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EUDOCIA'S SINGING DEACON: ANOTHER PROGRAMMATIC PASSAGE IN LATE ANTIQUE CHRISTIAN VERSE

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Abstract: Amongst the varied literary output of the fifth-century empress Aelia Eudocia is a hexameter paraphrase of the martyrdom of Saints Cyprian and Justina. The opening lines of the poem, which were rediscovered in the second half of the 20th century, describe the conversion of Justina (Justa) to Christianity through the preaching of a deacon named Praulius. Even as Eudocia remains close to her prose model(s), she imposes her own interpretation upon the text through subtle variation and careful choice of poetic vocabulary. In her version, she depicts the preacher Praulius as a Christian counterpart to the traditional singer of hexameter poetry, linked also to her own poetic activity. This description of Praulius' transformational preaching, prominently placed at the outset of the poem, constitutes another programmatic passage in late antique Christian verse.

Keywords: Eudocia, hexameter, late antiquity, Cyprian, Justina

In 1982 Claudio Bevegni published an edition of the opening 99 lines of Aelia Eudocia's *Martyrdom of Saint Cyprian*, a poem consisting originally of three books,[1] which narrates respectively the conversion, confession and martyrdom of St Cyprian of Antioch. In the story, Justa is initially converted to Christianity from idol worship by the preaching of a deacon named Praulius. A villain named Aglaidas, besotted with the newly faithful Christian virgin, asks the magician Cyprian to seduce the girl. Cyprian sends three demons to deceive Justa, but she defeats all three. Cyprian subsequently converts to Christianity, eventually becoming bishop of Antioch. He confesses his past as a pagan magician to the Antiochenes and is eventually martyred together with Justa (renamed Justina by Cyprian) for their Christian faith. The poem's beginning was discovered in 1965 by the director of the library of the Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden, Karel Adriaan de Meyier,[2] on a single folio (BPG 95) which had hitherto been catalogued anonymously as 'Fragmentum Homerocentonis'. This folio belongs originally to Plut. 7.10 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, which contains the remainder of the first book (lines 100–421) and a good part of the second book (lines 1–479).[3] The third book has been lost in its entirety and we know of its contents only through Photius' ninth-century summary of the *Martyrdom*.[4]

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[1] Although the date of the poem is uncertain, Livrea (1998) suggests that it was composed for the Antiochenes on the occasion of Eudocia's pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 438–439. *Cf.* Agosti (2001) 85, (2012) 202–03, who compares the poem to pagan πάτρια.

[2] Bevegni (1982), with a full description of the manuscript and its identification; also (2006a) 48–50; de Meyier (1965) 185.

[3] Folia 173–80, edited most recently by Ludwich (1897). Plut. 7.10 also contains poems of St Gregory Nazianzus and Nonnus' hexameter paraphrase of St John's Gospel. The Leiden folio was probably removed in the 17th century by Philippus Rulaeus (1648–1677) during a visit to Florence and made its way to Leiden through his friend Jacobus Gronovius; for Rulaeus' appropriation of Laurentian material, see also Hulshoff Pol (1952); de Meyier (1956). There is no other known manuscript of Eudocia's *Martyrdom*.

[4] Phot. *Bibl. Cod*. 184.

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Eudocia's poem is evidently a relatively close poetic paraphrase of prose accounts of the Cyprian narrative, which were circulating already in the fourth century. The division of her poem into three books corresponds to three originally independent prose accounts of the conversion, confession and martyrdom.[5] Of these, there survive three Greek recensions of the conversion narrative and two Greek recensions of the confession, to which the surviving books of Eudocia's poem can be compared:[6] the sequence of events and language of the prose are often precisely reflected in Eudocia's verse, although her paraphrase does not correspond wholly to any of the surviving prose recensions.[7] She either followed prose recensions now lost to us or drew upon multiple recensions available to her. This uncertainty in establishing the exact nature of her model invites caution in evaluating her poetic innovation. An individual instance of variation from the surviving prose versions may always reflect a lost model. Nevertheless, the extent of difference between the poem and the surviving prose recensions suggests that Eudocia creatively enriched and adapted her model, amplifying and adorning the source text.[8]

