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ABSTRACTS

Niall Slater (Emory University), ***Textualization from the Bottom Up***

Throughout antiquity the majority of the peoples of Greece and Rome lived in an oral world, though with increasing consciousness of residing on the borders of the world of literate textuality. Through case studies drawn from the earliest days of alphabetic literacy in Greece down into the Roman empire, utilizing primarily graffiti and other anonymous popular writing, this talk seeks to explore some of the temptations of textuality for the newly or marginally literate. While acknowledging that textuality can exist before or apart from literacy, this analysis tries to discern any persistent threads in patterns that might draw people newly into the entanglements of writing.

Aaron Koller (Yeshiva University), ***Textualization and Oralization in Early Near Eastern Writing***

Although today writing is often conceived as a way of transcribing speech, the earliest writing was actually not meant to reflect spoken language at all, but to do jobs that spoken language is actually quite poor at, primarily lists and bureaucracy (Postgate, Wang, and Wilkinson 1995; Cooper 2004; Woods 2020). In this paper, I would like to discuss two subsequent developments that brought ancient Near Eastern writing and speech closer together in different ways. While the history of writing is a well-trod field, the question of how writing systems represent language(s) is far less studied (Daniels 2018).

The first is the development of phonetic writing. While earliest writing reflected exclusively the *semantic* level of language, reflecting no phonetic information at all, this was highly limiting regarding what could be written. Both Mesopotamian and Egyptian scribes of the early third millennium subsequently developed methods of writing anything they could say; in both cases the capacity to write phonetically began with personal names and developed thence (Baines 1989; Schmandt-Besserat 2019). Specific tactics, the rebus principle and semantic extension, were employed to develop such systems. It was still centuries until "literature" came to be written down, however, and even with that development, a gulf remained between spoken and written language.

The second development was the radically phonetic writing system of the early alphabet. This was much more closely tied to spoken language, and contained none of the lexical or morphemic information encoded in early cuneiform or hieroglyphs. The simplicity of this system was also its weakness: it provided little decoding help for readers, which explains why the alphabet did not spread quickly after its invention (compare Sass 2004-2005). Psycholinguistic studies of reading (e.g., Ehri 2005) and comparative study of later writing systems in the Bible (Dobbs-Allsopp 2012), the Dead Sea Scrolls (Miller 2017, 2019) and late antique and early medieval Europe (Saenger 1982, 1997; Boyarin 1993) shows that this type of system would have been useful only

for reading out loud. This performative reading is connected also with the genres of texts being written in this script, primarily votive and dedicatory inscriptions.

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Ronald Blankenborg (Radboud University), ***Deictic Phonation in Textualization: Pragmatically Preserved Greek Particles***

This paper aims to demonstrate the deictic usage of select Greek particles, merely representing sounds functioning as symbols – a phenomenon known from other languages and not exclusive for ancient Greek. The study of Greek particles as symbolic sounds – in the textualization of a language with such a close connection between phonology and phonetics – will contribute to the analysis of development of the writing system in other languages.

In the study of Greek particles, small words with no stable thesis in prosody, much attention has been given to their auxiliary or nuancing semantic function (Bazanella & Morra 2010; Bazanella 2006), sometimes to the effect that a particle was awarded its own independent semantics. From a prosodic point of view such semantic value is unexpected and untenable, as rhythmical and intonational clisis resist any adverbial meaning. Usage as particles is the direct result of phonetic reduction, itself the effect of intonational variance (Libermann & Pierrehumbert 1984).

For certain nuancing and discourse particles not even auxiliary semantics can be readily established. Particles like δέ, μέν, γάρ, γέ, δή and ὦ serve pragmatic purposes as signals, on a par (and possibly in combination) with gestures. They remain, however, the printed representations of phonemes, of sound (Bolly & Degand 2013). It is in itself remarkable that ancient Greek has retained the intonational phonation in writing, though (on a smaller scale) phonation for pragmatic purposes only is known from other languages, also in their written representation (George 2009; Vatri 2012). In English, for example, utterance-initial "Well, …" indicates that speaker demands or reclaims attention (Aijmer 2002; 2009), whereas phonation-continuing but meaningless "uh" indicates speaker's resilience to remain the audience's focus of attention, even despite a lack of semantics (Bolden 2006; Argaman 2010; Bara 2010). In writing, the different instances of deictic phonation may or may not be presented; if they are, particles primarily serve prosodic ends.

In ancient Greek, the prosodic contour of particles reflects their intonational-deictic usage. I will argue that the clitic character and the unstable thesis of particles both serve as indicators for intonational deixis. Enclisis of δέ, μέν, γάρ, and γέ, for example, prolongs, stretches, and deepens the intonational slope of the phonetic word (Taylor 1996; Auer *et al.* 1999; Bart-Weingarten *et al.* 2010; Bonifazi & Elmer 2012; *et al.* 2016). The variability of the thesis (of both monosyllabic and polysyllabic particles) enables the particle to contribute to demarcation depending on the text's rhythm (Wennerstom 2001; Couper-Kuhlen 2003; 2005; Hirschberg 2006). Particularly in metrical text evidence can be found for the prosodic motivation behind particles' signalling continuation of phonation.

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Rodrigo Verano (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), ***How to Make a Literary Text of a Conversation: Evidence from Plato's Dialogues***

The dialogues of Plato stand as a remarkable metaphor for the gradual replacement of fading oral traditions by written formats of social communication and memory taking place in the Greek world throughout the classical period. Furthermore, the interrelation between orality and literacy is

central to the conception of the dialogues as a genre, and, as conversations imagined and conceived as written products, they raise a series of questions regarding textualization. Thus, since the dialogues intend to recreate plausible, realistic extracts of human interaction, their composition has to address a number of problems: on the one hand, they require a fully aware knowledge of the ways and practices— not only linguistically—of naturally occurring talk; on the other hand, they have to face the challenge of adapting such practices successfully to the possibilities and features of a written product. This process of textualization is doubtlessly central to our understanding of Plato's artistic dialogue technique.

Using the framework of Conversation Analysis (CA) as a base methodology (Sacks 1992; Heritage 2008; Sidnell & Stivers 2013; in Ancient Greek, see Person 1995, Minchin 2007, van Emde-Boas 2017), this paper aims to explore how the features typical of oral interaction are accommodated in the written format of a literary dialogue — in other words, how talk-in-interaction is textualized — in the works of Plato. Among other phenomena, my analysis will focus on the following:

- the presence of prosodical 'chunks' containing independent pieces of information, typical of oral discourse production (in CA terms, "turn-constructional units"; Clayman 2013); cf. e.g. Grg.481b Ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, | ὦ Καλλίκλεις, | ὑπερφυῶς σπουδάζειν.
- the dynamics of turn-taking: selection techniques and how they are used in the dialogues (e.g. "current-selects-next" and "self-selection"; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974); e.g. Tht.145c Λέγε δή μοι (selecting next speaker).
- how the actions intended to be performed in a turn-at-talk determine the turn's shape, also linguistically ("turn design"; Drew 2013); e.g. Men. 82b Εἰπὲ δή μοι [=indicating upcoming question], ὦ παῖ, γιγνώσκεις τετράγωνον χωρίον;
- the structure of interaction across turns and its reenactment in the literary exchange ("sequence organization" and "preference" Schegloff 2007; Pomerantz & Heritage 2013).
- the inclusion of misunderstandings, self and other-corrections, etc. ("repair sequences"; Kitzinger 2013); e.g. R.338d ἀλλὰ σαφέστερον εἰπὲ τί λέγεις (asking for clarification).
- the contribution of nonverbal elements: e.g. Prot. 328d καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ μὲν πολὺν χρόνον κεκηλημένος ἔτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔβλεπον ὡς ἐροῦντά τι.

