ καρδίας λάρυγγα καὶ ψυχῆς στόμα
καταγλυκάζων Δαβιτικῶς κρινέτω
τύπον νοητῆς βιβλίου κεφαλίδος
Ἰεζεκιήλ ἐκμελιτούσης στόμα,
ἢ λαβίδα φέρουσαν ἄνθρακος φλόγα
ρύπασμα πάσης ἐκκαθαίρουσαν πλάνης.

Henceforward everyone leafing through this book sweetening both the larynx of the heart and the mouth of the soul, as David did, should judge this book as the image of the spiritual roll that sweetened the mouth of Ezekiel, or as tongs that bring the flame of the charcoal that clears out pollution of every false doctrine.

The description of the icon seems to refer to exactly the same passage; I should recall this passage here⁵⁴,

Behold, the most exalted of Christ's disciples and hierarchs are present and proffer tomes full of proper orthodox doctrines. Receive these, Manuel, ruler of the Ausonians, and reject all teachings which are foreign to them.

Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν, ἱεράρχων ἀκρότης
παρέστιν ἰδοῦ καὶ προτείνεται τόμους
πλήρεις ἀκριβῶν ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων
τούτους Μανουήλ Αὐσονοκράτορ δέχου
καὶ δόγμα πᾶν ἐκφύλον αὐτοῖς ἐκτρέπου.

The analysis of the three passages highlights the usage of the words τὴν κεφαλίδα τῶν δογμάτων from the Sacred Arsenal (Cardinals = M 21^r), ταύτην τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶς ἀναπτύσσω βιβλὸν ... τύπον νοητῆς βιβλίου κεφαλίδος, in lines 35–38 of Skylitzes' dedicatory verses (but also of the words from line 8 καὶ γὰρ μυριόλεκτος ἐκ πάσης βιβλίου χρήσις Γραφῶν ἐνταῦθα συγκατεγράφη) and τόμους πλήρεις ἀκριβῶν ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων from epigram 331 (lines 9–10). Without forcing the texts, it seems that the three writings present parallel ideas. The Sacred Arsenal refers to Ezekiel praising the wisdom of the emperor, acquired through the reading of the holy Fathers, expressed by the words of the emperor and by the patristic anthology, and exemplified in images by the Marcianus epigram. George Skylitzes goes a step forward and describes the Sacred Arsenal "as the image of the spiritual roll that sweetened the mouth of Ezekiel" (ll. 38–39). Therefore, the logical conclusion is: the roll, i.e. right doctrine, offered by the holy Fathers in the icon, was eaten by Manuel in order to produce the Sacred Arsenal that can "teach faithfully your procession from the Father alone and to revere your one origin" (Marc. ep. 331, ll. 5–7), "explaining through unquestionable syllogisms that the Spirit proceeds from the Father only so that we do not degenerate into confessing two principles because we have learnt that God must be honoured in a single unit, and [...] persuades through syllogisms from the Scriptures to say that there are two natures without confusion in Him" (George Skylitzes, ll. 23–30).

Main goals of this article were to offer to the scholarly community a new edition of George Skylitzes' introductory verses for the Sacred Arsenal and to develop an interpretation of the images presented by these writings based on the comparison between Skylitzes' verses, the contents of Kamateros' text and the epigram indicated by Paul Magdalino as related to this context. Indeed, the parallel analysis of the verses from the Marcianus and the Sacred Arsenal, but even more the triple analysis that includes the verses of Skylitzes, proves that Magdalino's intuition was correct and that the two works are strictly related. Moreover, on the base of the analysis conducted, we can restate, quoting Magdalino's words,

⁵⁴ It must be mentioned here that the manuscripts Vaticanus Graecus 666 and Synodalis Graecus 387 (224), which contain the *Panoplia Dogmatica* by Euthymios Zigabenos, are decorated with the same kind of image: the fathers of the Church offer rolls to Alexios I Komnenos. Cf. C. NEUMANN, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im zwölften Jahrhundert*. Leipzig 1888, 32–35; I. SPATHARAKIS, *The portrait in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts (Byzantina Neerlandica 6)*. Leiden 1976, 122–129.

that “It is thus highly likely that he [Manuel] commissioned the painting and the poem [described by the Marcianus]. These are both, in fact, highly reminiscent of the portraits and verses celebrating Alexios I in the frontispiece of the Dogmatic Panoply of Euthymios Zigabenos. It may well be that our poem was copied from the illustrated preface of the original – and now lost – presentation copy of the Sacred Arsenal”⁵⁵. Unfortunately, we do not have any tangible proof of this realistic hypothesis; we can only grieve at the loss of the original copy of the Ἱερὰ Ὀπλοθήκη.

