

CATHERINE HEZSER

Jewish Literacy  
in Roman Palestine

*Texts and Studies in  
Ancient Judaism*

81

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**Mohr Siebeck**

**Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism**  
**Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum**

Edited by  
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

81





Catherine Hezser

**Jewish Literacy  
in Roman Palestine**

Mohr Siebeck

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## Preface

The idea for this book occurred to me when I read William V. Harris' book on *Ancient Literacy* and realized that no similarly comprehensive study of literacy in ancient Jewish society exists. Most of the preliminary research for this study was carried out during my tenure as a Yad Hanadiv Fellow in Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem during the 1997–98 academic year. Without access to the excellent library facilities in Givat Ram and on Mount Scopus this study would have been impossible. Therefore I especially thank the sponsors of the Yad Hanadiv-Beracha Foundation for enabling me to spend such a productive year in Israel and Linn Lavie for her assistance with practical matters concerning the fellowship. Isaiah Gafni and Joshua Schwartz helped me in getting acquainted with the university library system and supported my search for published material in little known books and journals. Leah Di Segni advised me on Greek inscriptions, and Hanan Eshel gave me a copy of his bibliography on literary and non-literary Qumran texts. Ken Holum enabled me to use his collection of inscriptions from Caesarea before its publication.

The actual writing of this work took place in Berlin, while I was a participant of the project "The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture", initiated by Peter Schäfer, and as a Heisenberg Fellow of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. I would like to thank both Peter Schäfer and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for their kind support.

Pieter van der Horst, Martin Jaffee, and Seth Schwartz have read and commented on an earlier version of the first part of this work. I thank them for their suggestions and encouragement. It goes without saying that any remaining oversights and misunderstandings are my own.

I finally thank Peter Schäfer and Martin Hengel for including this work in their series *Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism*.

Berlin, July 2000

Catherine Hezser



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## Introduction

The question of Jewish literacy in Roman Palestine is an issue of utmost importance for the understanding of ancient Jewish society as a whole. While ancient historians have already invested a lot of effort in the examination of the circumstances and occurrences of literacy in Graeco-Roman society, no similar study exists for Jewish society at that time. This lack is very striking, since social anthropologists have recognized for decades that the particular forms and uses of literacy are a constitutive feature of human societies both before and after the introduction of the printing press. The lack of respective studies of Jewish literacy may be due to the fact that scholars have tended to take a high Jewish literacy rate for granted. Because of the importance of the Torah in ancient Jewish society, at least as far as the literary sources are concerned, Judaism has been referred to as the quintessential “religion of the book”. This assumption has never been subjected to a critical analysis, however. The question of Jewish literacy in antiquity needs to be examined on the basis of the available literary, epigraphic, and papyrological sources, conclusions reached in the study of literacy in Graeco-Roman society, and new approaches to the subject developed in the social sciences.

## 1. Social-Anthropological Approaches to Literacy

Social-anthropological approaches to literacy can roughly be divided into the works of Jack Goody and the subsequent studies of other scholars who, in reaction to him, suggested alternative ways of approaching the subject.

In the groundbreaking essay “The Consequences of Literacy”, published in 1968 together with Ian Watt, Goody emphasizes the great difference literacy makes for any given society.<sup>1</sup> Although he is aware of the fact that “writing is not a monolithic entity, an undifferentiated skill” and that “its potentialities depend upon the kind of system that obtains in any particular society”,<sup>2</sup> the essay draws broad distinctions between “literate” and “non-literate” societies and suggests wide-ranging cultural, political and economic “consequences” as the result of these basic features.