Poetic creativity should be expected from Eudocia, who was an innovator within the literary tradition of the Greek East. She was the author of extended Homeric centos, which retell biblical narratives from Genesis and the New Testament by combining whole and partial lines of Homeric hexameter poetry,[9] seemingly the first centos in Greek on a large scale.[10] It is probable that she was influenced in her undertaking by the fourth-century Latin poet Proba,[11] who herself wrote a biblical cento of Virgilian verses. Not only is it likely that Eudocia had access to Proba's poem in the royal court of her husband Theodosius II, but both authors begin their poems with Old Testament material before turning to the New Testament, a structural element that Eudocia seems to have adopted from Proba.[12] Eudocia's paraphrase of St Cyprian's life is also an innovation, the first example of late antique poetic hagiography in Greek. Photius refers to a lost poetic version of the *Acts of Thecla* by Basil of Seleucia (d. *ca*. 468),[13] but, assuming this attribution is genuine, Basil's poem most probably post-dates Eudocia's. To be sure, martyr cult in Antioch and the eastern Empire was conspicuously promoted in highly rhetorical prose by Greek authors, in the case of Antioch especially John Chrysostom (*ca*. 349–407),[14] but saints' martyrdoms were as far as we know not commemorated in Greek verse prior to Eudocia.

It is tempting to think that, in fashioning a celebratory hagiographical poem for the Antiochenes,[15] Eudocia was again influenced by Latin examples from the West. The Latin hagiographical epics in hexameters most comparable to Eudocia's poem appear only from the second half of the fifth

[5] See Zahn (1882) 18; Bevegni (2006a) 28–30.

[6] For the texts, see especially Radermacher (1927) 76–112; Bailey (2009) 8–9, 23–28; (2017), with his summary of the transmission history, including versions in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Coptic, Latin and Slavonic. *Cf*. Bevegni (2006a) 28–30.

[7] See Bevegni (1982) 253–55; (2004–2005); (2006a) 28–30; (2006b); Agosti (2012) 204–05; Whitby (2013) 208.

[8] See Bevegni (1982) 255; (2006a) 41–45; Rigo (2020).

[9] For the text, see Rey (1998); Usher (1999); Schembra (2006); with the studies of Usher (1998); Schembra (2007a); (2007b). The cento survives in several recensions.

[10] Whitby (2007). Eudocia claims in an accompanying epigram to have completed and improved a project begun by an unknown bishop Patricius, although it is uncertain whether the surviving recensions reflect precisely the text of Eudocia.

[11] Most probably Faltonia Betitia Proba (wife of Adelphius), as identified by Isidore of Seville (*De vir. ill*. 18.22). See Shanzer (1986); (1994); Green (2008); Cameron (2011) 327–37. Sivan (1993) and Barnes (2006) maintain the poet is Anicia Faltonia Proba (wife of Petronius Probus).

[12] Cameron (2016) 73–75 argues that the verse dedication by a later scribe to an unnamed Theodosian emperor, which prefaces Proba's poem in several manuscripts, is addressed to Theodosius II. The addressee has traditionally been identified as his father Arcadius; see Green (1997) 548–49. In any case, it is probable that Proba's poem was available to and influenced Eudocia; so Agosti (2004) 71–72; Whitby (2007) 216–17; (2013) 209; (2016) 229–30.

[13] Phot. *Bibl. Cod*. 169. On the date of Basil's death, see Honigmann (1953).

[14] See, for example, Rouwhorst (2005) on the cult of the Maccabean martyrs; Shepardson (2014), 163–203. On the rise and profound impact of the cult of the saints in late antiquity, Brown (2015) remains foundational.

[15] See above n.1.

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century: written around 470, Paulinus of Périgueux's hexameter life of St Martin paraphrases the prose vita of the saint by Sulpicius Severus, while a century later Venantius Fortunatus composed his own hexameter life of Martin.[16] However, already in the second half of the fourth century and the early fifth century, Pope Damasus (*ca*. 305–384), Ambrose (*ca*. 340–397), Paulinus of Nola (*ca*. 354–431) and Prudentius (348 to after 405) promoted and popularized local martyr cults through their celebrated poetry.[17] Prudentius, for example, composed a hymn on the martyrdom of St Cyprian of Carthage (*Peristephanon* 13), in which he conflates the lives of St Cyprian of Antioch and the Carthaginian bishop in ascribing to the latter acts of magic and erotic obsession,[18] as well as a hymn to the Antiochene martyr Romanus based upon prose passions.[19] There is no evidence that Prudentius' poetry circulated in the East, certainly not that Eudocia was influenced by it in a detailed way, but Prudentius appears to have interacted closely with Theodosius I and his court,[20] as did Damasus, Ambrose and Paulinus; it is not impossible that report of their work made its way to the royal court in Constantinople by the 430s. Eudocia, with her demonstrated interest in Latin verse, could at least have been indirectly aware of the existing Latin tradition of celebrating martyrs in poetry.