SKYLITZES' DEDICATORY VERSES FOR THE SACRED ARSENAL

M = Monacensis Graecus 229, ff. 1^r–3^r, 13th century⁵⁶

V = Venetus Marcianus Graecus 158 (coll. 515), ff. 1^r–2^r, 14th century⁵⁷

D = A. K. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς. Leipzig 1872, 27–29.

V 1^r; M 1^r Ἐπίγραμμα⁵⁸ τῆς βίβλου δι' ἰάμβων στίχων τοῦ πρωτοκουροπαλάτου κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Σκυλίτζη

- Καὶ τοῦτο δεῖγμα τῆς ἀριστοβουλίας
νοὸς Μανουήλ, τοῦ νόων⁵⁹ βασιλέως,
5 Ῥώμης νέας ἄνακτος, ἔρρους⁶⁰ πορφύρας,
ὃς πάντα δρᾶν σώζοντα τοὺς ὑπηκόους
θέλων ἀειμέριμον αὐχεῖ καρδίαν.
Καὶ γὰρ μυριόλεκτος ἐκ πάσης βίβλου
χρήσις Γραφῶν ἐνταῦθα συγκατεγράφη,
10 δι' ὧν μαθεῖν ἔξεστιν ἀτρέπτοις λόγοις
τοῦ Πνεύματος μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου
τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου,
πάντας δ' ἀνορθοῦν τὰς φρένας στρεβλουμένους
πρὸς γνῶσιν ὀρθῶν⁶¹ συνοδικῶν δογμάτων.
15 Καὶ γὰρ ὄρᾶν ἔξεστι καὶ γεγραμμένον
τοῦτον τὸν ἀσύγκριτον εἰς⁶² νοῦν, εἰ⁶³ σθένος·
ἐνταῦθα μὲν πῶς ἐκ μελιχρῶν χειλέων || M 1^v
τοῖς⁶⁴ ἐκ παλαιᾶς προσλαλεῖ⁶⁵ Ῥώμης θύταις,
τοῖς δ' ἀρχιθύταις ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ προκρίτοις
20 τῶν Ἀλαμανῶν συνομιλεῖ πανσόφως,
αὐθις δὲ θύταις, λευίταις, δικασπόλοις
τῶν Σικελῶν⁶⁶ σύνεστιν εἰς ὁμιλίαν,

⁵⁵ MAGDALINO, Manuel 477.

⁵⁶ I. HARDT – J.C. ARETIN, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae, II. Munich 1806, 490–497.

⁵⁷ E. MIONI, Bibliothecae Divi Marci venetiarum Codices Graeci manuscripti, I. Thesaurus antiquus, codices 1–299. Rome 1981, 230–231.

⁵⁸ Ἐπίγραμμα τῆς βίβλου δι' ἰάμβων στίχων τοῦ πρωτοκουροπαλάτου (πρωτοκοροπαλάτου M) Κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Σκυλίτζη D M: βιβ[.]ος σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ ἢ λεγομένη δογματικὴ πανοπλία V

