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A Commentary on Gregory of Nazianzus, *AP* 8.21

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Abstract

This article proposes a formal and linguistic commentary on an epigram by Gregory of Nazianzus (AP 8.21). It then makes some general observations. The poem belongs to a series of epigrams dedicated to Gregory's father, who is also the *persona loquens*. The poet starts with a well-known scriptural quotation from the Book of Micah (5) about how small Bethlehem is and extends the same concept to Nazianzus, the village whose spiritual care Gregory's father has entrusted to him. In each case, the town's small size corresponds to its inversely proportional spiritual importance. The formal solutions adopted in the epigram, specifically the use of the adjective τυτθός, reveal the poet's admiration for and imitation of Callimachus, but also his originality in renewing pagan poetic language with the purposeful insertion of Christian vocabulary. An area for further research concerns the presence of elements of the most widespread epic diction of Gregory's time (such as the increased use of datives in -εσσι), as found in the *Sibylline Oracles* and Manetho's *Apotelesmatics*.

Keywords

epigram; Gregory of Nazianzus; Callimacheanism; -εσσι datives

Gregory of Nazianzus's epigrammatic production has been the focus of renewed interest by specialists in Late Antiquity, evidenced by the increased number of studies in historical, literary and stylistic criticism.[1] In this article, I will analyze epigram *AP* 8.21, which belongs to the epitaph sequence dedicated to Gregory's father (*AP* 8.13–24). I will do this through deploying a lexical and stylistic method to identify some formal preferences in Gregory's writings.[2]

> Τυτθὴ μάργαρός ἐστιν, ἀτὰρ λιθάκεσσιν ἀνάσσει·
> τυτθὴ καὶ Βηθλέμ, ἔμπα δὲ χριστοφόρος.
> ὣς δ' ὀλίγην μὲν ἐγὼ ποίμνην λάχον, ἀλλὰ φερίστην
> Γρηγόριος, τὴν σύ, παῖ φίλε, λίσσομ' ἄγοις.[3]

Gregory's father is the speaker in this text, in which he asks his son to accept the guidance of his flock. It seems that the poet had a complicated relationship with his father: alongside esteem and respect, as expressed in the iambic poem *De vita sua* (2.1.11), and in the oration he delivered at his funeral in 374 (*Or.* 18), Gregory also presents him as a τύραννος, because he ordained his son against his will (*De vita sua*, 336–356).[4] The epigrammatic genre and the funerary context, however, lead Gregory to depict the relationship with his father as idyllic. Gregory wishes to show himself in a specific light to his father and siblings – his brother Cæsarius and his sister Gorgonia – due to the spiritual legacy connecting both father and son in their priestly mission.[5]

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1 On Gregory's epigrammatic production, see Consolino (1987), Conca (2000), Milo (2005), Palla (2015), Ypsilanti (2018), and Simelidis (2019). Gregory's debt to preceding literary tradition has been the focus of many successful studies, such as those by Wyss (1949) and Demoen (1993). Regarding the stylistic evaluation of Gregory's epigrams, according to Degani (1993: p. 232) they are nothing more than a rhetorical exercise. Similarly, Vertoudakis (2011: p. 77) maintains that Gregory's epigrammatic experiments were only collected together after his death, without an authorial plan. It is more plausible that his epigrammatic sequences are the product of a careful literary effort, as Consolino (1987), along with others, has suggested.
If we must point out a curious feature, it is the excessive repetition of the same topics, which Pontani (1979: pp. 376–77) has condemned. Regarding this aspect, Simelidis (2019: p. 645) adopts a balanced approach: "His frequent repetition of the same topics is perhaps not agreeable to modern tastes, but can certainly be understood on the basis of Gregory's personal sensitivities, and perhaps even appreciated as having didactic purposes as well as offering a variety of models for Christian epitaphs."

2 A comprehensive introduction to the epigrams devoted to Gregory's father can be found in Milo (2005). This study offers a precise analysis of lexical expressions claimed to be taken directly from older authors; I am more tentative about this. Simelidis (2009: p. 31) explains away some expressions taken from older authors as "mere borrowings." According to Poulos (2019: p. 62), "Gregory does reprise numerous terms and formulae from older authors, especially Homer, but often he does this for the grandeur of the language, not with any allusive intention."