Be that as it may, Eudocia's poem on the martyrdom of St Cyprian breaks new generic ground in the poetic landscape of the Greek East and reveals a poet in creative dialogue with prose martyr accounts. In the *Martyrdom*'s opening lines published by Bevegni, which are less widely known than the rest of the poem,[21] there are some notable departures from the prose model, where Eudocia's language invites particular consideration by a reader attentive to generic markers of the Greek poetic tradition. Following an initial section (lines 1–8), in which Christ's enlightenment of the earth is celebrated, Justa is introduced as the daughter of Aidesios and Cledonia living in Daphne, a prosperous suburb of Antioch (lines 9–14: ἦν δέ τις αἰδοίη κούρη ᾗ οὔνομ' Ἰούστα ..., 'there was a reverent girl named Justa').[22] Immediately after this, the deacon Praulius, whose preaching inspires Justa, is described at some length (lines 15–19):

> Χριστοφόρος τις ἀνὴρ Πραῦλιος ἦεν ἐκεῖσε
> σεπτὸς ἄγαν πινυτός τε διάκτορος οὐρανίωνος,
> ὅστις ἐϋφροσύνῃ κεκορυθμένος ἠδέ τε πίστει
> βίβλους θεσπεσίας μετεκίαθεν αἰὲν ἀείδων
> πίστιν τ' ἠγαθέην ὀμφὴν δ' ἁγίην ὑποφητῶν.

[16] For discussion and comparison of these two poems, see Pollmann (2017) 191–214; on Venantius, see Roberts (2009) 165–243.

[17] On Damasus and Paulinus, see especially Trout (1999); (2015); on the disputed martyr hymns of Ambrose, see Lanéry (2008); Dunkle (2016) 143–73; on Prudentius' *Peristephanon*, see Roberts (1993); O'Hogan (2016); Hershkowitz (2017).

[18] In his *Oration* 24, Gregory of Nazianzus also conflates the two Cyprians, although it is uncertain whether the two conflations are connected; see, for example, Malamud (1989) 115–48; Petruccione (1990). Prudentius' knowledge of Greek is unclear.

[19] On Prudentius' sources for *Perist*. 10, possibly a Greek *passio*, see Henke (1986). For a survey of his use of sources across the whole collection, see Palmer (1989), 227–77.

[20] The details of Prudentius' life are much disputed and depend almost entirely upon his *Praefatio* and other references in his own poetry. On the *Praefatio*, which introduced a late collection of his work and is securely dated to 404/5, see the recent summary of scholarly debate by O'Hogan (2016) 11–15. Coşkun (2008) provides a detailed review of the evidence for Prudentius' life, although I am not fully convinced by his biographical reconstruction: he rejects a connection to Theodosius' court, dates Prudentius' first visit to Rome in 401 and places the majority of Prudentius' poetic activity in the last years of his life. Yet there is good evidence that the majority of the first book of *Contra Symmachum* and *Perist*. 2 on St Lawrence were composed during Theodosius' lifetime and addressed to the emperor; see, for example, Faguet (1883) 24–26; Harries (1984) 73–80; Cameron (2011) 337–49; Gnilka (2015). Other factors aside, it seems improbable that Prudentius produced the majority of his extant poetry in just a few short years near the end of his life; *cf*. Dijkstra (2016) 191 n.507; Harries (1984) 73. It remains entirely possible that Prudentius visited Rome on more than one occasion; *cf*. Roberts (2001) 534.

[21] It is notable that these 99 lines are at this time (May 2021) still not included in the *TLG*, whereas Ludwich's 1897 edition of the remaining text is.

[22] On the location, indicated by the waters of Castalia and the swaying palm trees, see Bevegni (2006a) 122 n.8.