⁵⁹ νόων V: νόω D M

⁶⁰ ἔρρους M V: ἔρρος D

⁶¹ ὀρθῶν M V: ὀθῶν D

⁶² γε D M: εἰς V

⁶³ εἰ D M: εἰς V

⁶⁴ τοῖς D V: τῆς M

⁶⁵ προσλαλεῖ D M: προσλαφεῖ V

⁶⁶ Σικελῶν D M: Σικελίων V

ἀναμφιλέκτοις συλλογισμοῖς δεικνύων
 τὸ Πνεῦμα Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι μόνου
 25 ὡς μὴ πρὸς ἀρχὰς ἐκκυλισθῶμεν δύο,⁶⁷
 Θεὸν μαθόντες ἐν μοναρχίᾳ σέβειν·
 τῶν δ' Ἀρμενικῶν προστάτας θρησκευμάτων,
 καινὴν μίαν λέγοντας ἐν Χριστῷ φύσιν,
 ἐκ συλλογισμῶν γραφικῶν πείθει λέγειν
 30 διπλὰς ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς φύσεις ἀσυγχύτως,⁶⁸
 ψευδεῖς ἐλέγχει⁶⁹ τετραρίθμους αἰρέσεις
 ὅτι μόνη θέλησις ἐν Χριστῷ μία,
 ὡς ἡ Θεοῦ πέπονθεν ἐν σταυρῷ φύσις,
 ὡς σὰρξ φθορᾶς ὑπερθεν, ὡς φαντασία.
 35 Ταύτην τὸ λοιπὸν⁷⁰ πᾶς ἀναπτύσσω βίβλον
 καὶ καρδίας λάρυγγα καὶ ψυχῆς στόμα
 καταγλυκάζων Δαυτικῶς κρινέτω
 τύπον νοητῆς βιβλίου⁷¹ κεφαλίδος
 Ἰεζεκιήλ ἐκμελιτούσης στόμα,
 40 ἢ λαβίδα φέρουσαν ἄνθρακος φλόγα
 ῥύπασμα πάσης ἐκκαθαίρουσαν πλάνης,
 ἢ γοῦν τὸ⁷² Χριστοῦ μυστικώτατον πτύον,
 ἐπεὶ διιστᾶ σίτον ἐκ τῶν ἀχύρων,
 καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐντὸς ἀποθηκῶν εἰσάγει
 45 ἀποστολικῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐκκλησίας·
 ὃς Χριστὸν οἶδε κατὰ γῆς πεπτωκότα
 κόκκον καθάπερ καὶ θανόντα σαρκίῳ,
 πολὺν δὲ καρπὸν αὐτῆς ἐκδεδωκότα,
 τοὺς δ' ἀχυρώδεις ἀντιδοξούντων λόγους
 50 ἐκπυρπολεῖ καὶ μέχρις εἰς χοῦν λεπτύνει.
 Ταύτην ἂν εἴποι καὶ κιβωτόν⁷³ τις νέαν
 πλήρη καθαρῶν μὴ καθαρῶν τε στίφους
 ὀρθοφρονούντων δηλαδὴ καὶ δυσφρόνων,
 ἐξ ἧς κόραξ μὲν τοῦ Σατὰν πλήρης ζόφου,
 55 θύραν παρελθὼν, Χριστόν, οὐκ ἀναστρέφει,
 ὃ δ' ἀκέραιος ὡς περιστερᾶς⁷⁴ τρόπος⁷⁵
 οὐκ ἐκτὸς αὐτῆς ἐνδιατρίβειν θέλει,
 κάρφος δ' ἐλαίας ἀμφὶ τὸ στόμα φέρει,
 ὡς οἶα Χριστοῦ σάρκα κηρύττειν⁷⁶ ἔχων
 60 θείας ἐλαίῳ φύσεως κεχρισμένην·
 οὐ χρήσεων δὲ Γραφικῶν γέμει μόνον,