This analysis will provide an overview of the presence of such oral-related elements and their treatment in Plato's text, with the aim of showing how conversations are turned into literary dialogues; it will also allow for the detection of other stylistic traits that differ from those usually found in naturally occurring talk and, therefore, for describing the quality of Plato's literary style on the oral-written spectrum.

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Raymond F. Person, Jr. (Ohio Northern University), ***Textualization across Media: A Case Study based on Person Reference in Talk and Material Culture***

Although there may be some significant differences between oral discourse and written discourse, this paper explores the similarities of how textualization can occur across media, from everyday conversation to literature with special reference to the cognitive-linguistic practices associated with person reference. This exploration begins with observations taken from conversation analysis (Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Stivers, Enfield, and Levinson 2007) to understand the basic practices of person reference in talk-in-interaction, including the preference for achieving recognition, the preference for minimalization, and the preference for association. The paper then provides two examples of person reference in written material culture: (1) bulla A from excavations at Lachish, which contains two Hebrew names translated as "Eliakim, (son of) Yehozarah" (Klingbeil, Hasel, Garfinkel, and Petruk 2019) and (2) a discussion of text-critical variants concerning person reference in 2 Sam 3:23-25 as found in the Masoretic Text, one of the Dead Sea Scrolls (4QSam^{a}), and the Septuagint. [Note: this last example is one of many from a larger study.] This analysis leads to the following necessary conclusion: for successful communication to occur, textualization requires some level of co-cultural knowledge between speakers/writers and hearers/readers in ways that requires the speakers/writers to make certain assumptions about the co-cultural knowledge of the hearers/readers and design their speech/writing accordingly; therefore, any particular example of textualization should not be understood as explicitly containing all of the information shared between speakers/writers and hearers/readers. This paper will end reflecting on the implications of this conclusion on understanding both individual manuscripts of ancient

literature and the text-critical "variants" between manuscripts of the "same" literary text as examples of textualization within textual plurality, a characteristic of ancient literature.

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Teddy Fassberg (Tel Aviv University), *Speaking Objects as Texts*

Among the earliest specimens of Greek alphabetic writing, a group of inscriptions known as *oggetti parlanti*, speaking objects, stands out for the remarkable rhetorical strategy of personifying the objects upon which they are inscribed. Though they present these objects as speaking, their language clearly does not represent a straightforward transcription of speech: it is not easy to imagine a situation in which one would have exclaimed, for instance, "I am the kylix of Korax" (*IG*^{2} 919). Nevertheless, throughout the archaic period, from Pithekoussai to Rhodes, within their respective genres – e.g. dedicatory or ownership inscriptions – their diction shows striking uniformity. Elements of their diction, such as hexametric meter or epic epithets (ἑκηβόλος, ἀργυρότοξος) in Mantiklos or Nikandre's dedications, or fronting the name of the owner in the genitive (for Korax's kylix, cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.460: Ἕκτορος ἥδε γυνὴ, or 7.89: ἀνδρὸς … τόδε σῆμα), are firmly rooted in oral traditions; but the origins of the personifying strategy itself – which could hardly have arisen *sponte sua*, and has no Semitic parallel – remain obscure.

These curious objects have been interpreted as expressions of animistic beliefs (Burzachechi) or as designed to call attention to themselves (Svenbro). Developing Wulf Oesterreicher's distinction between orality as medium and as conception, I shall attempt to shed light on their bold rhetorical strategy by exploring the oral traditions which stand behind them and studying their relationship to them. A consideration of this sub-category of early Greek writing will also serve to illuminate a more general phenomenon of early Greek writing, namely that this newly developed technology was typically employed not to transcribe speech in the service of traditional ends, i.e. to do old things by new means, but rather drew on traditional oral resources for novel purposes, doing new things with old means.

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Manuela Giordano (University of Siena)***, Textualizing Democracy: The Eion Herms***

The paper will investigate the so-called Eion Herms, an early – and little studied – document (ca. 477-476, cf Aesch. 3. 183; cf also Plut. v. Cim. 7), which witnesses an early Athenian interest in textualization for the construction of democratic and martial discourse. As the proposed reconstruction of the historical context will argue, the first campaign of the Delian League culminated with the Athenian victory over the Persians at Eion (Thuc. 1. 98. 1; Hdt. 5.77.4), and was perceived as the beginning of an era where the Athenians would star as the new Greek heroes: such is the glorious feat the Herms celebrate, standing tall in the middle of the agora. The act of inscribing the herms in order to bring into full view the pre-eminence of the Eion victory is in many respects a most peculiar act of memorialization. Eion epigrams are one of the earliest extant public inscribed texts of democratic Athens which feature anonymity to extol the glory of the Athenians. The interface between written and oral is most apparent in the strategy of textualization the Herms represent in their double nature of hermaic monument and epigram. In this respect, the paper will propose a view of the herm as a semiotic device that combines the memorializing function of writing (stele, cult statue, inscribed text) with the oral device of the herm: a speaking object – in fact, a speaking god. In the disposition of the herms, the god Hermes becomes the carrier of the message in an interplay of text, image and voice, whereby the message gets dynamically affected by the medium. Decades before the diffusion of Athenian "epigraphic habit", the Eion Herms adapted the medium of the herm that Hipparchus had made famous during his tyranny (Plat. Hipparch. 228d-229a) but rendered it anonymous and such as to extol Athenian democratic identity. As written, monumental texts, these epigrams bring to the fore the new perception of the written code in the 70's of the fifth century, all the while being a clue testimony of the elaboration of Athenian democratic discourse.

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Elizabeth Minchin (Australian National University), ***Moving Towards Textualization: Evidence for Poetic Preparation in Homer***

The concept of composition in performance has in recent years generated investigation into the mind-based resources that an oral traditional poet draws on as he performs: we have observations on how the poet uses formulaic language to sing his way along his song path; or how he might draw on memorized themes, or, rather, on cognitive scripts that are stored in episodic memory, to sing his typical scenes. But what has been obscured as we focus on that moment of performance is what precedes it: that is, the extent to which a poet might prepare, in advance, for any performance. As cultural anthropologist Karin Barber has proposed, what happens in performance is not pure instantaneity; performances within oral traditions entail what she refers to as a 'textual dimension'.

Drawing on her study of African praise poetry, Barber argues that oral performances can be viewed as performances of 'texts'; and she uses the term entextualization to describe that activity of consolidating 'fleeting speech' into the text-like chunks that she has observed in that African genre. These chunks may have 'pre-existed the moment of utterance', or they may be created in the moment and 'constituted in utterance'. No matter what their origins may have been, these 'texts'--these chunks of discourse--are, in Barber's words, 'detachable' from their immediate context; as entextualized discourse they may be repeated form performance to performance or handed down from poet to poet.