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There was a man of Christ there named Praulius,
Very august and a wise deacon of heavenly God,
Who, armed with gladness and faith,
Went about constantly singing the books inspired by God,
The divine faith and the holy voice of the prophets.[23]

This extended introduction of Praulius is not present in the prose narrative, in which Justa/Justina is described simply as listening to Praulius (Greek rec. A: ἔστι δέ τις παρθένος ὀνόματι Ἰουστῖνα … ἀκούσασα αὕτη Πραϋλίου τινὸς διακόνου; rec. B: καί τις παρθένος ὀνόματι Ἰουστῖνα … αὕτη ἦν ἀκούσασα παρὰ Πραϋλίου τινὸς διακόνου; rec. C: ἦν δέ τις παρθένος ὀνόματι Ἰοῦστα … αὕτη ἤκουε Πραϋλίου τινὸς διακόνου).[24] Eudocia's phrasing in the description of Justa reflects the prose quite precisely (in particular rec. C: ἦν δέ τις παρθένος ὀνόματι Ἰοῦστα ~ Eudocia 9 ἦν δε τις αἰδοίη κούρη ᾗ οὔνομ' Ἰούστα) and after the extended description of Praulius she again picks up the narrative progression of the prose from where she left off:

τοῦ δὲ διηνεκέως ἀγανὴ κούρη ἀΐουσα –
φωτοφόρος γὰρ ἔην ἀγχοῦ θυρίς – ἐκ θαλάμοιο
ἐς μέγαρον ὁρόωσα διακτόρου αἰσίμου ἀνδρός,
ἔργα θεοῖο πέλωρα, βροτοῦ δ' ὅπερ εἵλετο σῶμα
ἀθάνατος, μεγάλων τε φάτιν ἐσθλῶν ὑποφητῶν.[25]

The gentle girl listened to him all the time –
For her light-bearing window was close by – from her chamber
Looking upon the house of the godly deacon,
She heard of the marvellous deeds of God, and the mortal body that he chose,
He immortal, and the word of the great and good prophets.

It seems likely that Eudocia consciously enhanced the place of Praulius in the narrative by inserting an extended description of him. The structure of the passage (15: Χριστοφόρος τις ἀνήρ …)[26] parallels the preceding description of Justa (9: ἦν δέ τις αἰδοίη κούρη …), thus placing Praulius on more equal footing with his pupil and elevating the prominence of his role as the teacher of scripture to a young convert.

Whether or not the audience compared the poem directly with a prose life and noticed differences between the two, Eudocia's Praulius is a striking Christian preacher, for he not only speaks the message of divine scripture but goes about singing it (18: βίβλους θεσπεσίας μετεκίαθεν αἰὲν ἀείδων): he sings of the marvellous deeds of God (23: ἔργα θεοῖο πέλωρα),[27] the incarnation of Christ, the words of the prophets, Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary, the adoration of the Magi, the power of the cross and the resurrection of Christ, his appearance before the disciples and his ascension to heaven to sit at the right hand of his eternal Father (lines 24–36). This act of singing strongly associates Praulius with the traditional figure of the hexameter poet, as well as with Eudocia herself, a versifier of Christian narratives, who like Praulius might attract pagan converts with her

[23] Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

[24] Text of recensions A and B from Radermacher (1927); recension C from Bailey (2017).

[25] *Cf.* rec. C (Bailey 2017): αὕτη ἤκουε Πραϋλίου τινὸς διακόνου λαλοῦντος ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ τήν τε ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τήν τε τῶν προφητῶν κήρυξιν, which recensions A and B resemble closely.

[26] *Cf.* the tenth-century *Life of Cyprian* 1.3 (*PG* 115, 849C) by Symeon the Metaphrast: Πραΰλιός τις τῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διάκονος, 'Praulius a deacon in Antioch'. On this text, see Papaioannou (2017).

[27] With ἔργα θεοῖο πέλωρα (23), a summary statement of the Christian teaching presented in the next lines, Eudocia renders the prose τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ (n.25), which echoes Acts 2:11. This may serve a particular structural function, as Acts 2:11 is itself an introduction to a survey of the history of prophetic revelation.