The forms and contents of the traditional knowledge and world view of any given social group are allegedly dependent on the ways in which its traditions have been transmitted over generations and centuries. Goody and Watt categorically distinguish between oral and written transmission in this regard. Oral transmission consists of “a long chain of interlocking conversations between members of the group”, communicated in face-to-face contact and stored in memory only.<sup>3</sup> The result of this form of transmission is the constant adaptation of the memorized tradition to new circumstances and the forgetting of elements which are no longer relevant, a process called “the homeostatic organization of the cultural tradition in non-literate society”.<sup>4</sup> This process applies not only to myths but also to “sacred lore in general”: traditions disappear entirely or are changed and attributed to other than their original “authors”.<sup>5</sup> An important consequence of this process of oral transmission is the particular society’s relation to the past: “the individual has little perception of the past except in terms of the present”.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, Goody and Watt view “oral” or “non-literate” societies as present-oriented, without a chronological order of the past. Rather, past and present, “myth and history merge into one”.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The essay is published in Goody (1968) 27–68.

<sup>2</sup> Goody in his introduction to the book in idem (1968) 3.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.* 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 30.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 34.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

Only after “a widespread diffusion of writing” societies tend to notice inconsistencies in the transmitted traditions and develop “a much more conscious, comparative and critical attitude to the accepted world picture”.<sup>8</sup> It becomes possible then to distinguish between truth and fiction, to recognize errors and superstitions, to notice chronological changes and to deliberately reject rather than readjust traditions of the past.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, literacy has wide-ranging cognitive consequences. It enables the development of history and critical thinking, the construction of abstract categories and taxonomies, and the distinction between science and religion.<sup>10</sup>

Goody and Watt argue that a widespread literacy has political consequences as well: it is important for the development of democracy but also leads to the emergence of hierarchies. On the one hand, it allows citizens to “read the laws, and take an active part in elections and legislation”.<sup>11</sup> The “world of knowledge” is no longer the monopoly of particular political or social units. On the other hand, the mere quantity and complexity of the accumulated written cultural tradition prevent the individual from fully grasping it and require a “high degree of differentiation” of knowledges and abilities, including literacy itself: “The high degree of differentiation in exposure to the literate tradition sets up a basic division which cannot exist in non-literate society: the division between the various shades of literacy and illiteracy”.<sup>12</sup> Accordingly, literacy leads to a greater individualization of experiences, a more complex division of labor, and a larger “social differentiation to which the institutions of literate culture give rise”.<sup>13</sup> The individual has to select, adjust and eliminate “items from a highly differentiated cultural repertoire”.<sup>14</sup> The “mechanic solidarity” (Durkheim) based on common experience characteristic for oral societies is replaced by the segmentation and differentiation of society into distinct social units and specialized fields.

In his later works Goody has partly corrected the categorical distinction between “oral” and “literate” societies, and he has emphasized that literacy is not the only factor which determines the social organization of a society. Yet he has affirmed the general ideas underlying his earlier argumentation.

In his book of 1986, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*, Goody stresses that writing and the existence of written traditions are not the only but “significant” factors determining the nature of a given society, and that the technology of writing does not automatically lead to literate activity.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless he continues to speak of “oral” and “literate” cultures and draws con-

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 48–49.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 49–54.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 55.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 59.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 62.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> See Goody (1986) XV.

clusions with regard to their respective religious beliefs and practices. He suggests that religions which know alphabetic writing “spread literacy and equally that literacy spread these religions”.<sup>16</sup> So-called “religions of the book” tend to be “world” rather than “national” religions. Members are not defined on the basis of territorial boundaries but on the basis of their commitment to a “Holy Book”.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, “literate” religions or “religions of the book” are often “religions of conversion, not simply religions of birth”.<sup>18</sup> Through writing they can reach people outside of territorial and ethnic boundaries.