|| M 2^r

⁶⁷ δύο M V: δέον D

⁶⁸ ἀσυγχύτως D M: ἀσυγχίτως V

⁶⁹ ἐλέγχει D M: ἐλλέγχει V

⁷⁰ τὸ λοιπὸν M V: τολοιπὸν D

⁷¹ βιβλίου: βιβλίον D M

⁷² τὸ M V: τοῦ D

⁷³ κιβωτόν D M: κιβοτόν V

⁷⁴ περιστερᾶς D M: περιστεραίς V

⁷⁵ τρόπος V: τρόποις D M

⁷⁶ κηρύττειν D M: κυρίττειν V

- ἀλλ' ἐξελέγχειν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔχει
 καὶ συλλογισμοῖς ἀποδεικτικωτάτοις⁷⁷
 ὡς ἐμφέρειαν εἰσφέρειν φραγελλίου,⁷⁸
 65 ὁ σχοινίοις ἔπλεξε Χριστοῦ παλάμη,
 δι' οὐπερ ἀνέστρεψε⁷⁹ τραπέζας ὅλας
 τῶν κερματιστῶν ἱεροῦ ῥίπτων μέσον·
 ἐν γὰρ ἀφύκτοις συλλογισμῶν πλεκτάναις
 στερρῶς ἀπάγχειν τοὺς θρασυστόμους⁸⁰ σθένει
 70 μίαν Τριάδος κερματίζοντας φύσιν
 εἰς ἀσυνάπτους ἄλλοφύλους οὐσίας, || M 2^v
 ἢ συγγέοντας εἰς ὑπόστασιν μίαν,
 ὅσοι τε Χριστοῦ κολλυβίζοντες φύσεις
 ἢ πρὸς μίαν φύρουσι τὰς δύο κρᾶσιν,
 75 ἢ γοῦν διπλᾶς λέγουσι τὰς ὑποστάσεις.
 Τοιόνδε τὸ σπούδασμα τοῦ βασιλέως,
 τοσοῦτον ἔργον εὐσεβοφρόνων βᾶθρον,
 ἀντιφρόνων⁸¹ δὲ δογμάτων ἀστασίαν
 εἰς νοῦν μὲν ὠδίνησεν ὁ σκηπτροκράτωρ,
 80 πνεῦμα σοφίας συλλαβῶν σωτηρίου,
 εἰς φῶς δὲ νῦν ἤνεγκε τούτου τὸν τόκον
 ὡς δεύτερος δ' ὢν Ἰσραὴλ Θεὸς νέου.
 Πιστῶ μὲν εἰς πᾶν ἐκ γεναρχῶν οἰκέτη
 οὔτω θελήσας, τόνδε πιστεύει πόνον,
 85 ὅς ἐστιν Ἀνδρόνικος ἐκ μητρὸς Δούκας,
 ὁ πανσέβαστος⁸² Καματηρὸς πατρόθεν,
 μέγας τε Δρουγγάριος⁸³ ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας
 ὡς δ' οἶα πλάκας μυστικὰς ἄλλας νέας
 τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ τήνδε τὴν βίβλον νέμει,
 90 τὴν *Ὀπλοθήκην Ἱερὰν* καλουμένην
 θεογράφων φέρουσαν ὕψος δογμάτων.
 Θεὸς δὲ τριάς ἢ μόναρχος οὐσία
 ζωῆς μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ θρόνου τὰς ἡμέρας
 εἶη συναύξων⁸⁴ οὐρανοῦ ταῖς ἡμέραις,
 95 δοίη δὲ πᾶσαν κοσμικὴν μοναρχίαν
 καὶ τὴν συναυτάνασσαν ἐκ ῥηγῶν γένους⁸⁵
 καὶ πριγκιπικῆς εὐκλεοῦς ῥίζουχίας,
 γένοιτο τηρῶν εἰς μακρὰν συζωίαν⁸⁶ || M 3^r
 σὺν τῷ νεανθεῖ πορφυροβλάστῳ ῥόδῳ,

⁷⁷ ἀποδεικτικωτάτοις M V: ἀποδεικτικατάτοις D

⁷⁸ φραγελλίου V: φραγγελλίου D M

⁷⁹ ἀνέστρεψε M V: ἀνέτρεψε D

⁸⁰ θρασυστόμους D M: θρασιστόμους V

⁸¹ ἀντιφρόνων M V: ἀντιφρονούντων D

⁸² πανσέβαστος D M: κεσεβαστός V

⁸³ Δρουγγάριος D M: Δρουγκάριος V

⁸⁴ συναύξων M V: συνάξων D

⁸⁵ γένους M V: γένει D

⁸⁶ συζωίαν M V: εὐζωίαν D

100 στέφος⁸⁷ φέροντι τοῦ κράτους Ἰαλεξίω,
 τῶν οὐρανῶν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τέλος
 κλήρωμα⁸⁸ τούτοις ἀμετάτρεπτον νέμοι.⁸⁹