In this paper I argue that forward planning and rehearsal were essential to a successful oral performance of the Homeric kind. I propose that we may find in the epics passages that may indeed have been 'constituted in utterance' but that there is good evidence too for passages that clearly 'pre-existed the moment of utterance', to use Barber's phrase, which were the product of composition *and* rehearsal--repeated retrieval--in tandem.

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Massimo Giuseppetti (Universita degli Studi Roma Tre), ***Textualization as Interpolation? Reconsidering Repetition in Greek Epic Poetry***

This paper addresses the topic of textualization by discussing the notion of interpolation, especially in its application to Homeric and Greek epic poetry in general. A seminal contribution on this issue was P. Friedländer's article on "Doppelte Recensionen" in Homeric poetry (1849). Friedländer argued that repeated imagery or phraseology can often be taken as evidence of the incorporation of multiple variants. This is a strongly positivistic approach that was long at home in the analytical tradition. Different, but ultimately related to it, is the notion of *Ersatzinterpolation,* i.e., the idea that a passage may have been 'filled' with new lines by an interpolator (see Russo on [Hes.] *Scut*. 42–45). As a consequence, repetition of imagery or phrasing has often been looked at with suspicion (see e.g. Rossi 1997 = 2016 on Hesiod's *Works & Days*). Surprisingly, the advent of the oral theory in the 20th century has not radically altered this approach, which still finds followers. Only recently have new studies brought attention to the possibility that repetition may play a crucial role in the construction of meaning in Homeric poetry (see in particular Hutchinson 2017). This begs the question: can we still maintain that repetition is problematic or suspect per se, and should we always consider repetition as virtual evidence of interpolation? My paper intends to explore this topic in a broad comparative dimension in order to bring to light, and discuss, the presuppositions with which we use repetition as an analytical tool. I will consider different theoretical scenarios, with (a) varying degrees of 'tolerability' of repetition at close range and with (b) different interactions between orality and writing, especially in terms of transmission and fixation. To this end, I will supplement the standard philological approach with analytical tools developed in media theory and in cognitive studies; I will bring in evidence both from Greek epic and from similar cases in other traditions (in particular from the field of Biblical studies). I will devote special attention to similes, which are often considered particularly exposed to this kind of 'repetition/interpolation'.

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Ruth Scodel (University of Michigan), ***Works and Days and the Difficulties of Textualization***

This paper will argue that Hesiod's *Works and Days* shows peculiar effects of the textualization of a poem originally composed for fluid performance. Textualization imposes decisions about the length of text. The extant poem attempts to present at a length suitable for a single performance material that would have varied far more than the surviving evidence does. Topics have been expanded or contracted. Some issues are familiar, like the reference to bird-omens and the apparent doublets of the segments on winter and seafaring (see Rossi 1997). This paper will consider a category less-discussed, advice about how to begin as a farmer, and in particular the advice about tools.

Throughout most of the Calendar, seasonal markers point to recurrent chores. The first entry, however, is peculiar. The seasonal indicators tell the farmer to collect wood, as he probably does each year. But the specific purposes of the wood are not recurrent. The poet provides information about making a mortar, plows, and a wagon, with measurements *WD* 423-37).

The established farmer rarely needs a new mortar, wagon, or plow, while the oxen are not connected to wood at all. Commentators have not discussed this anomaly, perhaps because the details are so difficult that they become a distraction. This technical passage was a display of skill that could not be omitted, but is slightly odd in its location.

Textualization, however, also allowed the text to win special authority, which placed constraint on innovative recomposition, yet inspired it at the margins, since the ideal absolutely faithful reproduction was a gradual development. The paper will consider some doubtful verses of *WD*, particularly 173a–e, and how we can understand them as effects of textualization. 173d-e provide a "missing" connection (a typical attempt at clarification), but 173 a–c try to make Zeus treat his father properly: in a text that lays such stress on filial piety (185–9 and 331–2), this must have seemed a necessary correction once the basic text was fixed. Textualization produced a work whose difficulties could be more obvious than in fluid performance and invited tinkering.

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Deborah Beck (University of Texas at Austin),

Sappho, Lyric, and Biography: Textuality as a Mode of Thought

This paper explores an unanswerable question about an unresolvable paradox at the heart of lyric poetry, and the poetry of Sappho in particular. How might a highly textualized mode of thought like scholarly analysis do justice to the expressive, subjective, sensual texture of Sappho's poems? The recently published "Brothers Poem" offers a fruitful canvas for such an attempt, because it includes several kinds of expressive features (personal names, feelings, wishes) and because it has been the subject of a wide range of recent scholarly treatments (text of the poem and many individual studies collected in Bierl and Lardinois 2016; other illuminating studies include Bär 2016, Gribble 2016; Mueller 2016, Swift 2018).

Sappho presents a uniquely gripping embodiment of the collision between two contrasting habits of mind that underlies Greek lyric poetry. By creating an illusion of a speaking individual telling us about their feelings and experiences, the poetry urges us to piece together the story, the life, of the narrating voice (explored in O'Connell forthcoming 2021), or – as the theme of this conference has it – to "textualize" the life in a fixed sequence. Yet the words of a lyric poem represent that which is fundamentally non-verbal: feelings, subjectivity, personal identity. Lyric

poetry is defined by this basic incompatibility between the two responses that it arouses. It encompasses two modes of human experience and inquiry that are both fundamental to the human condition and fundamentally at odds with one another.

In the case of Sappho, this urge to textualize is particularly compelling because so much about her is either unique or unknown: she is the only female Greek author of a complete surviving poem; the ancient sources about her life are few and sketchy; few of the poems themselves remain, most in a fragmentary state; the poems are powerfully expressive; and their sexuality has often aroused anxiety or disgust in readers. These qualities make us especially eager to textualize Sappho and her experiences, and they also distract us from noticing that the genre of lyric poetry is defined by the impossibility of doing so.

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Jan Skarbek-Kazanecki (University of Łodz),

The Transmission of the Theognidean Tradition as a Mnemonic Cultural Practice

The subject of interest in this paper is to determine how the oral tradition associated with the name of Theognis, retained in a collection called *Corpus Theognideum*, has been stabilized through the text. As a starting point, I assume, following Luigi Rossi's observations, that the survival of a given poetic work in antiquity was strictly dependent on the patronage and protection of a selected institution or a social group which, for whatever reason, was particularly keen on its preservation. I begin with a brief consideration of the possible models of explanation of the *Theognidea*' origin, examining two nineteenth-century hypotheses: the theory of the "school textbook", according to which *Corpus Theognideum* is simply an anthology created for educational purposes, and the theory that assumes a purely sympotic context for its origin. In the light of recent scholarship on the transmission of poetry during the classical epoch, it seems that both of them are partly true: although in all probability texts containing sympotic poetry initially constituted a direct result of the recording of a given performance and intended to be re-used on a similar occasion, the first writing samples of Theognidean elegies quickly become the symbolic capital linked to the institution of a *symposion*, therefore also an important tool for socialisation; as several testimonies

of the classical authors show, this tradition played a key role in ideological struggles for the overall authority over long-standing poetic practices. Indeed, we can equate this community of interests and values responsible for the textual transmission and canonization of elegies associated with Theognis of Megara with the circle of oligarchs and privileged descendants of the former aristocracy, gathered at *symposia* and united by a shared ideology. From the perspective of the sociology of reception and transmission of poetry the protection and maintenance of the tradition – its transmission enabled by the increasing significance of writing, its popularization among young generations of aristocrats, as well as its codification in the form of an ordered collection – can be thus understood as a mnemonic cultural practice, closely related to the aristocratic identity and the socio-political situation in Athens of the classical era.