In contrast to oral religions which are flexible and open for major changes, the Holy Book constitutes an unchanging basis, “the word itself remains as it always was”.<sup>19</sup> Goody thinks that literary critics who argue that texts are created anew in the act of reading exaggerate. Interpretations may differ but the written text remains the same. This base-text is memorized and repeated over and over again.<sup>20</sup>

Literate religions tend to be universal, since “written formulations encourage the decontextualization or generalization of norms”.<sup>21</sup> They “are clearly working on a more explicitly abstract (or generalized) base” and are less applicable to actual situations.<sup>22</sup> In addition, a specialization of roles develops. The priest or other religious functionaries become “custodians” and “prime interpreters” of the sacred texts. In an extreme case the religious functionaries are the only ones who can read: in this case the separation between the literate and illiterate segments of society corresponds to that between clergy and laity.<sup>23</sup> Goody emphasizes that until the introduction of modern secular education “teaching (at least the promotion of advanced literate skills) continued to be dominated by religious specialists ..., a position that it was obviously in their interests to preserve in order to maintain their roles as gate-keepers of ideas”.<sup>24</sup> They exerted power through control over the “reproduction of readers” and sometimes also of texts: “If the teaching of the skills of reading and writing is an intrinsic part of religions of the Book, its specialists inevitably acquire control of the input and output of a considerable segment of available knowledge”.<sup>25</sup> By acquiring wealth through the purchase of land and through donations and wills the clergy established the economic base for perpetuating the religious knowledge which they controlled.<sup>26</sup> By being institutionalized in this way the “Holy Word” “becomes a pro-

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>17</sup> See *ibid.* 4–5.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.* 8–9.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 12.

<sup>22</sup> See *ibid.* 15.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 17.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 18.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

foundly conserving force”.<sup>27</sup> Subsequently, the existence of such an orthodoxy leads to the emergence of alternatives or heterodoxies, the so-called “little traditions”.<sup>28</sup>

While Goody’s argumentation is general rather than specific, for the most part he seems to have Christianity (in contrast to pagan religions) in mind. Judaism seems to be concerned only as far as it constituted the biblical foundation of Christianity. Whether these considerations can also be applied to post-biblical Judaism remains an open question.

In his book *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral*, published in 1987, Goody emphasizes that writing should be seen as only one of several factors which determine the constitution of a society.<sup>29</sup> He also points to the “many ambiguities in the use of the word literacy”<sup>30</sup> – which he applies “to the teaching of a system of writing”<sup>31</sup> – and reckons with the possibility that a society is characterized by a state of “restricted literacy”. The impact of literacy on a specific society depends, e.g., on the nature of the script and the way it can be reproduced, the number of people able to read (and write) at various levels, the languages used, the areas in which writing appears and the content of the written tradition.<sup>32</sup> He also stresses the difference between a literate society and a literate individual. With regard to societies literacy means “the presence or absence of a written tradition”; as applied to individual persons it means “the ability to read or write to a particular level”.<sup>33</sup> Because of the constant interaction of oral and written modes even those unable to read and write can participate in literate culture.<sup>34</sup>

In his analysis of the historical development of literacy Goody distinguishes between particular societies more than in his earlier works and focuses on Africa and Greece. He presents Greece as the literate society *par excellence* in that literacy became democratized through instruction in the Greek alphabet, a “type of instruction that largely released literacy from the constraints of the temple organization and the religious domain”.<sup>35</sup> By contrast, in some (not specified) Near Eastern societies the use of writing was allegedly centralized and governed by religious, political and scribal interests.<sup>36</sup> In the Syro-Palestinian area “the uses of writing seem to have expanded in the religious and historical-literary domains relative to the political and economic”.<sup>37</sup> The Hebrew Bible is seen as the result of these developments.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 22.

<sup>29</sup> See Goody (1987) 59.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* IX.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> See *ibid.* IX–X.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* X.

<sup>34</sup> See *ibid.* XIV.

<sup>35</sup> See *ibid.* 56.

<sup>36</sup> See *ibid.* 107.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 55.