3 Text from Beckby (1965²: p. 458). "Small is the pearl, but the queen of jewels; small is Bethlehem, but yet the mother of Christ; so, a little flock was mine, Gregory's, but of the best; and I pray, my dear son, that thou mayest lead it" (transl. Paton).

4 See also Waltz (1960²: p. 40) and Poulos (2019: p. 63).

5 Cf. the previous epigram in this series (*AP* 8.20 Γρηγόριος, τὸ δὲ θαῦμα, χάριν καὶ πνεύματος αἴγλην / ἔνθεν ἀειρόμενος ῥῖψ' ἐπὶ παιδὶ φίλῳ) and *AP* 8.13.5, where he introduces himself as the mildest and gentlest (ἀγανώτατος) of his father's children. Regarding Gregory's monopoly on affection, see also Milo (2005: p. 443).

The text is based on the interweaving of two motifs: smallness and preciousness. The combination of these is presented as a distinctive series of elements: the pearl, tiny (τυτθή), but superior to all other stones (λιθάκεσσιν ἀνάσσει); Bethlehem, a small and insignificant village (τυτθή), but the one where Christ was born (χριστοφόρος); finally, the flock of faithful parishioners assigned to Gregory's father; although this flock is quantitatively limited (ὀλίγην), it is also qualitatively the best (φερίστην) in his opinion. These elements are arranged in a series that moves from the natural kingdom to the reality of sacred history, and then to the author's individual story. This juxtaposition of motifs is underlined by the anaphora in the first two lines, a rhetorical figure to which the author often resorts to emphasize words and concepts.

Additionally, the three-element simile acquires greater rhetorical force and draws its effectiveness from the bipartite structure of the lines. The second half of each line builds a counterpoint to the first, as indicated by the conjunctions ἀτάρ (l. 1, after a feminine caesura), ἔμπα (l. 2), and ἀλλά (l. 3, after a bucolic diaeresis). Strictly speaking, the first couplet with the two images constitutes the *illustrans*, while the *illustrandum* is introduced only in l. 3 (ὥς), so that the speaker of the epigram – Gregory's father – only appears at the end (l. 4). This happens after a purposeful waiting period and in the *enjambement*, according to the Callimachean models, of which Gregory knows himself an original interpreter.[6]

The reference to the small community of the faithful entrusted to Gregory's father (l.3 λάχον) is explained in the context of the dialogue on which the epigram is built: Gregory's father, also a bishop, begs his son to accept guiding his small flock. It is well known that Gregory had long hesitated before accepting the episcopate.[7]

On the metric level, the epigram ultimately demonstrates Gregory's preference for dactylic lines, albeit within certain limits: the use of τυτθή ensures he must resort to a first-foot spondee as a solemn *incipit* (l. 1: *sdddd*; in the first *hemiepes* of l. 2: *ss-*). This occurs frequently in Gregory's poetry. This is unlike Hellenistic poetry, where placing a spondee in the II and IV positions was preferred (other spondees are found in l. 3: *ddsdd*; and in the first *hemiepes* of l. 4: *ds-*).[8]

l. 1 τυτθός: 'little'. With this distinctive *incipit*, also reinforced by the anaphora in the following line, Gregory acknowledges his preference for Callimachean models.[9] In fact,

6 On Gregory's Callimacheanism, see also Simelidis (2009: pp. 30–46). For an insight into Callimachus' use of necessary *enjambement*, "which is much greater than in earlier writers of elegiac metres", see also McLennan (1974).

7 As White (1996: p. xvi) remarks, "in his *Oration 10* Gregory appears resigned to acceptance of the episcopate, speaking of how he felt he had to respect the demands of friendship and old age: in other words, he felt compelled by Basil and his father to submit against his will."

8 According to Agosti-Gonnelli (1995: pp. 372–375), Gregory's favorite patterns of hexameters are *ddddd* (31.69%) and *sdddd* (19.20%). As regards Gregory's predilection for first-foot spondee and bucolic caesura, recognized by Gonnelli (1995: p. 380), Mary Whitby (2008: p. 94) wonders if "these pronounced rhythms might be Gregory's personal technique for marking a strong beginning and end to the hexameter line, as against the regulation of word accent at line-end and caesura refined by Nonnus."

9 The Callimachean influence on Gregory is clearly recognized by Poulos (2019: pp. 65–66). For an insight into the stylistic level of τυτθός in Gregory, see also Poulos (2019: pp. 92–93).