Andrea Rotstein, (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), ***Phoenician Oral Poetry: The Missing Link***

Nothing in the extant written evidence from the 8th and 7th century BCE would let us imagine the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Our understanding of their composition and performance was born from poems textualized at a much later stage illuminated by living Serbo-Croatian traditions. The resulting oral hypothesis extends nowadays to the composition, performance and transmission of much early Greek poetry with almost axiomatic force. Further study of meta-poetic references and later sources combined with visual and material evidence have significantly clarified the possible occasions and modes of performance of early Greek poetry and song. Things could not be more different with Phoenician poetry, as the very notion of a Phoenician literature is highly contested. Given that no body of texts has survived in the manner that Greek and Latin ones did, inferences made from Phoenician literacy (including vastly spread inscriptions, seals, archives), along with references to Phoenician literary output among Greek and Roman authors, are often met with skepticism. Teleologically focused on the results of textualization, discussion often fails to consider the realms of oral poetry and song that must have been part of communal life in the ancient Mediterranean (admittedly, a *petitio principii*). As alphabetic writing spread along with trade, settlement and inter-marriage, a sort of *koiné* emerged, as objects were inscribed in different languages for similar purposes: signaling and protecting property, as well as marking burials and votive dedications. Nothing, indeed, that would let us imagine an oral Phoenician poetry, or the *Iliad*. However, if we consider the textualized results of the tradition at the beginning of the process (i.e. the cognate Ugaritic and ancient Hebrew poetry) rather than at the end (i.e. Homeric poetry), would we be able to follow a research path similar to the one leading to the oral-formulaic theory? Could close examination of the Phoenician epigraphical record in the context of extant Canaanean poetry, combined with insights from the thriving field of ethnomusicology, let us reconstruct aspects of the lost world of oral Phoenician poetry? In this talk I discuss this research framework and analyze a few testimonies to show how they may bring to light a missing link in our understanding of the contacts between Ancient Greek and Near Eastern cultures.

Giulia Donelli (University of Bristol), ***Between Orality and Textuality: Epigraphical Letters and Early Greek Literary Prose***

Most of us take prose writing for granted as the standard medium for authoritative intellectual expression. This was not always the case, however: ancient Greece developed prose only after centuries of reliance on verse for the dissemination, through performance, of authoritative public speech. Prose itself, in its beginnings, enjoyed a performative dimension between orality and textuality.

My paper focuses on the early textual developments of Greek prose through a comparative analysis of epigraphical and literary evidence. Remarkably fertile ground, in this respect, is offered by inscribed letters. Forty-two such documents, carved on lead or potsherds and dating from the archaic to the classical period, have been recovered in different localities across the Black and Mediterranean Seas (e.g. Vinogradov 1998; Ceccarelli 2013). The relevance of these findings to our understanding of the development of Greek prose has not, thus far, been adequately acknowledged. These letters share with early 'literary' prose texts a number of key formal and pragmatic features. First, their performative dimension sits between oral and written form (Eidinow-Taylor 2010: 46): just like early mythography and historiography (Fowler 2013: 668), letters are written to be read elsewhere. Secondly, they are historical narratives in their own right: they record facts, of a commercial or personal nature. Thirdly, they involve characters, and, on occasion, even reported speech (*SEG* 26.845). Most importantly, some attest syntactical formulations that, beyond reflecting the structure of messages embedded in historical accounts (e.g. Hdt. 1.69), or of later official epistles, amount to pragmatic and enunciative postures identical to those found in early mythography and historiography. A close analysis of such pragmatic and enunciative postures reveals suggestive ties also with the poetic, and thus conspicuously oral, archaic tradition.

This interdisciplinary comparison of early epigraphical and literary sources can help shed light on the processes of textualization that Greek prose underwent in its beginnings, and uncover the ongoing negotiation between the oral and textual dimensions that characterized the newly developing prose genres of historiography, mythography, and philosophical writing.

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Christopher Haddad (Oxford University), ***From Elocution to Epistolography: Phraseology from Oral Communications Textualized as Formulae in Greek and Latin Letters***

In this paper I trace the textualization of oral phraseology as set expressions in Greek and Roman literary and documentary letters, and explore how epistolary phraseology can inform us about textualization itself. I examine four expressions: 1) greetings, 2) health wishes, 3) valedictions, and 4) benefaction formulae. Our best evidence for the oral versions of such phraseology is in literary dialogue and speeches, and in funerary inscriptions written in first person ‘address’ to the reader (Poccetti 2010: *passim*). We must be mindful that ‘oral’ and ‘textual’ are distinct kinds of language, and that an author’s idiolect, genre, and register affect the replication of oral acts. But while exercising due caution we can determine with near certainty that Expressions 1–3 were inspired by face-to-face conversation and that Expression 4 originated in the speeches of military commanders.

It has been observed that some epistolary expressions originated in oral communications (Gerhard 1905: 30–4; van den Hout 1949: 29–32), and some ancients observed or even endorsed a certain conversational quality in epistolary style (Demetrius *Eloc.* 223–4, Symmachus *Ep*. 7.70). But we have not explored the full significance of Greek and Latin epistolary phraseology for the study of textualization. For certain epistolary expressions a complex process of textualization is reconstructable. Expressions 1–3 originated in face-to-face conversation and came to be employed in communications relayed by messengers. They were textualized in letters which messengers read aloud, and they remained textualized in this form even after the messenger’s role became obsolete. Not all oral phraseology was textualized in the same manner. Health wishes and farewells—expressions made from the sender to the recipient—were in first person, ignoring the messenger’s role. But greetings remained in third person, just as messengers had vocalized them. Furthermore, epistolographers continued to textualize oral acts, such as the benefaction formula, which originated in speeches of generals promising to benefit their troops (such as Xenophon *Anabasis* 6.1.26). The epistolary evidence reveals that textualization of oral phrases can be a complex, dynamic process impacted not only by the change in medium but also by external social developments.