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poetry, or lead young Christians to a deeper faith:[28] even prior to her conversion, Justa is described by Eudocia as reverent (9: αἰδοίη), placing her at this early stage in the narrative in a middle ground between the faithful and the idolatrous. That Praulius sings of biblical subject matter also implies *metaphrasis*, as he converts the Gospel story into hexameter verse. If in gender Praulius does not map precisely onto Eudocia, the empress elsewhere expresses awareness of her gender in justifying her unique place within the existing tradition of Greek Christian cento poetry. In the apologetic epigram transmitted with her cento, she describes her predecessor Patricius as a bard (7: κεῖνος ἀείδων), whose project she takes up and improves, 'although being a woman' (ἀλλ' ἔμπης ξυνὸς μὲν ἔφυ πόνος ἀμφοτέροισι, | Πατρικίῳ κἀμοί, καὶ θηλυτέρῃ περ ἐοῦσῃ).[29]

Other language in the Praulius passage furthers this identification with the poet and suggests a consciously programmatic section, prominently situated at the outset of the poem. Praulius is described as a wise and holy διάκτορος (16) of heavenly God, a traditional epithet of the messenger god Hermes, which is a multivalent term discussed in Homeric exegesis. It could mean 'messenger' or 'servant', the latter in the technical ecclesiastical sense of 'deacon', and, as here in Eudocia's *Martyrdom*, late antique poets exploited the ambiguity of the term: Praulius is both the faithful deacon and mouthpiece of the Christian God.[30] The word διάκτορος is once attested in Lucian of a poet, Homer himself, who is recommended along with Pythagoras as a tutor for Rutilianus' son by the fraudulent priest Alexander of Abonoteichus in a false oracle (*Alex.* 33: Πυθαγόρην πολέμων τε διάκτορον ἐσθλὸν ἀοιδόν). The emphasis on Praulius' expression of the holy voice and sayings of the prophets (19: ὀμφὴν δ' ἁγίην ὑποφητῶν; 24: μεγάλων τε φάτιν ἐσθλῶν ὑποφητῶν) also associates him with traditional language of poetic inspiration. Both φάτις and ὑποφήτης are earlier linked with poetic utterance and divine inspiration through the Muses.[31]

Amidst such metapoetic language, there is also an arresting parallel with another programmatic prologue of late antique Christian paraphrastic poetry. The description of Praulius as a poet armed with gladness and faith (17: ὅστις ἐϋφροσύνῃ κεκορυθμένος ἠδέ τε πίστει) resonates with the first line of the prologue to the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, whose poet is armed with the song of immortal God:[32]

> Ἔλπομαι ἀθανάτοιο θεοῦ κεκορυθμένος οἴμῃ
> σοὶ χάριν ἀντὶ πόνων φορέειν καὶ κέρδος ἐπ' ἔργῳ
> καὶ τυφλὸς γεγαὼς δοκέειν φάος ἄλλο κομίζειν,
> Μαρκιανὲ κλυτόμητι·
>
> I hope, armed with the song of immortal God,
> To bring to you joy in return for pains and reward for work,
> And, although being blind, to be able to convey another light,
> Markianos, famed for skill.

[28] The potential of Christian classicizing poetry to rival pagan poetry and attract pagans is an established motif already in the fourth century: see Gregory Nazianzus *Carm*. 2.1.39.47–51, on which, see Simelidis (2009) 25, and *Metaph. Psalm. Prolog*. 15–34 (n.34). Gregory also gives as one of his primary motivations for writing classicizing verse the education of youth (37–46), to whom the poetry is attractive: cf. *Carm*. 2.1.11.6–8.

[29] This epigram and the centos themselves may well post-date the poem on St Cyprian (see Agosti (2001) 85; (2004) 70), but it nonetheless demonstrates Eudocia's self-awareness of her place in the tradition of late antique poetry (assuming that the epigram is a genuine product of her hand). The epigram can be found in Usher (1999) IX–X.

[30] See the extensive discussion of διάκτορος by Agosti (2003) 337–46 on Nonn. *Par*. 5.22: φῶτα διάκτορον; Rigo (2020) 213–14. As διάκτορος οὐρανίωνος, Praulius is a Christian counterpart to the Homeric θεῖος κῆρυξ/ἀοιδός (*Il*. 4.192; *Od*. 1.335, etc.).

[31] For φάτις, see Ar. *Av*. 924–25. For ὑποφήτης/ὑποφήτωρ, repeatedly in the Hellenistic period, see Theoc. *Id*. 16.29, 17.115, 22.116; Ap. Rhod. 1.22; with González (2000). Beyond this specific terminology, the association of prophets and poets is widespread, including in Hebrew tradition: *cf*. West (1997) 606.