τυτθός is an adjective derived from Homer, which has moved through the language of drama, to Hellenistic (e.g., Callimachus, *Aitia* fr. 1,5 Pfeiffer ἔπος δ'ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἐλίσσω) and Imperial poetry (Gregory of Nazianzus: 47 examples, Quintus of Smyrna: 35, Eudocia: 37; while it is found only twice in poetry by Nonnus of Panopolis). Regarding epigrams, it is noteworthy that Gregory usually employs it in the first lines (cf. *AP* 8.7.1, 8.82.1, 8.124.1, 8.125.1, 8.135.1, 8.136.1), inside quite stereotyped reflections on the brevity of the deceased's life.

μάργαρος: 'pearl'. Reference to precious stones recalls Posidippus, but there is no precise citation.[10] After all, the term had no tradition in the poetic language before Gregory, and it would not be popular after him (*hapax* in Nonnus, *Dion*. 5.167). For other examples in Gregory Nazianzen (8 times), cf. for example *carm.* 2.1.12.603, *carm.* 2.1.13.180.

ἀτάρ: 'nonetheless', a synonym of δέ, "although the 'break' suggested by ἀτάρ is often a bit stronger than that suggested by δέ. It is usually found in contexts where δέ cannot be used; for example, together with vocatives (often at the beginning of a new speaking turn). It may have been colloquial in tone."[11] Thus, Gregory aims to create a truly dialogic style. For a similar use of τυτθή and ἀτάρ in Gregory, see also *carm.* 2.2.1.365 (Τυτθὴ μὲν πόλις ἐσμὲν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ σεῖο, φέριστε). Interestingly, ἀτάρ was not popular in Quintus of Smyrna (found twice) and Nonnus (only once), whereas it was quite common in Gregory (25 times) and in Eudocia's Homeric style (around 30 occurrences). The variant αὐτάρ, which Homer uses indifferently instead of ἀτάρ (depending on his metrical needs) is more common, although with some significant differences (111 occurrences in Gregory of Nazianzus, 192 in Eudocia, and 51 in Nonnus).[12]

λιθάκεσσιν: epic dative,[13] from an originally adjectival stem λίθαξ 'of stone';[14] a Homeric *hapax* (λίθακι ποτὶ πέτρῃ in *Od*. 5.145), then made into a noun. It is an artificial form

10 Poulos (2019: p. 66, n. 225).

11 *CGCC* 59.18. According to Denniston (1954²: p. 51), "like αὐτάρ, ἀτάρ may be either adversative or progressive in sense."

12 As for αὐτάρ in Gregory, for instance in *carm.* 2.2.7, Poulos (2019: pp. 86–87) points out that "the formula αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ ('but I') in 300 is a favorite tag of the Cyrenaean, who uses it to close the *Aetia* (αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν [ἔ]πειμι νομόν 'but I shall go to the foot-pasture of the Muses' fr. 112.9)." According to Denniston (1954²: p. 55), "the particle αὐτάρ is virtually confined to Epic (and, later, Pastoral) poetry, its place elsewhere being taken by ἀτάρ." Indeed, poets such as Gregory of Nazianzus, Eudocia and Nonnus preferred αὐτάρ to ἀτάρ.

13 On the -εσσι datives in Greek, which were most widespread in Aeolic dialects and therefore usually considered an Aeolism, see also Blümel (1982: pp. 260–263) and Cassio (2017). Regarding the ending in -εσσι in Imperial Age poetry, in the *Sibylline Oracles* Lightfoot (2007: pp. 175–176) remarks that "the Sibyl [...] also has a fondness for synthetic epic forms in -εσσι, in all types of third-declension stem. Unique to her are: 1.289 δαέρεσσιν, 3.156, 199 Τιτάνεσσι, 5.200 Βρύγεσσι, 8.40 ἐδάφεσσιν, 8.498 θεοπρεπέεσσι, 13.145 οὐνομάτεσσι, 14.240 αἰθαλόεσσι. Unique to her and p.s.-Manetho are 2.288 ἀλύσεσσιν and 3.186 τεγέεσσι." Similarly, according to Dottin (1930: p. CVII), in the *Argonautica Orphica* "le trait le plus curieux est le developpement de la desinence -εσσι: πραπίδεσσι 305, πόδεσσι 1128 (ποσσίν 1120), πόδεσσι 112, μερόπεσσι 1127, φολίδεσσι 929 (φολίσιν 1015)."