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Uri Yiftach (Tel Aviv University), ***Between Law and Phantasy: Court Proceedings as Sources on Language, Style and Literature***

Dialogues have always played a key role in Greek social encounters. As such, dialogues make a massive corpus of evidence in different literary genres. Yet in all these cases, while the text repeatedly makes recourse to 'real' dialogues, it does not claim to report an actually held conversation. This is also the case in the sphere of legal procedure. Taking just three examples, Aristophanes' *Sphekes*, the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, or Aischylos' *Eumenidai*, sometimes mockingly imitate an actual interrogation, conducted and standardized in the Greek polis of the archaic and classical period. But texts recording the interrogation itself are extremely sparse. They survive only on papyrus, from Roman Egypt, recording an interrogation by high-ranking Roman officials, acting as judges in the framework of the *cognitio extra ordinem.* In that context, the actual discourse was submitted into writing and incorporated into the official's diary. The main incentive for the preservation and proliferation of these protocols was that the official's verdict could be used as a precedent by other judges hearing cases related to similar subject matters. Minutes of court proceedings have thus become a flourishing documentary genre in Roman Egypt, with currently 350 published texts. Court proceedings are a documentary genre—i.e. it emerges to answer a practical, prosaic need. But immediately after their birth, court procedures have been used in fiction, in particular in the context of *acta martyrum*, Pagan and Christian alike. Worthy of investigation, in the context of the conference are (1) the transmission, and reshaping of the verbal interrogation in its written account and (2) the use of these accounts to contextualize and yield historical credence to fiction in the *Acta martyrum*.

Il-Kweon Sir (Cambridge University), ***Early Greek Tyrannic Discourse and the Textualization of the Tyrant***

This paper presents how discourse on Greek tyrants first emerged in our textual evidence and explores the ways in which the textualization of varying early Greek tyrannic discourse was shaped by subsequent authors.

The first half of the paper discusses divergent contemporary opinions of early Greek tyranny. It challenges the general consensus that the earliest mentions of tyrants and tyranny in Greek are morally neutral (e.g. Parker 1998, Dewald 2003, Kõiv 2016, Dreher 2017) by examining Archilochus frr. 19 and 23, Semonides fr. 7.57-70, Solon frr. 32-34, and Alcaeus frr. 34b and 348, which show negative perceptions of tyrants in response to an assumed expectation of positive attitudes towards tyranny. The surviving early Greek poetry thus attests to a lively contemporary discourse on tyranny in some spheres. It is argued that early Greek tyrannic discourse was polarized rather than neutral, with supporting evidence adduced from both positive and negative competing oral traditions on specific tyrants found in later sources.

In the second half of the paper, the focus turns to how later authors textualize oral traditions on tyrants. It presents Alcaeus' portrayal of Pittacus in his poetry as a case study to explore how the oral traditions on individual tyrants may first have arisen and how the figure of a tyrant-hero and the myth of the tyrant, as reconstructed by historians using a structuralist framework (e.g. Vernant 1982, Gentili 1986, Catenacci 1996, Luraghi 2015), could then have been established anachronistically from such traditions. In this light, the paper uses the testimonia of Alcaeus and Herodotus' account of the rise of Cypselus to explore how later authors paradoxically preserve oral traditions by textualizing them, but also neutralize their positive and negative attitudes in subsuming them into their own narratives – both because textualization enables the combination of different traditions side by side to an unprecedented extent and in order to harmonize evidence for the new narrative.

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Margalit Finkelberg (Tel Aviv University), *Textualizing Socrates: Plato's Version*

Plato famously opposed converting oral discourse into written texts, but also, no less famously, practised it. To understand the rationale behind this discrepancy we should look at the way in which Plato negotiates the relationship between the oral and the written discourse in his own writings. The *locus classicus* is the *Phaedrus* rejection of the art of writing as a useful tool for communicating knowledge and truth. Textualization is only suitable for producing the reminders (*hupomnēmata*) of oral messages for those who are already aware of their true meaning (*Phdr*. 275d1-2, 276d2-3, 278a2). The process is described in minute detail in the prologue of the *Theaetetus*, in Euclides' textualization of Socrates' discussion with the mathematician Theodorus and his student Theaetetus; this is also what Xenophon seems to have been up to in his own *Hypomnēmata*. Although neither of these texts is claimed to be a verbatim record of Socrates' words, both are unequivocally positioned as authentic. This agrees with the general attitude to the texts deriving from oral sources (cf., e.g., Thuc. 2.34.8, introducing Pericles' Funeral Oration). But Plato goes even further, in that he identifies as authentic also what he calls the 'offspring' (*ekgonoi*) and 'siblings' (*adelphoi*) of the original discourse, that is, a discourse that derives from the original one without, at the same time, being unconditionally committed to all its tenets (*Phdr*. 278a8-9). This allows us to suggest that Plato regarded those of his dialogues in which Socrates plays a leading role as faithfully representing Socrates' oral teachings. The fact that these teachings were seen through the prism of Plato's own construction of their message conforms to the *Phaedrus* demand to keep the original message alive and relevant (*Phdr*. 277a1-5), thus endowing the written text with the properties of oral communication.

Lisa Cordes (Humboldt University), *Textualizing Historical Figures in Cicero's Dialogues – Dynamics and Ambiguities*

The paper analyses the process of textualization underlying the representation of Republican *nobiles* in Cicero's dialogues. While scholarship has often considered these figures from a historical perspective and discussed their authenticity and their use as 'mouthpieces' for Cicero, the literary, political and philosophical aspects of this textualization have been less studied. The paper explores them by focusing on two historical dialogues (*De senectute, De amicitia*), and the

depiction of Varro in the *Academica posteriora.* It starts from the observation that the (alleged) transposition of an oral conversation into the form of the literary dialogue causes a doubling of the levels of communication: the recipient can either focus on the internal, oral communication between the interlocutors in the dialogue; or on the external, written communication between the author and the readers of the literary work. This creates ambiguities regarding the identity and ontological status of the speakers. The dialogues work with these ambiguities in ways that are comparable to the literary play in contemporary poetry (McCarthy, 2019). The fact that Cicero, not unlike Catullus or Horace, plays with the discrepancy between the oral communication depicted in the dialogues and the dialogues' own written format, raises questions about the socio-political and philosophical dimensions of this representation. What is to be made of the observation that Cicero depicts a figure like Varro in a manner reminiscent of the poetic play with speaking *personae*? The paper shows that, through a dynamic textualization of the figure of Varro and the use of the ambiguities associated with it, Cicero depicts the *Academica* as a collaborative project in the intellectual milieu of the Late Republic and links the "cross-genre awareness" of the possibilities of literary composition (Culpepper Stroup, 2010) to the philosophical criticism of literacy (Cambron-Goulet, 2012). By analysing the methods of textualizing historical persons in Cicero's dialogues, the paper thus offers new perspectives on the social dimension of literary authorship (Berensmeyer *et al*., 2012) and sharpens the focus on the 'fuzzy' aspects of the ancient notion(s) of the literary *persona*.

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Daniela Dueck (Bar-Ilan University), *Textualizing Naïve Geography in Classical Antiquity*

Naïve or common-sense geography is the perception of the world and the environment through unprofessional or uneducated means. It involves daily experience and typically applies instinct, intuition, generalizations and incidental knowledge. Clearly, this kind of experience is the share of all mankind regardless of social, historical, ethnic, gender or intellectual factors. At the same time, naïve geography is fundamentally individual and, when transmitted, it revolves mainly on oral means based on daily experiences.