[32] The linguistic parallel has been noted by Agosti (2006), 56 n.99.

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These opening lines of the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* unmistakably reflect upon the generic nature of Christian hexameter poetry, in which the Muses as the traditional source of poetic inspiration are replaced by God, and the poet's metaphorical and spiritual blindness simultaneously recalls and contrasts with the physically blind Homer.[33] Praulius too is inspired directly by his faith in God, rather than the traditional Muses, to sing the books inspired by God (18: βίβλους θεσπεσίας) as poetry, and, like the poet of the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, he is armed by God to confront and win over pagans.[34] It is now commonly believed that the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, which in antiquity was attributed to the fourth-century bishop Apollinaris of Laodicea, dates to the middle of the fifth century and the reign of the patriarch Gennadius (AD 458–471), therefore post-dating Eudocia's poem.[35] I have recently defended the attribution to Apollinaris in the fourth century, arguing that the language and theology of the poem are in fact compatible with his authorship, which in my view is supported by ancient testimony.[36] If this is correct, Eudocia's depiction of Praulius as a poet armed with faith in God would echo the first line of the programmatic prologue to the earliest large-scale paraphrase in the tradition of late antique Greek classicizing poetry, which appositely lays out an evangelical justification for rewriting Christian prose in hexameter verse. Even, however, if one follows the later dating of the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, the parallel underlines the appropriateness of the image to a description of Praulius as a Christian poet in the mould of Eudocia.

To sum up, I have argued that at the beginning of the *Martyrdom of Saint Cyprian* Eudocia self-consciously depicts the preacher Praulius as a poet, a Christian counterpart to the traditional singer of hexameter poetry and a simulacrum of Eudocia herself. Close comparison with the surviving prose versions of the martyrdom of St Cyprian, on which, in some form, Eudocia's hexameter poem is based, suggests that Eudocia has creatively expanded upon her prose model in her portrayal of Praulius. Whether or not an ancient audience compared her poem directly with prose versions of St Cyprian's life, her creative engagement with her model invites close scrutiny of the elevated status of Praulius in the poem. His direct portrayal as a singer (ἀείδων), combined with the repeated use of language traditionally associated with poetry and poetic inspiration, casts Praulius in the role of Christian versifier, one imbued with programmatic significance for Eudocia's own poetic undertaking. In line with the rationale for paraphrasing the Psalms laid out in the prologue to the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, Praulius' poetic expression of Christian narratives has the power to attract and convert non-believers and heretics. Taken less absolutely, his attractive verse, which inspires devout longing in the young Justa, already described as reverent (9: αἰδοίη) prior to her conversion, models the capacity of classicizing poetry also to lead Christian youth to a deeper and more committed faith.

[33] See Faulkner (2014) 201–04. The replacement of the Muses by God or the Holy Spirit is a common device of early Christian poetry: see Greg. Naz. *Arc*. 1.22; *Metaph. Psalm. Prolog*. 1–2, 109–10; in Latin, Juvencus 1.25–27; Sedulius 1.85; Arator 2.577–78; with Green (2006) 21–22, 300–02. The image of the poet armed with faith recalls Christian scripture (see Eph. 6:10–17; 2 Tim. 2:3–4; Phil. 2:25; Philem. 1:2), as well as the broader association of poetry and armour; *cf*. in particular Nonnus *Dion*. 25.264–67 of poetic inspiration (ἀλλὰ θεά με κόμιζε … κεκορυθμένον, 'bring me, goddess ... armed').

[34] This is made explicit at *Metaph. Psalm. Prolog*. 15–34, where the poet says that he undertakes his paraphrase of the Psalms to spread the word of God, 'in order that others too should know' (ἵνα γνώωσι καὶ ἄλλοι; where ἄλλοι refers to non-Christians or heretics).

[35] John Zonaras (12th century) reports that Apollinaris produced a paraphrase of the Psalms in reaction to the emperor Julian's edict on education (*Epit. hist*. 13.12: ὅθεν ... ὁ Ἀπολινάριος λέγεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου ὁρμηθῆναι παράφρασιν, 'For this reason Apollinaris is said to have embarked upon a paraphrase of the Psalter'). Against Apollinaris' authorship, see principally Golega (1939); (1960) 5–24; for more recent discussion, Agosti (2001) 87; De Stefani (2008).

[36] Faulkner (2020).

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