14 According to Chantraine (1933: p. 379), it belongs to the "petit groupe de dérivées secondaires," formed through the suffix -ακ. Beyond Homer, it is worth considering a single attestation of the dative λιθακοῖς in Stesichorus (*PMG* 37). Further attestations of the adjective λιθακός are found only in Byzantine Greek; for λιθακόν with the meaning of *steiniges Gelände*, attested in a monastic document dating back to 1044, see *LBG* s.v.

from Hellenistic poetry whose first occurrence is documented in Aratus (*Ph.* 1.1112).[15] After Aratus, this type of dative is only attested in [Manetho's] *Apotelesmatica* 6.343, Tryphiodorus (l. 621), the *Argonautica Orphica* (l. 613) and in Gregory. It cannot be ruled out that λιθάκεσσιν is an Aratean *tessera* which Gregory of Nazianzus must have liked, since his writings account for five of its occurrences out of 14 in the whole of Greek and Byzantine literature (moreover, two of those 14 are found in medieval lexicons devoted to Gregory's works).[16] However, besides Aratus, Nicander also offers one occurrence of λίθαξ, although not in the dative: it is found in a sophisticated passage where λίθακας is paired with the synonym ἕρμακας 'heaps of stones' (*Th.* 150). This context will be taken up again by Dionysius Periegetes (*GrDFr* 14r).

ἀνάσσει: the verb ἀνάσσειν, 'dominate', was commonly used in hexametric clauses from Homer onwards, including Hellenistic and Imperial poetry. Elsewhere (*carm.* 2.1.1.143), Gregory even resuscitates the rare epic infinitive ἀνασσέμεν of Homeric origin (only attested three times in the *Iliad*), as Apollonius Rhodius had done once previously (*Arg.* 1.719).

l. 2 Βηθλέμ: the figurative repertoire which Gregory uses here is not new. The traditional motif of Bethlehem's smallness is already found in the Prophet Micah (5, Καὶ σύ, Βηθλεεμ οἶκος τοῦ Εφραθα, ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν Ιουδα) and is also mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew (2.6). The scriptural citation, however, only concerns the theme, because Gregory relishes creating variations. Additionally, consistent with his attitude as a Christian steeped in classical culture, he prefers the poetic τυτθός to the adjectival ὀλιγοστός from the *Septuaginta*, and to ἐλαχίστη, the form with which it was paraphrased by Matthew. The comparison between Nazianzus and Bethlehem is also found elsewhere in Gregory; for example, in the funeral speech to his father (*or.* 18.17) and in *carm.* 2.2.1.275.[17] Notably, Gregory usually employs the form Βηθλεέμ (14 times), except in this passage, for metrical reasons.

ἔμπᾰ: 'and yet'. The epic form was ἔμπης, in Doric ἔμπᾱς or ἔμπᾶν, but sometimes ἔμπᾰ (Pind. *N.* 4.36, Soph. *Ai.* 563, Callim. *epigr.* 12.3, fr. 726 Pfeiffer, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.791,

15 As to Aratus, according to Kidd (1997: p. 563), it is "a deliberate variation," instead of the expected λιθάδεσσιν, which is found for example, in A.R. fr. 12.21 (*CA* p. 8). Notably, λίθαξ was perceived as a diminutive, according to Dionysius Thrax's *Ars Grammatica*: see Uhlig (1883: p. 29).

16 The other cases of λιθάκεσσι are found in *carm.* 1.2.1.217, 1.2.19.227, 2.2.4.43, and 2.2.6.3. Regarding the medieval *lexica* exemplifying this form, they are the lexicon contained in cod. Paris. Coislin. 394 and *Lexicon casinense*, which explains λιθάκεσσι through λίθοις (for which, cf. Kalamakis [1992 *s.v.*] and Kalamakis [1995 *s.v.*] respectively).

As for the other occurrences in Gregory, also in non-dative forms, cf. *carm.* 1.2.1.244, 1.2.1.512, 2.1.34.64, the most significant, considering the semantic importance acquired by this word, is probably the final one; after all, it is found in a statement of poetics. Gregory avoids a whole series of topics dear to pagan poetry, among which he also includes naturalistic or astronomical subjects, according to the taste of much Hellenistic poetry (οὐκ αὐγὰς λιθάκων, οὐ δρόμον οὐρανίων). An analysis of this priamel, full of references to pagan literature and characterized by an "unmistakably Callimachean air, without being closely related to any specific passage of Callimachus" according to Hollis (2002: p. 47), is found in Simelidis (2009: p. 35).