Such geography is naïve in the sense that it focuses on the body of knowledge people have about their environment and geographic world without access to scientific reasoning or tools. It

typically involves common-sense reasoning about geographic space, qualitative reasoning methods, descriptive rather than analytical methods, and instinctive, spontaneous and intuitive approaches (e.g. "halfway between Pteleum and Leuke Akte" in Dem., 7.39–40). It is therefore sometimes contrary to objective observation of the real, physical world and often contains "errors" or inconsistencies. It includes two-dimensional concepts, oversimplifications, and local rather than global distances often expressed in time-units (e.g. "the land I sow extends for twelve days' journey" in Aeschylus fr. 158 Radt).

Furthermore, intuitive geographical awareness includes recognition of places in the sense of labeling and mentally maintaining an inventory of them (e.g. "the Asia you talk of consists of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria and Lydia" in Cic., *Flac*., 65). Second to this is the recognition of place-to-place relations within a simple spatial arrangement including a sense of orientation and direction and an idea of proximity and adjacency (e.g. "…the island of Delos… set so far from Rome in the Aegean Sea" in Cic., *Leg.Man.,* 55).

This paper proposes to discuss the textualization of originally oral naïve geography in Classical antiquity. The discussion is planned to progress in two parts: (1) Demonstration and analysis of traces of naïve geography within textual geography. (2) Assessment of the transition from oral to textual: can we reconstruct what remained and what was lost during this process?

Daniel Wendt (Princeton University/Freie Universität Berlin), ***(Con)Textualizing Anecdotes. Written Orality and Natural Narratives in Livy's Early History of Rome***

In the preface to his *Roman History*, Livy rejects the mythical traditions before Rome's foundation in favor of solid historical sources (praef. 6: *incorrupta rerum gestarum monumenta*) that are inscribed in the city's landscape. The image of adhering lessons onto famous monuments (praef. 10) also describes Livy's method of integrating oral traditions into the written narrative, e.g. through short aitiological narratives. In this regard, Livy's "written Rome" (Jaeger) competes with the architectural reshaping of the urban landscape undertaken by Augustus to reflect the ideology of the Empire. After the civil war, the demand for unifying narratives which promote a sense of social connectedness increased. In this respect, anecdotes are a very powerful tool not only for memorization, but also for promoting a general world view or common sense. Their supposed status as oral, 'natural' narratives – usually introduced by impersonal indicators of orality and collective knowledge (e.g. *dicitur*) – gives them authority and lets them appear unsuspicious of ideology.

In this perspective, the paper analyses Livy's modes of textualizing oral material (or at least pretending to do so), e.g. about the death of Remus or the Tarpeian rock that also highlight the act of communication. The intended talk seeks to prove that the cultural changes from the Republic to the Principate are mirrored in Livy's textual strategies. By applying natural narratology theory, I will analyze the oral elements as well as their embeddedness in the written text, especially the framing. Livy's shaping of anecdotes relies not only on producing immediacy through direct speech, techniques of visualization and realism (cf. Barthes' *effet de réel* and Greenblatt's *touch of the real*) but also on the rhetoric of plausibility that refers to the pool of experience of his

contemporary readers. As I intend to show, different versions of an anecdote by different historians are not mainly due to an artistic license or the historian's inaccuracy but explicable by the adaptation to a different epistemic environment (i.e. cognitive comprehension; cf. Culler's concepts of *naturalization* and *vraisemblabli-zation* and Fludernik's '*natural' narratology*). By resolving in puns and metaphorization the anecdotes comment on the contingencies of language itself.

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Sonia Pertsinidis (Australian National University),

The Eagle and the Serpent: Textualization and the Fables of Babrius

Fable collections exemplify the process of transition from an oral to a literate society. Originally utilised as tools for verbal persuasion, prose fables were gradually gathered into written collections and later reworked into literary and artistic verse.

Babrius, a fabulist of the first-second centuries AD, wrote a collection of fables in Greek mythiambs, of which 143 fables are extant. Babrius is thought to have lived in Syria, at the geographical crossroads between the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean. In the second prologue to his fable collection, Babrius refers to the fable traditions of both regions when he observes that fables originated among the Assyrians and that the first fabulist in Greece was Aesop (*Prol. II,* 1-5). In writing his fables, Babrius demonstrates his awareness of the Mesopotamian oral

traditions and he places special emphasis on direct speech, debate and lively narratives. At the same time, Babrius' verse is especially artful and he sometimes develops simple fables into *epyllia* and other sophisticated narrative forms.

This paper will consider Babrius' role in the transmission of fables from the Near East to the Mediterranean and from the oral tradition to literary form. In particular, I will examine the Mesopotamian fable of the eagle and the serpent, developing William's analysis of this fable in Akkadian epic, Egyptian fable traditions, ancient Greek and Roman fable collections and Byzantine and Medieval versions. I will demonstrate that Babrius had an important role in the process of transmission and textualization of this fable and that this is indicative of Babrius' wider importance in the ancient fable tradition.

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Daniel Anderson (Coventry University), ***Early Writing Metaphors in Performance***

One of the more remarkable integrations of writing and performance from antiquity is found in the fragments of Callias’ *Alphabet Tragedy*, a mid-fifth-century comedy (Thomas 100–9), whose twenty-four member chorus was made to represent the twenty-four letters of the Ionian alphabet, spelling syllable pairs onstage through their dance and helping a semi-literate audience learn to

read. If later, Hellenistic literature gives us examples of texts with both oral/aural and visual dimensions, Greek poetry down to the fourth century integrates images and metaphors of writing and text into performances, reflecting a tension between poetry as performed and as preserved. This tension is particularly clear from a set of passages which deploy writing metaphors to mark the name of the poet. The most famous of these is Theognis' sphragis poem, which refers to the deposit of a poetry book in a temple archive as a metaphor for textual stability and authorial control over the work (Condello 116–22). Similar uses of writing metaphors in authorial self-naming include a fictional letter by Alcaeus (fr. 401B) and an epigraphic inscription of Simonides which exploits the format and language of epitaph (eleg. 89). Whereas these passages reflect an early and inchoate conception of poetic works as akin to written, signed objects, other early writing metaphors lay emphasis on the moment of performance, like Archilochus' use of the dispatch-stick as a metaphor for one poem's speaker (fr. 185), an image also taken up by Pindar in reference to a chorus-leader (*Ol.* 6.90–1). The dispatch-stick's use as a mnemonic aid (West 44–5, Pappas 21), in the context of Archilochus' epode, also serves as a metaphor for the 'encoding' of the moral in that poem's animal fable. A moralising purpose similarly lies behind the technical writing terms in Solon's 'correction' of a *bon mot* by Mimnermus (Sol. fr. 20 on Mimn. fr. 6). The paper will end by considering the first explicit, onstage representation of play composition in terms of writing in Cratinus' *Wineflask* (frr. 208–9). Pre-Hellenistic Greek poetry conceptualised text and writing as an integral aspect of, rather than an alternative to performance.