Besides “oral” societies in which writing is unknown and “literate” societies where written literature is pervasive, Goody reckons with a state of “restricted literacy” in which writing is used for particular purposes only.<sup>38</sup> On the one hand, he seems to identify this situation with “early literacy”, in which non-literary texts such as catalogues and lists were made.<sup>39</sup> But he also calls a situation in which literacy was limited to religious writings a state of “restricted literacy”.<sup>40</sup> Although writing was also used by the courts, the magical-religious aspect dominated in that writing was primarily seen as a means of communication with God. Only after the introduction of (European) secular education did this situation change: literacy became a means of social advancement and illiteracy a liability.<sup>41</sup>

Despite his continued usage of the concepts of “oral” and “literate” societies, Goody emphasizes in this book that one cannot clearly distinguish between “oral” and “literate” tradition. Literate forms such as poems were composed orally, although they were transmitted (and in this process often changed) in written form.<sup>42</sup> The existence of writing must have had an impact on the development of oral traditions, it “leads to the creation of verse forms which would be ... inconceivable in a purely oral culture ...”.<sup>43</sup> Consequently one needs to examine the specific ways which memory and learning take in “literate” and “oral” societies.<sup>44</sup>

Goody’s groundbreaking approach to literacy has received many critical reactions amongst both sociologists and historians. Only some of these works, namely those which suggest alternative ways to approach the subject, can be presented here. One of them is Brian V. Street’s book *Literacy in Theory and Practice*, published in 1984. Brian Street criticizes Goody’s so-called “autonomous model” and suggests to replace it by what he calls the “ideological model” of literacy which pays more attention to the respective social and intellectual contexts in which writing is used.

Street uses the term “literacy” “as a shorthand for the social practices and conceptions of reading and writing” and explains: “what the particular practices and concepts of reading and writing are for a given society depends upon the context; that they are already embedded in an ideology and cannot be isolated or treated as ‘neutral’ or merely ‘technical’”.<sup>45</sup> He explicitly rejects the view of literacy as a neutral technology with automatically predictable consequences in any society whatsoever, a position which he associates with Goody here. In-

<sup>38</sup> See *ibid.* 97–98.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 99.

<sup>40</sup> See *ibid.* 139.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> See *ibid.* 80 and 106.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 106.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 164–90 he exemplifies this with regard to the recitation of the Bagre in northern Ghana.

<sup>45</sup> Street (1984) 1.

stead, the forms and uses of writing are intimately linked with the specific social organization and ideological formation of a given society and, accordingly, vary from one society to the next.<sup>46</sup> Street also rejects the idea of progress from an “oral” to a “literate” society (with “restricted literacy” as an intermediary stage) underlying Goody’s model (which reminds one of the Darwinian model of an evolution from “primitive” African to modern, developed European societies). Instead, no single direction into which literacy must necessarily develop can be traced.<sup>47</sup>

The study of literacy must focus on particular societies and subgroups and units within societies and determine the specific uses and functions of reading and writing within and amongst these groups. A particularly important area of examination are the social institutions in which the acquisition and usage of literacy is embedded, institutions which have political and ideological significance within the society as a whole. The socialization process (within or outside of these institutions) which members of these societies undergo becomes especially significant with regard to both the acquisition of (various degrees of) literacy and the valuation of it. Thus, the “real significance [of literacy] for special social groups” is considered more important and a more appropriate area of study than the alleged universal consequences of a not further specified mass-literacy.<sup>48</sup>

Goody’s categorical distinction between “oral” and “literate” societies is jeopardized by the fact that most societies (in the past and present) live in an in-between state, in which literate and oral modes of communication interact and various forms and degrees of literacy exist.<sup>49</sup> Hardly any examples of Goody’s “pure” types exist.<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, it is not possible to examine these “pure” types’ actual consequences. For the “shift” from oral to written modes (or vice versa) social explanations have to be offered which differ from society to society and from subgroup to subgroup: “The change is in the ‘mix’ of oral and literate modes and this is related to changes in the conventions associated with them”.<sup>51</sup> A particular group may be successful in propagating a “literate mentality” which serves its ideological (and possibly also political) interests. Such a “mentality”

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<sup>46</sup> See *ibid.*: “... what practices are taught and how they are imparted depends upon the nature of the social formation. The skills and concepts that accompany literacy acquisition, in whatever form, do not stem in some automatic way from the inherent qualities of literacy, ..., but are aspects of a specific ideology”.