EPIGRAM FOR THE BOOK IN IAMBIC VERSES
 BY THE PROTOKOUROPALATES LORD GEORGE SKYLITZES

This too is a sample of the excellent counsel
 of the mind of Manuel, king of minds,
 5 Lord of the new Rome, scion of purple,
 who because he wishes to accomplish whatever action can
 rescue his subjects, he is well known for his ever anxious heart.⁹⁰
 And indeed countless passages
 from every book of the Scriptures were collected here,
 10 [passages] through which it is possible to learn in unchangeable words
 the procession of the Spirit, God and Lord,
 from God the Father only,
 to redirect all twisted minds
 towards the knowledge of the right synodical dogmas.
 15 And, indeed, if one has the strength,⁹¹ it is possible to see this
 incomparable mind also written down:
 here how he speaks from honey-sweetened lips
 to the sacrificers from the old Rome,
 and elsewhere how he most cleverly converses with the
 20 German chief sacrificers and the princes,
 and again how he joins in conversations with Sicilian
 sacrificers, deacons, judges
 explaining through unquestionable syllogisms
 that the Spirit proceeds from the Father only
 25 so that we do not degenerate into confessing two principles because
 we have learnt to honor God in a single originating role
 and again [how] the proponents of the Armenian beliefs,
 who say that there is one, newly invented, nature in Christ
 he persuades through scriptural syllogisms to say
 30 that there are two natures without confusion in Him,
 he proves false four heresies [that teach]
 that there is only one will in Christ,
 that the nature of God would have suffered on the cross,
 that [Christ's] flesh is above corruption, that it was only an appearance.
 35 Henceforward everyone leafing through this book
 sweetening both the larynx of the heart and the mouth of the soul,

⁸⁷ στέφος D M: στέφανος V

⁸⁸ κλήρωμα M V: πλήρωμα D

⁸⁹ νέμοι D M: νέμει V

⁹⁰ Cfr. 2 Corinthians 11: 28, ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν.

⁹¹ εἰ σθένος, cfr. εἰ σθένος λάβοιμι Sophocles, Electra 333; Gregory of Nazianzos, Epigrammata, ed. H. BECKBY, Anthologia Graeca. Munich ²1965–1968, 562, Book 8, Epigram 232.

- as David did, should judge this book⁹²
 as the image of the spiritual roll
 that sweetened the mouth of Ezekiel,⁹³
 40 or as tongs that bring the flame of the charcoal
 that clears out pollution of every false doctrine,⁹⁴
 or indeed as the mystical winnowing fan of Christ⁹⁵
 when he separates the wheat from chaff
 and gathers the wheat into the barns
 45 of the apostolic pious church;
 he who knows that Christ fell to the ground
 exactly like a kernel and died in the flesh⁹⁶
 and again bears many fruits,
 he consumes with fire the chaff-like words of heresies
 50 and grinds them to dust.⁹⁷
 One would say that this is a new ark⁹⁸
 full of pure and impure people
 that is orthodox and heretic people
 from which the raven full of gloom of Satan⁹⁹
 55 passing by the door, which is Christ, does not turn back,¹⁰⁰
 but he, the pure, guise of a dove,
 does not want to waste time outside this ark
 and brings an olive branch in the mouth¹⁰¹
 as announcing the flesh of Christ
 60 anointed with the oil of the Holy Nature;
 and [this new ark] is filled up not only with passages from the Scriptures
 but can confute the opponents
 also with demonstrative syllogisms,
 as bringing in a likeness of the whip
 65 that the palm of the hand of Christ made out of cords¹⁰²

⁹² Cfr. Psalm 118 (119): 103,

ὡς γλυκέα τῷ λάρυγγί μου τὰ λόγια σου,
 ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κηρίον τῷ στόματί μου.

⁹³ Cfr. Ezekiel 3: 1–3, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με Υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, κατάρφαγε τὴν κεφαλίδα ταύτην καὶ πορεύθητι καὶ λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ. καὶ διήνοιξα τὸ στόμα μου, καὶ ἐψώμισέν με τὴν κεφαλίδα. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με Υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, τὸ στόμα σου φάγεται, καὶ ἡ κοιλία σου πληροῦσεται τῆς κεφαλίδος ταύτης τῆς δεδομένης εἰς σέ. καὶ ἔφαγον αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ στόματί μου ὡς μέλι γλυκάζον.