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Łukasz Berger (Adam Mickiewicz University), ***Oral Design in Plautus Verse: The Context of Rehearsal and Performance***

There is a long recognised connection between Plautus and Terence's dramatic diction and the style of oral poetry: the comedy text uses a fixed repertoire of formulae, whereas the ends of syntactical units frequently coincide with the verse boundaries. Drawing on studies on oral composition, Dunkel (1996) treated the frequency of enjambment in the plays as a factor for measuring its relative "orality", which he associates with the audience's need for an unproblematic (aural) reception. In my paper, I would like to explore another possibility, namely the influence of rehearsal and performance on the recurrent "oral design" of the verse. According to the scholarship on the Roman theatrical production, the plays were prepared under significant time pressure and with no central directorial figure (Moore 1998, Marshall 2006). Arguably, the oral-formulaic style in the actors' parts would effectively alleviate the cognitive challenges of rehearsing the play in very limited time (cf. Tribble & Dixon 2018). Thanks to the discovery of a performance-related papyrus in Greek, Marshall (2004) convincingly speculates about Roman actors using separate scripts for each role. Similar rehearsing techniques were attested for the production of

Shakespearean performances, during which the actors (seemingly) used rhyme and metrical patterns for memorising the moments of speaker change (Palfrey & Stern 2007, Tribble 2011). In this context, it seems significant that the spoken and recited metres (iambo-trochaics) in Roman comedy, just like in many epic traditions, are the most free at the beginning of the line, but present a fixed structure at the end (see Fortson 2008: 99). My aim is to examine one selected play by Plautus in search for possible—verbal and rhythmical—transitional cues in *diverbium*, which would provide additional arguments for the use of separate acting parts, tentatively postulated by Marshall (2004: 36-37). To this end, I will employ methods of conversational analysts, who are concerned with how interlocutors constantly monitor the on-going talk to achieve smooth and well-timed speakership transitions. Accordingly, I will seek to test if the rehearsal practice and the performance left some traces of "orality" in the dramatic script, recoverable for us, even after its textualisation.

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Alexander Kirichenko (Humboldt University), ***How to Do Things with Letters: Orality and Textuality in Ovid's Metamorphoses***

The goal of this paper is to analyze Ovid's Metamorphoses as a reflection on the transformation of oral poetry into textualized literature. I will begin by focusing on passages in which, like Plato in the Phaedrus, Ovid reveals writing as a medium only to a limited degree capable of achieving what it is designed to achieve – to create substitutes for absent presences: in the Ceyx and Alcyone episode in Book 11, writing is cast as the ultimate figure of absence emphatically contrasted with

the physical possession of a beloved's body (see esp. 11.706-707); in the Byblis episode in Book 9, writing is revealed not only as a symptom of the inability to say what is patently "unspeakable" (i.e. to confess incestuous desire) but also as an icon of the impossibility to compensate for that inability; in Book 6, Philomela's writing becomes both the only available means of compensating for her lost ability to speak and an instrument of revenge that allows her to inflict on Tereus, responsible for her muteness, a semiotic violence similar to the one he had caused himself; and in the Io episode in Book 1, writing likewise appears not only as a symptom of speechlessness but also as the only way a rape victim can tell the story of her suffering. I will then turn to the emphasis on the longevity of writing in the song of Orpheus (10.206-216), which, as I will argue, draws attention to what the song itself manifestly lacks: the combination of Orpheus' ability to "move" animals and inanimate objects and his posthumous inability to leave any traces among the living can best be construed as an icon of the ephemeralness of oral poetry that can never be re-performed. Drawing attention to the fact that, in the epilogue, Ovid presents his own work as similar to the indelible text of fate (cf. 15.811-812 and 15. 871-872), I will conclude by pointing to different ways in which Ovid can be claimed to conceive of the Metamorphoses as a hybrid between Orpheus' "moving" song and the potential eternity of a written text.

Han Baltussen (The University of Adelaide), ***Fact, Fiction or 'Faction'? Eunapius' Use of Written and Oral Sources***

Early on in his *Lives of Philosophers and Sophists* Eunapius of Sardes (c. 345–c. 415 CE) makes a strong claim about the way in which he has handled his sources, both written and oral. He declares that "nothing from what was written (τῶν γεγραμμένων) has been altered, while what depends on the spoken word (τὰ ἐξ κατ᾽ ἀκοήν) … has now been fixed and given stability by being written down" (I, 6 Goulet). This unusual note in a time of high literary culture sets up his 'history of Platonism' (c. 250–400 CE) in the form of *bioi*, "lives". The theme of oral versus written returns several times, yet it is not as strongly present as one might assume from the opening gambit.

In this paper I will examine the implicit and explicit references to his idea of oral and written materials to determine how important this 'principle' was to him and whether he practiced what he preached. I will argue that his concept of 'fixed' seems rather fluid, and that he does not stick to his own rule (if that is the right word), while his idea of 'oral' or the 'spoken word' is also problematic (one paraphrase he uses states: "is liable to become disorganised and changeable by the lapse of time"). On closer examination Eunapius can be shown to modify "what was written" and to manipulate oral reports for his own agenda, that is, to demonstrate proximity to the famous men whose lives he sketches. Scholars have often accused him of "misquoting" his sources (Wright, Penella, Becker), but I will suggest that he is unreliable in a different way and for a different reason: his anti-Christian sentiments made him manipulate sources and fabricate narrative elements. Despite his 'manifesto' Eunapius' method is flawed because he is too keen on highlighting special features of his 'pagan heroes'. The paper will end by asking what this revelation about his historical method can tell us about a late antique historian whose commitment to the truth seems perplexing and inconsistent.

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Chiara Militello (University of Catania), *From Literacy to Orality and Back: The Complex Textualization of Late Neoplatonic Lectures*

The Neoplatonic school of Alexandria was the most important hub of production of philosophical discourse in the 6th century AD. The lectures given there centred on the exegesis of the works of Plato and Aristotle and were often recorded as written commentaries. So the resulting works, which make up the great majority of the ancient commentaries that have reached us, are the product of a practice of textualization. Following Richard's (1950) seminal paper, single aspects of this process have been studied. However, the textualization of the lectures of the Alexandrians has not been studied from a formal point of view, and this paper tries to fill this gap. This paper, that is, examines this kind of textualization *as textualization*, studying the relationship between orality and literacy in the interpretation of the founding texts of philosophy by the Alexandrian masters. By a close reading of the Alexandrian commentaries written *apo phonês*, and particularly of Olympiodorus' commentaries on Aristotle's *Meteorology* and on Plato's *First Alcibiades*, several hints of the oral lectures on which the commentaries are based are unveiled. The main thesis of the paper is that the Alexandrian commentaries are the result of a double movement, as the transformation of the oral lecture in a written text (textualization) is preceded by an inverse movement of *oralization* of the commented text into a lecture. The matter is made even more complicated by the fact that Plato's and Aristotle's works, which are at the origin of this double movement, have a peculiar nature themselves. As a matter of fact, Plato's works are for the most part *pretended textualizations* of dialogues that have never happened, and Aristotle's works may be the product of a form of *pre-textualization* (assuming they were notes from which Aristotle lectured, as most scholars think; see Barnes 1995, 12-15). Assuming this novel point of view allows explaining several passages of Olympiodorus' commentaries on *Meteorology* and the *First Alcibiades* that have baffled scholars so far, and may generally help academics to better understand the Alexandrian commentaries.