<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.* 2. See also *ibid.* 64: Goody’s arguments “implicitly tend towards determinism, despite explicit denials”.

<sup>48</sup> See *ibid.* 2.

<sup>49</sup> See *ibid.* 45. See also *ibid.* 61: The hypothesis of “restricted” literacy enabled Goody to “maintain the purity of his ideal model”.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 46 with reference to Ruth Finnegan. Even with regard to classical Greece, Goody’s example for a “literate” society *par excellence*, Goody has constantly narrowed down the area for which full literacy can be assumed so that “one begins to get the impression that Aristotle alone is going to fit the bill” (*ibid.* 63).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

is constructed, however, and not the automatic consequence of technological progress.<sup>52</sup>

Altogether, then, Street maintains that literacy “is itself a social product that has arisen as a result of political and ideological processes and institutions and its particular form has to be explained in terms of such processes”.<sup>53</sup> These political and ideological processes are also responsible for the alleged “consequences” of literacy, such as a historical consciousness and democracy. It is not the mere phenomenon of writing itself which leads to these developments but the particular social, political and economic conditions which shape a society.<sup>54</sup> These specific conditions need to be investigated alongside literacy.

Literacy is not a single uniform proficiency; rather, different technologies and forms of writing pertain to different writing materials such as parchment, papyrus, and ostraca: “Each has its own specific history and is connected with particular social institutions and functions. Social control has often been exercised by means of control of the materials associated with it”.<sup>55</sup> These various “socially constructed technologies are used within particular institutional frameworks for specific social purposes”.<sup>56</sup>

The concept of the “literate” and “illiterate” person is usually combined with a value judgment. “Illiterates” were often considered a danger or threat by those who represented the social establishment. The political (or religious) ruling classes were not interested in mass literacy as such, however, but in particular forms of literacy which conformed to their ideology. Thus they tried to control the processes of its acquisition: “The workers had to be convinced that it was in their interests to learn the kind of literacy on offer, in the kinds of institutions in which it was taught, but had to be restrained from taking control of it for themselves or develop their own alternative conceptions of it”.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, “the concrete forms and practices of literacy are bound up with ideology”.<sup>58</sup>

While literacy was a means of social control on the part of the educators, illiteracy did not necessarily lead to social disadvantage (or literacy to advance-

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 47.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 65.

<sup>54</sup> See *ibid.* 93–96.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 97.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 105. See also *idem* (1987) 12: “It [i.e. the teaching of literacy] can, in fact, be used to do just the opposite, to embed pupils deeply in the ideology and social control of the teacher’s social class and deliberately prevent them from arriving at a detached and critical appraisal of their real situation”. *Ibid.* 15 ff. As an example Street refers to the missionary schools installed by Europeans in their colonies and supposed to teach the natives European values. “Since the missionaries saw literacy practice as a means simply to conversion and to social control, they had no interest in providing any more than was necessary for this bare minimum. Teaching reading rather than writing was generally sufficient for this purpose, so that what writing was taught was severely limited in terms both of the materials the mission were prepared to make available and the uses to which they were prepared to see them put” (*ibid.* 17).

<sup>58</sup> Street (1984) 105.

ment). Street points to Canada in the nineteenth century, where “many rewarding commercial posts could be held by an ‘illiterate’ person if he could get the bureaucracy performed by someone else”.<sup>59</sup> Most important for such positions were the social skills which middle class society imparted.