17 Waltz (1960²: p. 40). Gregory refers to Nazianzus in *carm.* 2.2.1.365 as well, emphasizing how seemingly insignificant it is (τυτθὴ πόλις). According to Demoen (1997: p. 173), the image of the small city of Bethlehem chosen as the birthplace of Christ is used seven times in Gregory's works.

3.641). Gregory employs both ἔμπα (8 times) and ἔμπης (27 times), depending on the metre. The only other poetic texts using this adverb in Late Antiquity are the *Metaphrasis of the Psalms*, attributed to Apollinaris of Laodicea (with a ratio 19:1 between ἔμπα and ἔμπης), and the *Apotelesmatics* by the astrologer Hephaestion of Thebes (only one use of ἔμπα).

χριστοφόρος: a clear novelty for poetic language is the use of this compound adjective, 'bearer of Christ' (l. 2), coined as early as the second century AD (for instance in the prose of Ignatius of Antioch, cfr. *Ephes.* 9.2 Ἐστὲ οὖν καὶ σύνοδοι πάντες, θεοφόροι καὶ ναοφόροι, χριστοφόροι, ἁγιοφόροι, κατὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).[18] Thanks to an easy prosodic configuration (- ∪ ∪ -), Gregory introduces this into the hexameter (10 occurrences). See for instance *AP* 8.29.5, where he calls his mother Nonna χριστοφόρος, σταυροῖο λάτρις, κόσμοιο περίφρων, "the bearer of Christ, the servant of the Cross, the despiser of the world" (transl. Paton), *AP* 8.150.2 and seven cases in the *carmina*.

l. 3 ὀλίγην... ποίμνην: the motif of the little flock is already found in the Gospel (*Lk*. 12, 32 Μὴ φοβοῦ, τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον, ὅτι εὐδόκησεν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν) and it became known in the Latin world as the *pusillus grex*. Gregory creates a lexical variation on this by inserting ὀλίγος "one of those Callimachean code-words for little-and-pure" (Cameron 1995: pp. 136–137; cf. also *carm.* 1.2.17.53–54). Such imagery is consistent with *AP* 8.15, where Gregory's father claims that he gave God Γρηγόριον καθαρῇ λαμπόμενον Τριάδι, ἄγγελον ἀτρεκίης ἐριηχέα, ποιμένα λαῶν, "a priest, Gregory illumined by the pure Trinity, the sonorous messenger of Truth, the shepherd of the people" (transl. Paton).

φερίστην: Gregory expresses his preference for the slight and the excellent (ὀλίγην... φερίστην, linked through *homeoteleuton*),[19] according to the Callimachean taste of λεπτότης. The Hellenistic taste seems, in contrast, to inspire the preceding bucolic diaeresis (after λάχον). Gregory of Nazianzus is very fond of the ancient superlative φέριστος 'best': it is already found in Homer (although only 7 times,[20] but Gregory uses it 27 times, probably because of metrical needs – it occurs 22 times in a hexametric clause). It is otherwise relatively infrequent in both prose and poetry. It is often found in the vocative in lyrical poetry and tragedy, and is attested only sporadically in later poetry, in authors

18 "So, you are all participants together in a shared worship, God-bearers and temple-bearers, Christ-bearers, bearers of holy things, adorned in every respect with the commandments of Jesus Christ" (transl. Holmes). One should also bear in mind problems related to the authenticity of Ignatius's epistolary and his cultural milieu: refer to Brent (2006). As for χριστοφόρος and the many adjectives composed in -φόρος in Ignatius, see also Brent (2006: pp. 143–145). Brent (2006: pp. 173–174) sees in Ignatius' style "the language of processions, in which those who participate carry images, whether to enthrone and deify an emperor such as Philip of Macedon or Augustus of Rome, or to celebrate mysteries in general, with which such divinized political figures may have become associated. It is from such a background that he derives his use of such expressions as θεοφόροι, χριστοφόροι, ναοφόροι, and ἁγιοφόροι."