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Hossein Sheikh (University of Göttingen), *Establishment and Composition of the Zoroastrian Legal Corpus after the Muslim Conquests*

After the Muslim conquest of Sasanian territories, the Zoroastrian religion lost its political protection and had to struggle for the preservation of its identity and life. Therefore the Zoroastrians have always been keen to preserve their traditions. In order to do this, they began to collect and compile texts for their community on various topics such as polemics, apocalyptic literature, cosmogony and cosmology, etc.

Many Zoroastrian religious works contain important material on the legal system and institutions of pre-Islamic Iran. One of the main purposes of all of these works was to conserve ancient Zoroastrian customs, including especially civil laws on such matters as family, marriage and inheritance which fundamentally differed from the new regulations of Islam. I will concentrate on this type of literature. Therefore, in this talk/paper I will try to answer two questions:

1-Why they composed new books?

2- How they did that?

Before answering these questions, I will discuss briefly the Zoroastrian's theory of knowledge. The Zoroastrian tradition is generally oral. It means that even today Zoroastrians prefer to transmit knowledge orally.

Then I will describe briefly Zoroastrian social life in early Islamic time and their challenges with the new situation. The new situation forced them to create new literature. New questions need new answers. Thus, Zoroastrians composed their legal texts in new form i.e. answer and question form (catechism). This new method shows a direct relation between questioner and responder while in the earlier, Sasanian period the "**if"** format was prevalent in legal texts. Later, the most frequently asked questions were written down with answers to help the communities in their confrontation with new legal issues. Of course, not all answers are new, some of them originate from oral tradition which the priests had learned from their predecessors.

Finally, I will deal with the structure (authorship, narrative structure, audience, etc.) of the texts. Because these texts are meant for a general audience, their language is simpler than other texts like Dinkart or polemical texts.

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Jordi Redondo (University of Valencia), *Oral Patterns in the Greek Pentateuch?*

The Greek version of the *Pentateuch* has been recognised as the first piece of a long-term work of a heterogeneous translation in which three languages at least were involved: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. Yet it has often been stated that this Hellenic *Pentateuch*, even if it was in close relationship with the so-called Alexandrine Greek, had nothing to do with the spoken language. The purpose of our research is to check to what extent the oral patterns –phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical- were kept in our extant Greek text. For doing so, comparison is needed with different linguistic models: those of the standard Hebraic Bible, the spoken Aramaic, and the non-literary Koine. A secondary question deals with the possibility of isolating particular traits of the Alexandrine Koine Greek, though this is not the main goal of the intended research.

Our methodological approach to this matter will primarily deal with syntactic items, as this is in our opinion the best linguistic witness for detecting which are the varieties involved in the construction of a written text. Phonetic, morphological and lexical data will give support to the syntactic analysis. The evaluation of every instance will take into consideration not only historical factors, but especially the sociolinguistic trends and frames in which innovation uses to appear. Orality displays an important role in order to explain the origin of linguistic change, the meaning of the attested constructions within a dynamic use of the language -that is to say, fully independent of a simple translation process-, and the kind of the interaction between the speakers as well.

Maren Niehoff (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), *Preserving or Creating Orality in Texts? The Sermons of Origen and Rabbi Abbahu*

The lecture proposes to study the textualization of oral sermons via the examples of a Christian and a Jewish preacher in 3rd century Caesarea. The starting point will be Origen's sermons on Psalms, which have been discovered in the *Staatsbibliothek* of Munich 2012 and begin to be seriously investigated. They provide a rare glimpse into spoken Greek and reflect spontaneous appeals to the audience. At the same time, however, Origen intended his sermons to be recorded and gave appropriate instructions to his team of stenographers and calligraphers. The extant, written sermons are a selection, which do not echo the audience's reactions, for example. They were gathered as a rather coherent collection with a focus on Easter and the Land of Israel. To what extent were these texts intended to convey or perhaps even to create an oral flavor to appeal to the prospective readers? How did features of orality contribute to Origen's self-image fashioned in the sermons?

The dynamic relationship between orality and textuality in Origen's new sermons will be illuminated by comparison to the sermons of Rabbi Abbahu, which have come down to us far more fragmentarily, mediated through diverse rabbinic sources. Abbahu stands out in rabbinic literature as a well-known preacher, who prompted lively reactions from his audience, including laughter. His sermons have been preserved in larger pieces than those of other rabbis and deserve a careful study in terms of their textualized orality.

The lecture aims at comparing techniques of conveying orality in written-down sermons and to ask what rhetorical role written orality played. The results of this research will be compared to the literature of the Second Sophistic, where orality has recently been identified as an important stylistic feature.

Preliminary works:

Maren R. Niehoff, "Biblical Women in Origen's Newly discovered Homilies on Psalms: Gendered Markers of Christian Identity in Late Antique Caesarea", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 96 (2020) 485-507.

Maren R. Niehoff, "From the 'Theater of the World' to the 'Mask of Christ' – and Back Again. Insights from Origen's Newly Discovered Homilies on Psalms", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 39 (2020) 117-36.

Maren R. Niehoff, "A Hybrid Self: Rabbi Abbahu in Legal Debates in Caesarea", in Maren R. Niehoff and Joshua Levinson (eds.), *Self, Self-Fashioning, and Individuality in Late Antiquity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 291-329.

Evgenia Moiseeva (Salzburg University), *The Rise of the Written Word in Manichaeism*

By writing down his revelation Mani created a unique situation, in which his Church from the beginning possessed a complete corpus of sacred texts. It is often implied that the revelation in Manichaeism was intrinsically linked to its written form from the outset and that Mani himself established that link. Scholars have described Mani as a bibliophile (Tubach) or even a logophobe (Sala). As *Manichaean Homilies* show, the meticulous conformity of copied books to Mani's original works was a vital element of Manichaeism, and even the punctuation marks were considered important. On the other hand, ample evidence from early Manichaean texts indicates that Mani's teaching was not bound to the written form (Tardieu). After Mani's death, his logia circulated within the Manichaean community and enjoyed great authority. In the present talk, I will show that the balance of the oral and written forms of Mani's teaching was greatly affected by the so-called *Kephalaia* tradition. The *Kephalaia*, a highly authoritative treatise created by the first generations of Mani's disciples, presents itself as a mere record of Mani's logia. Yet, it introduced a number of new concepts such as the identification of the Holy Spirit with the Living Spirit and the ritualization of writing. I will start with a brief review of textual evidence indicating that Mani's oral teaching was no less valued by his followers than his books. Particular attention will be paid to the emphasis on Mani's preaching in the *Kephalaia* tradition. I will then argue that the Prologue to the *Kephalaia of the Teacher* shifts the balance of the oral and written in Manichaeism. While aiming to establish the theological authority of the *Kephalaia*, the Prologue works to increase the significance of the act of writing and of the written word. The notion that the revelation must be preserved in the written form and the preeminent role of writing emerged in the *Kephalaia* tradition and thereafter became a distinctive feature of Manichaeism.

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