The ways in which writing was taught in many periods of history did not advance the children’s ability of critical thinking. The ruling classes who controlled the educational institutions were not particularly interested in such abilities amongst the populace. Critical thinking was also not considered relevant to people’s daily needs.<sup>60</sup>

The particular combinations of oral, visual and literate modes in everyday life deserve further attention: “Visual signs, adverts and decorations themselves were as important as the letters and written words engraved on them when it came to finding one’s way around. For many, in this context, hearing and seeing were more important than the new ‘literate’ culture”.<sup>61</sup> Simple either/or distinctions such as Goody’s cannot do justice to such conditions. The existence of autographs, seals, witnesses, ceremonial acts, oaths etc. suggests a mix of oral and literate modes.<sup>62</sup> Letters and documents could all be read out loud.<sup>63</sup> In antiquity and the middle ages “writing was conceived as an extension of speaking ... It referred to composition” rather than to the mechanical act of writing which was the task of the scribe, “a minor and not very prestigious activity”.<sup>64</sup> In this way, “people whom we would classify as ‘non-literate’ were able to participate in ‘literate’ practice either by listening/‘reading’ or composing/‘writing’”.<sup>65</sup> Officials could often read but not write.<sup>66</sup>

Street also deals with the so-called “religions of the book” in his study and suggests that “the authority and apparent fixity of the written tradition in such religions is the very characteristic that provides scope for individual mediators to offer their own interpretation as the authoritative one. Literacy appears to deny different interpretations while, in reality, facilitating them”.<sup>67</sup> One is immediately reminded of the rabbinic practice of quoting biblical verses in support of rabbinic opinions and of the concept of the “Oral Torah” (which Street does not mention) when reading his continuation: “... each interpretation can claim to be more than just individual perception and can therefore dissociate itself from supposedly volatile oral usage, by claiming authority from the written text”.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 107.

<sup>60</sup> See *ibid.* 110.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 115–16.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 120.

<sup>64</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* 135.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* 136.

Like Brian Street, Ruth Finnegan has emphasized the importance of the social context and of power relationships for the proper understanding of literacy. In both the religious and political realm, the power of leaders “can be enhanced through the provision of a written record of their origins and justification”.<sup>69</sup> Writing is especially advantageous for the development of a bureaucracy, since it enables official business to be conducted through documents.<sup>70</sup> In other areas, too, writing “gives permanence to verbal expression” so that “reliable verbal communication of lengthy and complex statements becomes systematically possible over a time”.<sup>71</sup>

Finnegan also agrees with Street concerning the constant interaction between orality and literacy. It is possible that in a society “written literature was accepted as the highest form, but for many people access to it could still only be through the spoken or enacted word”.<sup>72</sup> The assumption of a binary opposition between orality and literacy is inappropriate because “most known cultures don’t fit. In practice a *mixture* of media (oral and written) is far more typical than a reliance on just one, with writing being used for some purposes, oral forms for others”.<sup>73</sup> The different ways in which different cultures use oral and written modes need to be investigated.

While writing has obvious advantages, its consequences should not be seen in isolation, as Goody does. Writing must be considered “part of a whole process of change”.<sup>74</sup> In examining this process, the evolutionary model “has only limited usefulness”; one rather has to “study the possible interaction of many factors in *specific* cultures and historical periods”.<sup>75</sup> For example, while writing is certainly advantageous to bureaucracy, as already mentioned above, it is unlikely that it was a “sufficient condition” for the development of administrative organizations. Many other social, economic, and political factors contributed to such a development too.<sup>76</sup>

Similar, control over writing was not the only means by which a political or religious leadership could exert its power. Control was also possible in oral communication modes: “One or another group may try to retain a monopoly over the teaching and learning of certain oral skills, or insist on the central importance of oral forms”.<sup>77</sup> This could be the case in a situation where the leaders feel threatened by the competition which alternative forms of education or media of communication constitute. Generally, “all cultures recognize differ-

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<sup>69</sup> Finnegan 19.

<sup>70</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* 17.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* 62.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 141.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 148.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 149.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* 167.

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