19 Conca (2009: p. 37, n. 2).

20 According to Risch (1974²: p. 89), "Alten Gebrauch setzt vielleicht φέριστος (neben φέρτερος, -τατος) fort, wenn es direkt zum Verb gebildet ist: 'der am meisten davonträgt (?), der beste'."

such as Manetho (3 times) and Eudocia (4 times), but never in Nonnus and only once in Quintus of Smyrna (1.465).

l. 4 σύ: the placement of the pronoun at the end of the first *hemiepes*, as the name of Gregory's father is at the beginning,[21] emphasizes the final prayer of the epigram and the continuity between father and son in their pastoral mission.

παῖ φίλε: 'my dear son' (Paton), where φίλος seems to recall its Homeric possessive value.[22] In the vocative this *iunctura*, which is also an effective dactyl, is very rare in Greek (with some exceptions, e.g., Plato *Soph.* 230c 4), unlike the more common (ὦ) φίλε παῖ (e.g., Alc. fr. 366 V., Theoc. *Id.* 29.1). Only one epigraphic parallel is apparent in a funerary inscription dated to the second century CE, found in Pisidia and published by Sterrett (1888: p. 305, n. 427). Within the epitaph sequence dedicated to Gregory's father, see also the previous epigram: *AP* 8.20.2, ἐπὶ παιδὶ φίλῳ. The dative construction is also repeated in the fifth book of Nonnus's *Paraphrase of John* (v. 77).[23]

λίσσομαι: the verb λίσσομαι 'to implore', common in Hellenistic and Imperial poetry, especially in the participle (Gregory of Nazianzus: 20 times, Quintus of Smyrna: 5, Nonnus of Panopolis: 11, Eudocia: 17), is a common *tessera* of epic language.

ἅγοις: Gregory frequently uses verbs in the optative form in prayers, attributing to them a well-attested desiderative valence. See for example φέροις in *carm.* 2.1.19 l. 83 (Τῇ νῦν, Χριστέ, φέροις με ὅποι φίλον), 2.1.45 l. 344 (τέρμα φέροις ζωῆς ἵλαος).[24]

In conclusion, a close reading of *AP* 8.21 offers readers a rich *specimen* of all Gregory Nazianzen's expressive possibilities: from his clear admiration for Callimachus (τυτθός, ὀλίγος), to a possible recovery of single expressions by other Hellenistic poets such as Aratus (λιθάκεσσιν). These possible readings seem confirmed in the usages of other contemporary poets. The linguistic sources of expression are still found in traditional language, which is in turn beholden to epic diction, as demonstrated by the use of φέριστος and of φίλος in a construction that recalls its Homeric possessive value. Christian inspiration, however, does not give way before the author's exuberant παιδεία. Rather, it makes itself known both *thematically*, with the double scriptural reference to the Old and New

21 For a similar position of the name Γρηγόριος in Gregory's epigrams, see also *AP* 8.15.2 and Milo (2005: p. 446).

22 For an insight into the Homeric value of φίλος, see also Hooker (1987).

23 With regard to this passage, Agosti (2003: p. 439) notes: "un altro bel caso di *presqu'homérique*: in Hom. si trova l'incipit παῖδα φίλον/ην (Π 460, ω 103 = *HHCer* 252, 261; A 447), mentre il dat. ricorre in altra sede (P 96 φ. π.): vd. anche Π 658 φ. περὶ π., Σ 147, ρ 38 = ω 347, τ 104, Hes. fr. 26.24. Q. S. ha παιδὶ φίλῃ* (2.626, cfr. anche 3.529 παιδὶ φίλῳ e 2.500 φίλῳ περὶ παιδί)."

24 According to Ricceri (2013: pp. 231–232), "un uso assai simile si riscontra, nelle preghiere, grazie alla presenza della forma ἅγοις, in *carm.* 1.1.36 v. 33 (ἀλλά με καὶ νῦν ἅγοις ἐσθλὸν ἐπὶ τέρμα πορείης), in chiusura del carme, 1.1.37 v. 6 (καί με, Ἄναξ, παλίνορσον ἅγοις ἐπὶ δῶμα πενιχρόν), 1.2.12 v. 12 (Κόσμε, παρῆλθον ἐγώ, λαὸν ἄτρωτον ἅγοις), anche in questo caso ultimo verso del carme." On the use of the desiderative optative without ἄν or another particle, see Smyth (1920: p. 406). Regarding the use of the optative in the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus as a trait of linguistic refinement, see also Henry (1943).

Testaments (in the first case as an elegant reformulation in Callimachean terms), and *formally*, by deploying lexical items suggestive of the new faith (χριστοφόρος).

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