⁹⁴ Cfr. Isaiah 6: 6–7, καὶ ἀπεστάλη πρὸς με ἐν τῶν σεραφῖν, καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ εἶχεν ἄνθρακα, ὃν τῇ λαβίδι ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ἤψατο τοῦ στόματός μου καὶ εἶπεν Ἴδοὺ ἤψατο τοῦτο τῶν χειλέων σου καὶ ἀφελεῖ τὰς ἀνομίας σου καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου περικαθαριεῖ.

⁹⁵ Cfr. Matthew 3: 12, οὐ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνάξει τὸν σίτον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην [αὐτοῦ], τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ. Luke 3: 17, οὐ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ διακαθάραι τὴν ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ καὶ συναγαγεῖν τὸν σίτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.

⁹⁶ John 12: 24, ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποθάνῃ, αὐτὸς μόνος μένει· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, πολὺν καρπὸν φέρει.

⁹⁷ Cfr. 2 Kings 23: 6, ἐλέπτυνεν εἰς χοῦν.

⁹⁸ Cfr. Genesis 6.

⁹⁹ Cfr. Genesis 8.

¹⁰⁰ Cfr. John 10.

¹⁰¹ Cfr. Genesis 8.

¹⁰² Cfr. John 2: 15–16, Καὶ ποιήσας φραγέλλιον ἐκ σχοινίων πάντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τὰ τε πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς βόας, καὶ τῶν κολλυβιστῶν ἐξέχεεν τὸ κέρμα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας ἀνέτρεψεν, καὶ τοῖς τὰς περιστερὰς πωλοῦσιν εἶπεν, Ἄρατε ταῦτα ἐντεῦθεν, μὴ ποιεῖτε τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς μου οἶκον ἐμπορίου.

[and] by which [Christ] throwing in the middle of the temple
 overturned all the tables of the money-changers;
 indeed in coils of syllogisms, from which there is no escape,
 he has strength to strangle tightly those insolent men
 70 who cut into pieces the one nature of the Trinity
 into unconnected alien substances,
 or who commingled in one hypostasis,
 and those who changing the natures of Christ
 either mix into one combination the two natures
 75 or at least then they say two hypostases.
 For the delivery of such an imperial commission,
 this great work – solid base of pious thought
 but unsteadiness for opposing dogmas –
 the mind of the Emperor was in labour,
 80 although having with him the spirit of salvific wisdom,
 but now he has brought to the light this offspring,
 as being a second God of a new Israel.
 With this intention, he entrusted this labor
 to a completely trustworthy relative from his family,
 85 and this is Andronikos, Doukas on his mother's side,
 the pansebastos from a Kamateros father,
 who holds the office of megas droungarios,
 and like other new mystical Tablets¹⁰³
 he distributes this book to all the world,
 90 that is called the Sacred Arsenal
 that brings the height of the dogmas written by God.
 May God, the trine and one substance,
 increase for him [the Emperor] the days of life and reign
 through the days of Heaven,
 95 may He give him the complete monarchy of the world
 and his co-empress from kings' blood
 and glorious princely family roots may He preserve
 in a long life
 with the new-born¹⁰⁴ purple sprig of the rose
 100 Alexios who bears the crown of empire
 and may He finally grant them as their inalienable
 inheritance the kingdom of Heaven.

¹⁰³ Cfr. Exodus 31: 18. Καὶ ἔδωκεν Μωϋσεῖ, ἡνίκα κατέπαυσεν λαλῶν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Σινα, τὰς δύο πλάκας τοῦ μαρτυρίου, πλάκας λιθίνας γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹⁰⁴ νεανθεῖ cfr. Nicander in The poems and poetical fragments, ed. A.S.F. GOW – A.F. SCHOLFIELD. Cambridge 1953, 134, line 609, translation 135; Scholia in Nicandri Alexipharmaca, cum glossis, ed. M. GEYMONAT. Milan 1974, 206, sch. 609; Theod. Prodr., Hist. Ged., ed. HÖRANDNER, 422, number 45, line 244; Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et apendice nova, III. Epigrammata dedicatoria, ed. E. COUGNY. Paris 1890, 51, number 319, line 9.